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INTRODUCTION
TO
THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BY
JOHN DAVID MICHAELIS,
LATE PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOTTINGEN, &C.

TRANSLATED FROM THE
Fourth Edition of the German,
AND
CONSIDERABLY AUGMENTED WITH NOTES,
AND
A DISSERTATION
ON THE
ORIGIN & COMPOSITION OF THE THREE FIRST GOSPELS.

BY
HERBERT MARSH, D.D. F.R.A.S.
LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.

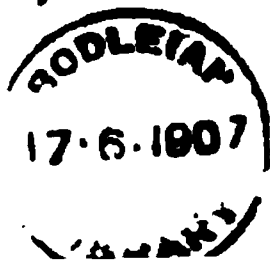
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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

TO

VOL. III. AND VOL. IV.

As the volumes, now presented to the public, containing a translation of the latter half of Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, have succeeded the publication of the former half, after an interval of not less than eight years, and even at present my commentary on the author's text extends no further than the three first Gospels, it may be justly expected, that I should offer some explanation upon this subject. The translation itself was finished before the close of 1795, when I began to draw up a commentary on our author's text, as I had done in the preceding volumes. But as I proceeded with the Notes on the three first Gospels, I perceived the necessity of entering into a minute investigation of their origin and composition, which gave rise to the Dissertation, printed in Vol. III. P. ii. : and this Dissertation was not finished before the beginning of 1798. It was at that time, that my attention began to be directed to a totally different subject : the calumnies, which were then incessantly uttered against Great Britain, both at home and abroad, provoked me to attempt a confutation of them : and the volumes, which I accordingly published, again employed an interval of nearly two years. Toward the end of 1799, I returned to the study of theology : I began to collect materials for observations on the other books of the New Testament : and I intended to

have treated them in the same manner, as I had done the three first Gospels, when a new interruption took place in March 1800. From the University of Leipzig, where I then resided, I returned to England, in consequence of an invitation, which I could not refuse: and as the completion of my original plan, with regard to Michaelis's Introduction, was thus deferred to an unlimited time, I determined to print the remainder of the translation without further delay. In so doing, I hope I shall not incur the censure of the public: as it is certainly more desireable to have the work of Michaelis complete, though the whole is not accompanied with Notes, than to wait several years longer for the completion of the work, merely for the sake of some additional observations by the translator.

After this explanation, it remains only, that I express my obligations to the University, for its liberal assistance, in defraying the expences of the present, as well as of the preceding volumes.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
JUNE 22, 1801.

HERBERT MARSH.

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INTRODUCTION
TO THE
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NEW COVENANT.

CHAPTER I.

**OF THE NAME, AND NUMBER OF THE CANONICAL
GOSPELS.**

THE first book of the New Testament, according to the arrangement in the manuscripts^a, contains the four Gospels, or the four Histories of Christ's life.

The Greek name Εὐαγγέλιον has three different senses, as used by profane writers, by the sacred writers, and by ecclesiastical writers; and these three senses must be carefully distinguished from each other. The want of this distinction has sometimes given rise to mistakes, and induced, for instance, many persons to suppose that St. Paul dictated the Gospel of St. Luke, because in his epistle to the Romans^b he uses the expression 'according to my Gospel'. The word εὐαγγέλιον is used by the Greek profane writers to signify good news in general: but in the New Testament it signifies the joyful intelligence of the advent of the Messiah in particular, and is used by St. Paul^b in reference to the prophecies

^a Rom. xi. 16.

^b Rom. i. 1, 2.

of that event. Also St. Mark writes, Chap i. 1—4. ‘The beginning of the Gospel——was John’³: and Christ himself, in his answer to John, who had sent to inquire who he was, thought it sufficient, after relating the miracles, which he had performed, to add ‘and the poor have the Gospel preached to them,’ that is, it is announced to the poor that the Messiah is come⁴. Ecclesiastical writers have taken the word *εὐγγέλιον* in a new sense, and have used it to signify ‘a narrative of the life of Christ.’ It is used in this sense in both the old and new superscriptions, which have been prefixed to the four Gospels⁵; and hence the authors of them have acquired the Title of Evangelists⁶.

I will not undertake to assign the reason, why we have precisely four Gospels, or to discover to what cause it is owing that their number is neither greater nor less, though it was attempted by some of the ancient fathers, who fancied that they had discovered a mysterious analogy between the four Gospels and the four winds⁷. But I am so far from seeking a mystery in the number four, that I have my doubts whether two of them, namely those of St. Mark and St. Luke were divinely inspired⁸: and even if it were true that my doubts were ungrounded, yet on the other hand their number was formerly much greater than four, though four only have descended to the present age⁹. That the number of our present Gospels therefore amounts precisely to four, we can ascribe to no other cause than mere accident. It is true that every event, which we call accidental, is still owing to the particular direction of the Supreme Being; yet we must make a distinction between events which happen from the common course of things and such as are derived from his immediate interposition. The real state of the case appears to be as follows. At the time, when St. Luke undertook to write his history of the transactions of Christ, various but uncertain Gospels were already in circulation¹⁰. These Gospels,

³ Matth. xi. 5.

⁴ Luke i. 1—4.

⁵ See Vol. I. Ch. III. Sect 3.

probably owing to the circumstance, that the accounts, which they contained, were uncertain, have either totally perished, or are preserved only in a few scattered and even interpolated fragments⁷. It is certain that they never were received by the Christian Church as credible and authentic documents, that they were never deemed worthy to be read in the public service, nor admitted into the catalogue of the writings of the New Testament. Whether internal or external evidence contributed chiefly to their rejection, whether their accounts, which have the appearance of fable, rather than of history, and not seldom contradict each other, rendered them suspected, or whether an opposition on the part of the Apostles and other eye-witnesses prevented them from being generally received, is at present difficult to be determined, because we have no Christian historians of the first century. A tradition relative to this subject is recorded by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History⁸, which he gives however as a mere report, without quoting any written evidence for its authority. Namely, "the three first Gospels being now delivered to all men, and to John himself, *it is said*, that he approved them, and confirmed the truth of their narration by his own testimony⁹; saying, there was only wanting a written account of the things done by Christ in the former part, and in the beginning of his preaching." If this report be grounded, we can easily account for the admission of the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, with the addition of that written by St. John, and of those only: the testimony of the last surviving Apostle, who had himself been eye-witness to the several transactions, was sufficient authority. Whether this testimony implies that the three first Gospels are totally free from the smallest historical inaccuracy,

⁷ Book III. ch. 24.

⁸ Τῶν προαναγραφέντων τριῶν εἰς παντας ἤδη καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰωάννην δαδόμενοι, ἀποδείξασθαι μὲν φασιν, ἀληθεῖαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιμαρτυρήσαντα.

is a question which belongs not to the present subject, and which will be examined in the sequel.

It is a considerable advantage, that an history of such importance as that of Jesus Christ, has been recorded by the pens of separate and independent writers, who from the very contradictions, whether real or apparent, which are visible in these accounts, have incontestably proved that they did not unite, with a view of imposing a fabulous narrative on mankind. That St. Matthew had never seen the Gospel of St. Luke, nor St. Luke the Gospel of St. Matthew is evident from a comparison of their writings. The Gospel of St. Mark, which was written later, must likewise have been unknown to St. Luke; and that St. Mark had ever read the Gospel of St. Luke is at least improbable, because their Gospels so frequently differ. That St. Mark made use of St. Matthew's Gospel in the composition of his own, has been a generally received opinion, to which I formerly subscribed: but I am at present of a different opinion, for which I shall allege the reasons in their proper place. We have therefore three distinct writers of the same history, who wrote independently of each other. It is true that the fourth Evangelist had read the works of the other three, but he is very far from having copied or even from having followed them in their descriptions. His Gospel has very little matter in common with the three first; but even where the same narrations are recorded, it seems to have been so little his intention to be directed merely by their contents, that we might rather suppose him to have sometimes corrected, in an indirect and delicate manner, the trifling inaccuracies of those who had written before him.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS.

SECTION I.

Apparent contradictions of the Gospels.

I OBSERVED in the preceding chapter, that the accounts delivered by the several Evangelists do not at all times perfectly coincide: but this very circumstance, which I mentioned as an argument in their favour, has formed the subject of a very heavy and serious accusation. No one has urged the charge with so much bitterness, and so much force, as the anonymous author of the Wolfenbüttel Fragments, published by Lessing², in which the resurrection of Christ is represented as a false and idle tale, because the historians, who have recorded it, disagree in their accounts. In opposition to this treatise, I published at Halle in 1783, an Exposition of the history of the death and resurrection of Christ², from which I shall frequently borrow materials in this and the following sections, and sometimes transcribe whole passages, where I think the subject would lose, if I made use of different words.

However dangerous these contradictions may appear to many friends of the Christian cause, and however forcibly they have been applied by its enemies, the disadvantage, which arises from them, is by no means so great, as is supposed, since they prove, what is of the utmost importance, that the Evangelists did not write in concert. If the three first Evangelists had entered into a combination, with a view of imposing a fiction on the world, they would certainly have avoided even the smallest appearance of disagreement, and if the miraculous events, which they had recorded, had been empty fables, it is probable, that St. John who had read their Gospels, before he wrote his own, would have

taken care to admit not the least deviation from the writings of his predecessors, in order that the fraud might be the less easily detected. The anonymous author of the Wolfenbüttel Fragments, whose object in general does not appear to have been a candid investigation of the truth, is guilty therefore of an egregious mistake, in suggesting, after an enumeration of ten contradictions in one chapter, that the whole history of the resurrection excites a suspicion, that the persons, who wrote the account of it, acted in concert.

Historical contradictions may be divided into two classes, real, and apparent: these must carefully be distinguished from each other, and each considered separately.

When several persons, who have been eye-witnesses to one and the same transaction, give separate and independent accounts of it, it is hardly possible that they should coincide in every trifling particular. I appeal to any experienced lawyer, whether he would not suspect the truth of a document containing an examination, on which twenty witnesses gave the same answers to the same interrogatories. And if they agreed likewise in their expressions, there would be ground to suspect that the examiner had drawn up the depositions himself, and either had not interrogated the witnesses at all, or had suggested to them the answers, in order to carry his point.

The reason why apparent contradictions are unavoidable in the deposition of several eye-witnesses to the same transaction is easy to be assigned. They do not all observe every minute circumstance of the transaction, but one pays particular attention to one circumstance, another to another circumstance; this occasions a variation in their accounts, which it is sometimes difficult to reconcile. This happened likewise to the Evangelists, as I will illustrate by the following instance. St. Matthew, ch. xviii. 1—14, and St. Mark, ch. ix. 33—50, relate the same transaction, but in different points of view, and for that reason appear at first sight to contradict

each other. St. Matthew says, 'At that time came the disciples to Jesus and said, Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?' St. Mark, on the contrary, 'He came to Capernaum, and having entered into an house, he asked them, What was it, that ye disputed among yourselves by the way? But they held their peace; for by the way they had disputed among themselves, who should be the greatest.' According to St. Matthew, the disciples themselves lay the subject of their dispute before Jesus, for his decision: but according to St. Mark, they even refuse to relate the subject of their dispute, though Jesus requested it, because they were conscious to themselves, that it would occasion a reproof. The question is, how these accounts are to be reconciled.

Without entering into the various solutions, which have been given by the commentators, I shall only observe that, as this transaction relates to a matter of dispute among the disciples, it has of course two different sides, and therefore capable of two different representations. Some of the disciples laid claim to the title of the greatest in the kingdom of heaven, among whom we may probably reckon Peter, with the two sons of Zebedee, James and John. These could hardly expect to escape a reproof, and were undoubtedly ashamed, when questioned as to the subject of their dispute. Other disciples on the contrary may be considered as the party attacked, who without claiming the first rank for themselves, might yet think it unjust to be treated as inferiors, since they all appeared to be equal. The latter had less reason to fear a reproof, since the pure morality of Christ, which teaches that every action must be estimated by the motives which gave it birth, was not then fully understood by his disciples. In their outward behaviour at least there was nothing unreasonable; and without being guilty of a breach of propriety, they might lay their complaints before their master, and request his decision. It is probable that St. Matthew was of this party, since a man, who was by profession a tax-gatherer, and never particularly distinguished himself

among the Apostles, would have hardly supposed, that he should become the first in the kingdom of God. He relates the transaction therefore, as one of that party to which he belonged: St. Mark on the contrary, who derived information from St. Peter, considers the matter from an opposite point of view. Let us suppose the full state of the case to be as follows,—Some of the disciples, who were of the diffident party, and laid no claim to the first rank, bring the matter before Christ, with the same kind of indignation, as was displayed by ten of the Apostles on another occasion^b. Christ reserves the decision of the dispute till they were entered into the house, where they were accustomed to meet: he then calls his disciples together, and enquires into the subject of their dispute, to which Peter, James, John, and those in general who had laid claim to pre-eminence make no answer.—If the transaction was literally as here described, it is by no means impossible that Matthew and Mark might consider it from different points of view, and write what we find in their Gospels, without the least violation of truth. The one relates one part, and the other another part of the transaction, but neither of them relates the whole. If we read a few verses further in St. Mark's Gospel, we find a circumstance recorded of St. John, which St. Matthew passes over in silence, and from which it appears, that St. John was more concerned in this dispute, than most of the other disciples. He even ventured, when Christ, with a view of introducing a perfect equality among his disciples, said, 'Whoever receiveth one of these children in my name receiveth me,' to doubt of the universality of this position, alleging that persons of unexceptionable characters might appeal to the name of Jesus, and giving an instance of one who had cast out devils in his name, whom the Apostles had rebuked^c. This again occasioned replies from Christ, which, though they are mentioned by St. Matthew, have in his Gospel a different appearance, and are attended with less perspicuity, than

^b Matth. xx. 24.

^c Mark ix. 37, 38.

SECT. 1. HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS. 9

they are in St. Mark's Gospel, because St. Matthew has not related the causes which gave them birth.

When the same event is either related in common conversations by different speakers, or committed to writing by different and independent historians, of which we may mention an engagement between two armies as an instance, we frequently find a contradiction in their accounts, though each of them has no other object in view, than to relate the truth^s. If the Evangelists appear to contradict each other more frequently than other historians, the cause does not lie in the Evangelists themselves, but in the diligence and attention of the reader. The Gospels are not read by thousands, but by millions, who carefully compare the one with the other: whereas the stories related in common conversation are hardly ever compared with each other, and it is not often that we find a critical historian, who takes the trouble of accurately collating his written documents. But the most convincing proof, that apparent contradictions are no proof of a bad cause, is the circumstance, that we often meet with them in the writings of one and the same historian, where he relates the same thing at different times. St. Luke, for instance, relates twice the ascension of Christ, and three times the conversion of St. Paul, and in consequence of his omitting at one time what he had mentioned at another, and vice versa, he differs as much from himself, as the Evangelists differ from each other. In courts of justice, where practical logic, as far as concerns the examination of evidence, is extremely well understood, not every apparent contradiction between two or more witnesses is immediately considered as a proof, that the fact which they attest is false. The advocates on both sides examine and cross-examine, and consider whether the differences in the reports are not capable of a reconciliation. As the Evangelists themselves cannot be questioned with respect to their apparent contradictions, it is the duty of commentators to undertake in their name the office of advocate: it is an office which they have frequently executed

with success; but through want of sufficient knowledge of the subject they are still embarrassed with difficulties, which the Apostles themselves, if they were now alive, would undoubtedly be able to remove.

SECTION II.

Answers to the objections made to the Evangelists, on account of the apparent contradictions in respect to the order of time.

ONE of the most frequent apparent contradictions among the Evangelists relates to the order of time, the same fact being reported earlier by one, than by another. This appearance of disagreement arises from the circumstance, that neither St. Matthew, St. Mark, nor St. Luke wrote in chronological order.

No historian can be expected to relate every thing in the order of time unless he is writing a journal, which is the most tedious and disagreeable kind of history. In writing a perspicuous, and at the same time an agreeable narrative, it is frequently necessary to unite with a cause the effect to which it gave birth, even though that effect should belong to a distant period, when the historian must consequently return from a later time to a former: or an historian is often under the necessity of uniting facts, which are far asunder in point of time, because they are connected by their subject. In biography especially, it is not unusual to disregard the order of time, in relating the remarkable circumstances of a life, to which the name of Singularia is applied. It seems therefore extraordinary that severer rules should be prescribed to the Evangelists, than are followed by historians in general: and one might suppose that it arose from a want of sufficient acquaintance with the practice of profane writers, unless various commentators, to whom this ignorance cannot possibly be imputed,

had still considered the Gospels as simple diaries, or journals ².

The Gospel of St. Luke in particular is supposed to have been written according to the order of time; because the Evangelist declares in his preface, that he intends to relate every thing in order ³. But we must not forget that the order of time is not the only order, which an historian may follow. To illustrate this by an example. The unction of Christ at Bethany took place six days before the passover ⁴: yet St. Matthew relates it after he was advanced with the rest of his history to within two days of the passover ⁵. The reason is, that on this second day before the passover Judas offered to the assembly of the scribes and chief priests to betray Jesus: which resolution he had been induced to form by the rebuke which he had received when Jesus was anointed. To return however to the Gospel of St. Luke, it appears that the word *καθεξης* implies nothing more, than an intention to collect accounts of the several wonders and discourses of Christ, and to form them into one uniform whole ⁶; that is, *αναξασθαι διηγησιν*, as he says of the writers, of whom he speaks in the first verse of his Gospel. Now we cannot suppose that these numerous writers composed entirely according to the order of time ⁷. Nay, there are some commentators, which go so far as to assert that of the four Evangelists St. Luke deviates the most from the order of time: whether they are mistaken or not I shall not at present inquire, because the examination of the proofs would take up too much room; but this I will venture to assert, that the word *καθεξης* no more affords an argument against this opinion, than the word *αναξασθαι* applied to those who wrote Gospels before St. Luke, would disprove the assertion, that these writers deviated more from the order of time than our four Evangelists. The account which we read in St. Luke's Gospel, ch. iv. 23. where Jesus speaks of miracles performed at Capernaum, though St. Luke had

² *Καθεξης*. Luke i. 3. ⁴ John xii. 1. ⁵ Matt. xxvi. 6. . .

hitherto made no mention, that Jesus had even been at Capernaum, united with the circumstance that the important miracles performed by Jesus at Capernaum appear to be recorded by St. Luke in the fifth chapter, favours at least the opinion that St. Luke has not related the coming of Jesus to Nazereth, according to the period in which it really happened⁶.

The opinion that the Evangelists have constantly written according to the order of time has led the harmonists to this very extraordinary conclusion, that, if a fact is recorded by two or more Evangelists, and the period allotted to it by the one corresponds not to the period allotted to it by the other, the fact with all its concomitant circumstances must have happened so many different times⁷. According to this principle, the whole series of events recorded in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel happened twice, if not thrice: that is, Jesus twice healed a man sick of the palsy, who was let down through the roof of the house with exactly the same circumstances; in both cases he spake the same words, and the spectators were affected in the same manner: in two instances (immediately after such a miracle) he called a disciple from the receipt of custom: he twice raised a child aged twelve years from the dead, and by the way healed a woman, who had an issue of blood, by the touch of his garment; he was twice asked the same questions by John, &c. The late Dr. Hauber⁸ has applied, in support of this opinion, the principium indiscernibilium; saying, that things which agree in 9999 points, but differ in a single point, cannot be one and the same thing; now the events above-mentioned have a difference in point of time in the different Evangelists, therefore they cannot be the same events. The truth of the first proposition no one will dispute, but we cannot assert the second, without being guilty of a *petitio principii*, since the question, whether each of these events really did happen more than once is the very thing to be determined. And, since it is at least highly improbable that two

series of facts should perfectly resemble each other in every circumstance except that of time, the principium indiscernibilium, when applied to the present case, should lead us in fact to a conclusion directly contrary to that which was drawn by Dr. Hauber *. Even without the aid of philosophy, the matter is itself so clear, that if any other biographer should so circumstantially relate the same transactions twice, or pretend that a whole series of extraordinary events happened twice in the space of four years, he would forfeit all credit with his reader. I candidly declare for my own part, that, were it necessary to believe that the above-mentioned series of events with all their circumstances, happened more than once, my faith would waver: and if I doubted not of the truth of the Gospel itself, I should at least doubt of the inspiration of the Evangelists, and conclude that the one or the other was mistaken.

At the same time I would not have it understood, that the supposition of an event's having happened more than once, where different periods are assigned to it by different Evangelists, is in no case whatsoever admissible. But then it must not be an event of the most extraordinary kind, nor attended in every instance by the same minute circumstances. For instance, since various persons at various times may have offered themselves to be the disciples of Christ, induced either by the high expectations, which were formed of his character, or by the interested motive of receiving from him their daily support, to whom the answer 'Foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man has not where to lay his head' is well adapted, it is not improbable that this answer was given on more than one occasion. When St. Matthew therefore, ch. viii. 19, 20. relates this answer as given by Christ at the lake of Genesaret, and St. Luke, ch. ix. 57, 58. as given during the journey through Samaria toward Jerusalem, we must

* See my Programma, de principio indiscernibilium, particularly p. 11; where I have explained myself more fully, and p. 15, where I have given the proof.

conclude that the two Evangelists here relate two different things. This is however attended with the following difficulty, that both St. Matthew and St. Luke immediately after the answer above quoted, agree likewise in another answer given by Christ to a young man, who was going to bury his father°. This case is so extraordinary that I cannot suppose it to have happened twice; and I can account for the difficulty in no other manner, than by supposing that the two Evangelists introduced, on two different occasions the conversation of Christ with this disciple, because each occasion suggested its introduction. They relate in what manner Christ rejected, or invited disciples, or put them to the test, though the instances, which they produce in the same place, happened at times distant from each other°.

SECTION III.

Rules to be observed in making an Harmony of the Gospels.

THE following are the principal rules, which are necessary to be observed in comparing the Evangelists with each other°.

1. As the Evangelists have not written journals, we must not consider it as a contradiction, if the same transaction be related by the one earlier or later than it is related by the other, provided the time be not expressly determined by both, so as to be incapable of a reconciliation.

2. Since divine inspiration does not produce omniscience, it is possible, even if we admit that all four Evangelists were inspired, that some circumstances of a fact were unknown to one, which were known to another. From this want of knowledge arises an apparent contradiction, which ought not to be considered

° Matth. viii. 21, 22. Luke ix. 59, 60.

as a real one. If we set inspiration aside, and consider the Evangelists simply as human historians of credit and veracity, the rule is still more applicable. For instance, Christ embarked in a vessel, and rebuked the wind, in the evening of the same day, on which he had delivered the parable of the sower and the seed. This appears from Mark iv. 35. 'And the same day, when the even was come, he saith unto them, Let us pass over unto the other side.' But this circumstance was unknown to St. Luke, who knew only that these two transactions were at no great distance from each other, and wrote therefore, ch. viii. 22. 'Now it came to pass *on a certain day* that he went into a ship with his disciples.' This is no more a contradiction, than if one of two witnesses to the same fact should testify that it happened in the Christmas-week and the other on the twenty-fifth of December. Again, St. Luke appears not to have known on what occasion the words which he has recorded, ch. xvii. 1—4, were uttered by Christ; instead therefore of relating them in the place, to which they really belong, namely after ch. ix. 46—50, he has arranged them among several scattered fragments relating to Christ. St. Matthew and St. Mark on the contrary have assigned to them their proper place, where they receive more light, especially as related by the latter*. A third instance, in which St. Luke was unacquainted with the time at which a transaction happened is ch. xx. 1, where he says, 'And it came to pass, *on one of those days*:' but St. Matthew and St. Mark have determined the time more precisely*, though a contradiction appears to have taken place in their accounts*, which the present room does not allow me to examine. Likewise the occasion which gave birth to the prophecy of Christ, respecting the destruction of Jerusalem, appears to have been more imperfectly known to St. Luke†, than to the other Evangelists: but that even Prophets may be deficient in knowledge, and that the

* Matth. xviii. 1—20. Mark ix. 33—50.

† See ch. xxi. 6.

Apostles never pretended to be omniscient is evident from various passages of the New Testament¹.

3. Two or more relations may be very similar, and yet not the same: these must be carefully distinguished from each other. For instance, the anointing of Christ Luke vii. and Matth. xxvi. are manifestly different facts, though they so far agree that both happened at table, and in the house of one named Simon. But that the anointing happened at table is by no means a remarkable circumstance, since it was agreeable to the common custom of the ancients: and with respect to the other circumstances, they are all different.

4. In the arrangement of the several facts attention must be paid to those passages, in which the Evangelists expressly determine the time, by saying, 'on that day,' 'in the evening,' 'on the following day,' and the like. But we must be careful not to take for a determination of time, what really is not.

5. The same discourse, such as the sermon on the mount, may have been delivered more than once, in order to impress the doctrines, which it contained, on those who were not present, when it was first pronounced. But whether any particular discourse actually was delivered more than once, must be determined by the circumstances which precede and follow it: and in those cases only, where these circumstances are different, it is allowable to conclude that the discourse was pronounced at different times.

The rules, which I have here given, are in themselves so clear, that every reader, without further explanation, will probably assent to them. The principal difficulty consists in the application, since even those, who agree in the principles, very frequently differ in the use of them. The following instance may serve to shew the manner, in which I would apply the rules in question. The Evangelists St. Matthew² and St. Mark³ have related, that Christ was anointed in the week preceding his death,

¹ See Mark xiii. 32. 1 Cor. i. 16. 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3.

² Ch. xxvi. 6—13.

³ Ch. xiv. 3—9.

and all the commentators are agreed that both of them mean the same unction. St. John likewise " relates that Christ was anointed in the same week, and the unction, which he describes, is in my opinion the very same with that, which St. Matthew and St. Mark have recorded, but according to others it was totally different, and happened four days earlier. Now that two different unctions happened twice in the same week with the same circumstances, is more than I am able to believe. Should any one relate so circumstantial an event as having happened to himself, and differ in his account with respect to the day on which it took place, I should certainly take the liberty to observe that he was guilty of a contradiction : and if, in defending himself from the charge of an inconsistency, he should contend that it happened twice in the same week; I should certainly conclude that he transgressed the bounds of truth. The two unctions above-mentioned, if we can consider as two, what I believe to be one, agree in the following circumstances ⁴.

1. Both happened at Bethany.

2. In both cases Jesus was anointed not by his host, but by a woman. However as Christ was frequently at Bethany, these circumstances are not so very remarkable.

3. Both unctions took place, as I shall prove in the sequel, not in the house of Lazarus, the friend of Jesus, where we might soonest expect him, but in another house.

4. Both happened in the last week, before the suffering of Christ.

5. In both cases the ointment was so expensive, that the unction had the appearance of profusion.

6. In both cases we meet with the remarkable circumstance, that the ointment was not purchased for the purpose, to which it was applied, but that it had been preserved for some time by the person, who used it :

⁴ Ch. xiii. 1—8.

for the disciples were offended that the ointment was not sold, and the money given to the poor, and in the account, which is given by St. John *, it is expressly said by Jesus, 'Against the day of my burying bath she *kept* this.' One might almost conjecture that it was the remainder of the ointment, which Martha and Mary had purchased for the funeral of Lazarus: the thought presents itself at least, on reading St. John's description, as not improbable.

7. In both cases the unction is censured by the disciples.

8. In both cases the ground of censure is the same.

9. In both cases the unction is defended by Jesus, and the same answer given to the disciples.

10. The expression *ναρδος πισυκη*, which is not only very unusual and therefore obscure, but occurs in not a single instance either in the Septuagint or in the New Testament, except on this occasion, is used both by St. Mark, and by St. John; the ointment therefore used in both cases was strictly the same.

These circumstances are too numerous and too particular, to have happened twice; not to mention the improbability, that the disciples, after having been rebuked by Jesus six days before Easter, for having censured the unction, should presume to repeat their censure on a similar occasion, on the second day before Easter. For it contained a manifest incivility to Jesus himself, which they must have very sensibly felt, when he answered them, 'The poor ye have always with you, but me ye have not always', and of which therefore they would have hardly been guilty only four days afterwards.

In the two accounts, which are given by St. Matthew and St. John, I perceive not the least variation, except that in some points the one is more copious than the other; but their descriptions are so far from being inconsistent, that they have all the appearance of proceeding from two different eye-witnesses to the same fact.

* Ch. xii. 7.

* John xii. 8.

1. According to St. Matthew and St. Mark a *woman* anoints Jesus: according to St. John, he is anointed by *Mary*, and if we may judge from what he says in the second verse, by Mary the Sister of Lazarus. This however is no contradiction, when one historian omits the name of the woman, the other mentions it. Nay, even from the very silence of St. Matthew and St. Mark in respect to the name, may be deduced an argument in support of the opinion, that the unction described by St. Matthew and St. John is the same. St. Matthew and St. Mark must have had particular reasons for concealing the name of the woman, since according to their own relation Jesus declared that what she had done should be preached in the whole world for a memorial of her. Now this cannot have happened unless she was the Mary mentioned by St. John: and it would follow from the supposition of two different unctions, that the declaration of Jesus had remained unfulfilled. Perhaps the real state of the case is as follows. The two first Evangelists, who have made no mention of the raising of Lazarus from the dead, that they might not expose him to persecution from the Jewish Sanhedrim, have probably, for the same reason, concealed the name of his sister Mary, who anointed Jesus with the ointment which remained after the interment of Lazarus. St. John on the contrary expressly mentions it, because he wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem, and could therefore have no reason for concealing the name either of Lazarus, or of Mary.

2. According to St. Matthew, the entertainment was given in the house of Simon the leper: according to St. John, Lazarus was one of them who sat at the table with him, and his sister Martha served. Some commentators have considered this as a variation in the story, and have concluded from St. John's description that the entertainment was given in the House of Lazarus. But this is certainly not true, since no one, in speaking of the master of the house, would say, 'he was one of

ἑκ τῶν ἀνακειμένων.

B 2.

those who sat at the table.' On the contrary, this very expression proves that he was only a guest, and that the entertainment was given in the house of a Friend, in which his sister, who was a diligent housewife², prepared the table.

3. According to St. Matthew, the woman poured the box of ointment on the head of Jesus; according to St. John she anointed his feet. But even this circumstance is not sufficient to prove two distinct unctions, though among all the variations it is the most considerable. That Mary did not leave the head of Jesus unanointed we may take for granted from the general practice of the East: but this is not related by St. John, who mentions only the more extraordinary circumstance omitted by St. Matthew and St. Mark, that the woman anointed his feet. It is agreeable to John's peculiar manner to relate circumstances omitted by his predecessors.

4. According to St. Matthew, the disciples in general, according to St. Mark, only some of them had indignation, and censured the woman. This cannot be considered as a contradiction; for when St. Matthew says in general terms 'the disciples', it does not necessarily follow, that he meant all of them without exception, nor is it probable that all of them expressed their opinion. But St. John mentions Judas Iscariot, as the person who censured the action. Still however we cannot conclude that the Evangelists have described two different unctions. One of the disciples must have made a beginning, to whom others acceded, though probably not in the same words. This person is particularly named by St. John, who likewise adds the motive, which induced him to cast the censure. Perhaps St. Matthew and St. Peter acceded to the opinion of Judas, but not St. John: and hence St. Matthew and St. Mark speak openly in the plural number, that they might not conceal the part which St. Matthew and St. Peter had taken in this unjust censure.

It is further objected, that the clear and certain marks by which the time is determined by the different

² See Luke x. 40.

Evangelists, prove two distinct transactions: that St. John mentions expressly the sixth Day before Easter^a, and St. Matthew as expressly the second day before Easter^b, as the day on which the unction happened. Now that the time is so clearly determined by both Evangelists is more than I am able to perceive; and if anyone could persuade me, that it really were so, I should instantly give up the inspiration either of one or both of the Evangelists, and conclude that either one or both of them were guilty of a mistake in referring to two different days what according to the dictates of common sense could be only one and the same transaction. I should *in that case* be persuaded, that if the two Evangelists were now alive, and could be questioned relative to the present difficulty, they would be so far from contending that the same transaction with all its concomitant circumstances happened twice in the same week, that one of them (namely in the case assumed) would candidly own, he was guilty of a mistake.

But as far as my eyes enable me to see, (though other eyes perhaps may see differently from mine,) the assertion is really ungrounded. That St. John has determined the date to be the sixth day before the passover, is not to be disputed. But St. Matthew is silent as to the day, on which the unction happened; and it is owing only to the modern division of Matthew's text into chapters, that we suppose, he has determined the time. The Evangelist has not written, 'On the second day before the passover Jesus was at an entertainment in Bethany,' but after having related a discourse which Jesus had made to his disciples, he adds, 'And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished all these sayings, he said unto his disciples, ye know that after two days is the feast of the passover, and the son of man is betrayed to be crucified.' Immediately afterwards the Evangelist relates the plot which was formed against the life of Jesus in the following manner; 'Then

^a John xii. 1.^b Matthew xxvi. 2.

(τοτε) assembled together the chief priests, and the scribes, and the elders of the people, unto the palace of the high priest, who was called Caiaphas, and consulted that they might take Jesus by subtlety, and kill him. But they said not on the feast day, lest there be an uproar among the people.' Now the word *τοτε* which is capable of a very extensive signification, no more determines this consultation to have happened on the same day, on which Jesus delivered his discourse to the apostles, than that it happened in the same hour. But even if we admit that both of them happened on the same day, it will by no means follow that the entertainment likewise at Bethany took place on that day; at least the words with which St. Matthew begins his relation of it. 'Now when Jesus was in Bethany in the house of Simon the leper,' contain no determination of time, and may as easily refer to a preceding, as to a present period⁵.

Still however it might be objected, that though St. Matthew and St. Mark have not expressly mentioned the day, on which the unction took place in Bethany, they have at least assigned to it a place in that part of their narrative, where they were advanced to within two days of the passover. Now this objection presupposes that the Evangelists always wrote according to the order of time, which they certainly did not: and if we only make a different division of the chapters, and reckon to the twenty-fifth chapter the two first verses of the twenty-sixth, the unction at Bethany, which is related in the following verses, will have less reference to the time specified in those two verses⁶. But at this rate, perhaps it might be said, the Evangelists have written in a very irregular manner, arranging their facts in an order very different from that in which they really happened, and that an irregularity of this kind is hardly to be expected from an inspired writer. This objection brings the matter to an issue, and the answer, which I would make to it, is, that beside the order of time, there is another arrangement in history which

may be called the order of things'. That is, facts which are connected with each other are arranged together, in order that the relation between cause and effect may be more distinctly seen : and it is this very arrangement which distinguishes the entertaining and instructive historian from the mere annalist^a. To the end of the twenty-fifth, or rather as far as the second verse of the twenty-sixth Chapter, St. Matthew had recorded day by day the several remarkable discourses, which Christ held in the last week of his life. He then proceeds to relate the history of Christ's passion, to which the unction at Bethany had an immediate relation. The Jewish Sanhedrim had formed the resolution to put Jesus to death, but not on the feast day : and it was the unction at Bethany, which afforded them the means of getting him into their power, though on the day which they had endeavoured to avoid. This may be gathered from St. Matthew's own relation, who after having described the consultation of the Sanhedrim, immediately relates the unction at Bethany, and then adds, 'Then one of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief priests, and said unto them, what will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you?' The account given by St. Matthew is in some measure obscure, because we do not perceive in what manner the circumstance of the unction excited in Judas the resolution to betray his master. But this we clearly see from the relation of St. John, from which it appears, that Judas was properly the person, who censured the unction, under the pretence, that the ointment ought to have been sold for the benefit of the poor, and that this specious pretext met likewise with the approbation of other Apostles. The true reason, as St. John expresses declares, why Judas wished that the ointment had been sold, was the hope of having a further opportunity of defrauding the money bag, which was intrusted to his care. The

^a Matth. xxvi. 14, 15.

answer therefore of Jesus affected Judas in particular, whose guilty conscience augmented the severity of the rebuke. Under these circumstances it is by no means extraordinary that Judas resolved to take revenge, especially when we consider that he was already an apostate^d, and thought perhaps that, if contrary to his belief, Jesus was really the Messiah, the measures concerted against him would be of no avail, but that on the other hand, if Jesus was an impostor, he would meet with the fate which he deserved. It appears then that the unction at Bethany, which gave rise to the offer of Judas to the Sanhedrim to betray Christ, is more properly arranged immediately before the relation of the effect which it produced, than it would have been, if placed at the beginning of the twenty-first chapter, to which it properly belongs according to the order of time^e.

The preceding example must suffice for the present, since if I examined other parts of the Evangelic history in the same manner, I should compose an Harmony of the Gospels, instead of writing a general introduction to the New Testament.

Sometimes a contradiction may be removed by the help of a various reading, of which I have given an instance^g in my History of the Resurrection^e, taken from Matth. xxvii. 60. Of the aid of critical conjecture in removing contradictions I have given an example in this Introduction^f, from John vi. 21. Lastly, it is not improbable that some of the contradictions observable in St. Matthew's Gospel, did not proceed from the author himself, but from the person who translated it from Hebrew into Greek.

^d John vi. 67—71.

^e P. 43—46.

^f Vol. II. Ch. x. Sect. 4.

SECTION IV.

Of the inference to be deduced from the supposition, that real contradictions exist in the four Gospels.

If it can be shewn, that real contradictions, that is, such as are wholly incapable of a reconciliation, exist in the four Gospels, the only inference to be deduced is, that the writers were not infallible, or in other words, not inspired by the Deity; but we are by no means warranted to conclude, because the historians vary in their accounts, that the history itself is a forgery. I have treated this subject at large in the Preface to the History of the Resurrection¹; at present, therefore, I shall only remark what deserves particular notice.

When several persons relate the same story, it is hardly possible, even if they were eye-witnesses to the transaction which they record, and still less so if they received their information from others, to coincide exactly in their accounts, since the same circumstances will either not be observed or not be remembered by all. Yet if they all agreed in the main point, no one would conclude that the whole story was a forgery, merely because the persons, who related it, disagreed in some of the concomitant circumstances. An inference of this kind would convert the most valuable histories into fabulous legends.

When two Prussian officers, who served during the seven years war, from 1756 to 1763, relate the transactions of that memorable period, each of them is guilty of some mistakes, especially in regard to dates and numbers, of which the unavoidable consequence is, that they will contradict each other. If we read Lloyd's and Templehoff's History of this war, we shall find not only that they contradict each other, but that both of them frequently contradict the official intelligence printed in the Berlin Gazette. I will mention as an instance the battle of Prague, in which Lloyd has

¹ P. xviii.—lviii.

made the list of killed and wounded on the part of the Austrians so very inconsiderable, as to be almost incredible, when we consider the important consequences, to which that engagement immediately led. Yet no one would therefore conclude, either that the seven years war in general, or the battle of Prague in particular, was a mere fable. Whoever has examined the sources of the Roman history, not barely with a view of learning a dead language, but with the eye of a critical historian, must have observed many contradictions, which no art can possibly reconcile. The battle of Pharsalia, for instance, is described by Florus in a manner very different from that, in which it is described by Cæsar: for in their accounts of the number of the combatants, which entered the field on both sides, there is a difference of not less than an hundred and fifty thousand. Yet no man would therefore contend that the battle of Pharsalia, which determined the fate of the world, was a mere fable. It is the same with the Grecian history, even in the most enlightened ages, as appears from the contradictions in the accounts which we read of the expedition of Xerxes, and the strength of his army. The history of the celebrated Judas Maccabæus, as related in the first book of the Maccabees, a work written at the same time when Judas himself lived, differs frequently from the same history as related in the second book of the Maccabees, and sometimes from the accounts of Josephus. Nay, what is still more, we find Josephus contradicting even himself, when we compare his Antiquities with his History of the Jewish war. I mention Josephus in particular, as an author in whose writings contradictions are to be found, because I can refer, in support of my assertion, to my notes to the first book of the Maccabees, in which many of those contradictions are noted.

If the four Evangelists were not rendered infallible by the immediate intervention of the Deity, it is hardly possible, that their accounts should be wholly free from error, and therefore in no case contradictory to each

other. But even if it be true, that their accounts are sometimes at variance, it by no means follows, that the history itself, the miracles and the resurrection of Christ are a forgery: and the only inference, which we can deduce from it, is that the Evangelists were not inspired; at least not in the relation of historical facts. I have already observed in this Introduction^a; as well as in my History of the Resurrectionⁱ, that a concession of this kind is no injury to the Christian religion: to two of the Evangelists, Mark and Luke, the promise of the supernatural assistance of the Holy Ghost, which was given by Christ to the Apostles, is wholly inapplicable; and I have freely confessed in the first volume of this work^k, that I can see no proof of their having been inspired: St. Matthew and St. John were, it is true, Apostles; but shall we therefore conclude that they were inspired in matters of history? The passage which I quoted in the chapter on Inspiration from John xiv. 26. "The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you," contains a promise of assistance from the Holy Ghost, and of the infallibility arising from that assistance, merely in respect to the speeches and discourses of Christ, which form the primary source of our religious faith and knowledge: but it contains no promise, at least none in direct and positive terms, of any supernatural aid in the recording of facts, which they had either seen themselves; or heard from others. To speak the truth, I do not believe that the Evangelists were divinely inspired in matters of history: I have made this declaration already in the second edition of my Dogmatic Theology^l, where I have given the grounds of my opinion, which it is here unnecessary to transcribe. This opinion by no means impugns the doctrines of the Lutheran Church, as delivered in the Symbolic Books^m, though it is contrary to the tenets

^a Vol. I. ch. iii. sect. 1.ⁱ P. xxxv.^k Ch. iii. sect. 3.^l P. 125, 126.

which are advanced in many of our systems of divinity.

Are there really contradictions then, it may be asked, in the four Gospels, which are utterly incapable of being reconciled? I will not positively and decidedly assert that there are, because, as every assertion requires proof, I should be under the necessity of examining at each particular example the various arguments, which have been alleged both for and against the question, which would give rise to a disquisition too long for the present place. I will only say, therefore, it appears to me, that there are such contradictions; but their number is very inconsiderable, and indeed much more inconsiderable, than in proportion to the variety of matter in the four Gospels we might reasonably expect. I will mention a single instance, the account of the blind Bartimeus at Jericho, related Matth. xx. 29—34. Mark x. 46—52. Luke xviii. 35—43. I find no contradiction in the circumstance, that St. Matthew, who was eye-witness to the transaction, speaks of two blind persons, St. Mark and St. Luke on the contrary of only one, who by St. Mark is called Bartimeus: since it is possible that two blind persons on that occasion received their sight, that both of them were known to St. Matthew, who was present at the time, but that only one of them was known to St. Mark and St. Luke, who were not eye-witnesses to the fact. So far then the accounts are not contradictory, and all that can be said is, that one Evangelist has related less than is related by the other, because he was not omniscient, and therefore did not know all that happened. But when St. Matthew and St. Mark, of whom the former was eye-witness, relate that the miracle was performed by Christ 'as he went out of Jericho,' St. Luke on the contrary 'as he was come nigh unto Jericho,' and moreover the entry into that city is mentioned by St. Luke^m as having taken place *after* the performance of the miracle, I confess that I am wholly unable to reconcile the contradiction, and must therefore conclude

^m Chap. xix. 1.

that St. Luke, who was not an eye-witness to the fact, was in this instance mistaken. In a subsequent part of this Introduction, where I treat of St. Luke's Gospel in particular, I shall take notice of several examples of this kind, and observe that the most material contradictions, which I am unable to reconcile, are between St. Luke and those two Evangelists, who were eye-witnesses to the facts, which they have recorded.

Whether St. John has corrected in an indirect and delicate manner the faults of his predecessors is a question, which I shall reserve for that part, where I especially examine the Gospel of that Evangelist.

SECTION V.

Examination of the different degrees of importance in the different kinds of contradiction observable in the Four Gospels.

THE contradictions observable in the four Gospels, even such as may be shewn to be real, are of very different degrees of importance, which ought to be particularly noted, though they have hitherto engaged but seldom the attention of the harmonists.

In the first place, if a contradiction exists between the twelve last verses of St. Mark's Gospel and the other Gospels, it is of no importance whatsoever, and affects not even the question of divine inspiration: for that these twelve verses proceeded from the hand of St. Mark is more than any one can prove. In the sequel I shall treat of them more at large.

Secondly, a contradiction between either St. Mark or St. Luke, who were neither Apostles nor eye-witnesses, and St. Matthew and St. John, who were both, proves nothing more than that they were not inspired. In a disagreement of this kind, it is reasonable that we should be guided by the authority of the eye-witnesses.

Thirdly, a contradiction between the Gospel of St. Luke and the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel is of still less importance, because it may be doubted, whether these two chapters were written by St. Matthew. Even if we admitted therefore that what is written by St. Luke¹, ch. ii. 51. were not to be reconciled with the account given in St. Matthew's Gospel of the coming of the wise men from the East, and the flight of Jesus into Egypt, which however in my opinion is very possible, we should still have no reason to doubt the truth of the Christian Religion, and of the New Testament at large, but only either of the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, which in other respects abound with difficulties, or the relation which is given by St. Luke.

Fourthly, real contradictions between St. Matthew and St. John, which are wholly incapable of reconciliation, prove nothing more, than that the Apostles were not inspired in historical matters. But as I have already observed, these contradictions may be ascribed to the Greek translator of St. Matthew's Gospel.

Fifthly, the contradictions of the greatest importance, if we except Mark xvi. 9—20. are those which have been observed in the history of the resurrection, because the truth of this history, and the testimony of those persons, who are alleged as witnesses of its reality, determine in a great measure the truth of the Christian Religion. Notwithstanding the pains which have been taken to reconcile these contradictions, I am of opinion, that our endeavours have not been so successful as we commonly believe; though on the other hand, I have fallen sometimes, as it were by accident, on satisfactory solutions, where after the most studied and anxious attempts I have failed of success. This is not the place to introduce the result of my inquiries, which I must reserve either for my public lectures, or for my notes on the four Gospels if I should live to publish them².
 —Thus far I had written in the year 1777, and I purposely leave it unaltered in the present edition, that the public may be convinced, it is not my intention to

suppress the difficulties, which I feel. The Fragments; as they were called, which were published by Lessing in that very year, in the fourth number of the 'Contributions to history and literature, from the treasures of the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel,'³ in which an anonymous writer attacked the Christian Religion, and particularly the history of the resurrection⁴, induced me to renew my inquiries, the result of which I published in the year 1783, in a work entitled, 'Exposition of the history of Christ's burial and resurrection, according to all four Evangelists,' and which I leave to the examination of the reader⁵.

SECTION VI.

An account of the principal Harmonies.

I WILL now proceed to an account of those writers, who have endeavoured to reconcile the four Evangelists, and to reduce their history to chronological order; which will afford likewise an opportunity of making some remarks on several explanations relative to the Gospels. But it is far from my design to mention all the writers who have written harmonies: a tolerably complete list of them, in alphabetical order, may be seen in Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca¹, Lib. iv. Cap. v. § 20, and a more entertaining historical description of them is contained in E. D. Hauber's Life of Jesus Christ², p. 1—14.

To begin with the ancient harmonies, it is well known that Tatian of Syria, and Theophilus Bishop of Antioch, wrote harmonies as early as the second century. A work supposed to be the Harmony of Tatian was published by Ottomar Luscinius³, in 1523; and in the following year 1524, Michael Member published another harmony, which was attributed to Ammonius of Alexandria⁴. But though these works are of great

antiquity, it is doubted whether they are genuine⁵. See Fabricii Codex Apocryphus N. T. p. 378. The real Diatessaron (*διατεσσαρων*) of Tatian, or his Arrangement of the transactions of Christ according to the four Evangelists is no longer extant: but the circumstance of his having written a work of that kind deserves to be remembered, because it is of some importance in ecclesiastical history. It is supposed that this is the work, which we find sometimes quoted in ancient writers by the name of 'the Syrian⁶.'

Eusebius has composed a very celebrated Harmony of the Gospels. He has divided the evangelic history into ten canons, or tables, which are prefixed to many editions and versions of the New Testament. In the first canon he has arranged according to the ancient chapters⁷ those parts of the history of Christ, which are related by all four Evangelists. In the rest he has disposed the portions of history related by

2. St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke.
3. St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John.
4. St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John.
5. St. Matthew, and St. Luke.
6. St. Matthew, and St. Mark.
7. St. Matthew, and St. John.
8. St. Luke, and St. Mark.
9. St. Luke, and St. John.
10. Only one of the four Evangelists⁸.

It is evident from a bare inspection of these tables, that they are nothing more than indexes to the four Gospels, and that they by no means form an harmony, of the nature of those, which have been written in modern ages, and which are designed to bring the several facts recorded by the Evangelists into chronological order, and to reconcile contradictions.

I shall not detain the reader any longer either with these ancient harmonies, or with those of the middle ages, as they are very little used, and men of learning content themselves with being able to enumerate their titles, without ever consulting the works themselves.

But there are two in particular, which I cannot pass over without mentioning at least their names, Ludolphus⁹ de vita Jesu Christi, and Gerson¹⁰ Monotessaron de concordantia evangelistarum.

The celebrated Andreas Osiander published the first edition of his Harmony of the Gospels in 1537. He adopted the principle, that the Evangelists constantly wrote in chronological order, and that the same transactions and discourses took place twice or thrice in the life of Christ. From this alone we may judge of the merits of the work itself. Osiander is the head and leader of those harmonists who undesignedly render the Gospel history not only suspicious, but incredible. It must be acknowledged however that he has not gone so far as his successors, and that he sometimes deviates from his general principle.

Cornelii Jansenii commentaria in concordiam evangelicam, published¹¹ in 1571, is at the same time an exposition of the four Gospels.

Martin Chemnitz wrote a very ample harmony of the Gospels, which was continued by Polycarp Leyser, and John Gerhard. The first edition of it appeared in¹² 1593, and the last edition was published at Ham-
burgh in 1704. It consists of three volumes folio, and is not only a harmony, but likewise a learned commentary on the Gospels: but the author has too closely followed Osiander¹³.

Samuel Craddock's Harmony of the Evangelists, which is also a learned and entertaining exposition of the Gospels, was published in London in 1668 in folio¹⁴. Craddock has drawn up the Gospel history in an explanatory paraphrase in English, and has added short but useful notes in Latin.

Sandhagen published his Introduction to the harmony of the Gospels in 1684. However great the merits of this author are in respect to the sacred writings in general, I cannot bestow much praise on this work in particular, for the principle, which I censured in Osiander, is carried here to a still greater length.

Bern. Lamy *Commentarius in harmoniam sive concordiam Evangelistarum*, published at Paris in 1699, is a learned work, and it is itself a commentary on the Gospels ¹⁵.

Johan. Clerici *harmonia evangelica*, printed at Amsterdam ¹⁶ in 1700, is an useful book. Le Clerc has in general very just notions with respect to an harmony of the Gospels, which he has delivered in a dissertation annexed to his work. He has arranged the history of the four Evangelists according to chronological order, in columns parallel to each other, in Greek and in Latin: under the text he has added a Latin paraphrase, the design of which is to remove the apparent contradictions.

William Whiston's 'Short view of the Chronology of the Old Testament, and of the Harmony of the four Evangelists,' published at Cambridge in 1702, deserves particular notice. Whiston is of opinion, that the Evangelists wrote according to the order of time, except in one single passage: and that the reason, why St. Matthew appears to be at variance with the other Evangelists is, that the chapters in his Gospels, from the fourth to the tenth ¹⁷, have been strangely confounded and intermixed by the copyists. This opinion he endeavours to support by the circumstance, that in St. Mark's Gospel, which he supposes to be only an abridgment of St. Matthew's, a very different arrangement is observed, from that which we find at present in the Gospel of St. Matthew ¹⁸. My sentiments on this subject I shall deliver in the last section of this chapter.

Jo. Reinh. Rus. published at Iena in 1727, in four volumes octavo ¹⁹, a work entitled, *Harmonia evangelistarum ita adornata, ut, investigatâ sedulo textus co-hærentiâ, nullus versus sive trajiciatur, sive prætereatur sine brevi et succincta explicatione, quo justî commentarii loco esse queat*. He follows principally Sandhagen, and there is nothing in his explanations, which is particularly remarkable. Wherever he has an opportunity of displaying his knowledge of Hebrew and

tiquities, or of the geography of Palestine, he is extremely prolix, and introduces matter, which is wholly foreign to the purpose of explaining the passages in question. For instance, in his notes on St. Luke i. 39, 40. he inquires what the name of the city was, in which Elizabeth dwelt: and after having observed, that some commentators suppose it to have been Hebron, he gives the ancient history of that city, mentions its various names, relates what persons were buried there, and even examines whether it was not the burial place of Adam. In short his object was to write a great deal, in order that his work might appear to be very learned, though the author's learning extended no further than to a knowledge of Hebrew: hence he was obliged to be prolix, or his work would, in his own opinion, have been too small.

Bengel, in his Harmony of the Gospels, published in 1736, proceeds upon more just principles, and maintains that the Evangelists did not write merely in chronological order. But the chronology, which Bengel has adopted, is not at all times to be defended, and the arrangement which he has chosen for the several facts, is too frequently the result of a particular system.

In the year following, E. D. Hauber published, 1. 'An Harmony of the Evangelists,' in which the words of the Evangelists themselves, according to the German version, are printed in the order which, in Mr. Hauber's opinion, corresponds to the time in which each transaction happened. 2. 'The Life of Jesus Christ, taken from the accounts of all the four Evangelists, reduced into a small compass, and accompanied with a general Introduction to the Harmony of the Evangelists.' 3. "Harmonical Observations." Of these writings, the last is the most valuable, the two former being of less value, on account of the principle, which the author had adopted, and from which he has never deviated, that the four Gospels are absolute journals, and never deviate from the order of time²⁰.

In the year 1756, Büsching published the first volume of an harmony under the title, 'The four Evangelists put together in their own words, translated into German, and accompanied with numerous annotations²¹,' a work both entertaining and instructive, and containing in particular much valuable geographical information, which throws a light on many passages of the life of Christ, which were before obscure. In the arrangement of the transactions, Büsching chiefly follows Hauber: in this respect therefore we are of different opinions, yet I have a great desire to see the work completed.

In the next year, namely in 1767, Bertling published a 'New Harmony of the four Evangelists²²,' a work founded on principles diametrically opposite to those adopted by Büsching, a work likewise, which shews the author to have possessed a considerable share of penetration, and which deserves particular attention. As far as general principles go, I perfectly accede to the opinion of this author: but I would not have it understood, that I agree with him in their application to each particular case, or in the arrangement of every transaction²³.

Whoever is in possession of the harmonies written by Whiston, Bengel, Hauber, Büsching, and Bertling, may in general dispense with the other more voluminous harmonies: for in those, which I have here enumerated, he will find the grounds of the different opinions advanced by the several harmonists fully explained and defended²⁴. With respect to those writers who have not written general harmonies, but have attempted only to reconcile single contradictions, the reader will excuse me, if I pass them over in silence, as the enumeration of them would take up too much room for the present section²⁵.

SECTION VII.

Harmony of the Gospels proposed by the author of this Introduction.

THE harmony, which I shall deliver in this section, is a table of contents to the four Evangelists¹, which I have drawn up with a view of assisting the reader in his examination of the several transactions recorded in the Gospels and of directing his judgement in the various inferences, to which such an examination may give birth. I will first however explain the principles, upon which this table is formed.

1. Chronology, and the arrangement of facts according to the order of time, a matter, which St. Matthew and St. Mark at least have wholly disregarded², and to which the Evangelists in general have paid much less attention than is imagined by those, who consider their Gospels as journals, is discoverable only in some few passages of the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John³. For instance, St. Luke has determined, ch. iii. 1-3. the period at which John the Baptist, who was at that time about thirty years of age, began publicly to preach⁴. Again, from a comparison of ch. i. 8. with 1 Chron. xxiv. 10: we find that the annunciation of the birth of St. John happened in the fourth month of the Jews, which corresponds nearly to our July⁵, consequently the conception of St. John (which took place soon after the return of Zacharias from his service in the Temple) in the month of August⁶: whence it appears that John was born in May⁷, and Jesus in October⁸.—St. John likewise,

¹ It is true, that according to this mode of reckoning Jesus was born at a different part of the year from that, in which we celebrate his birth. But our festivals were not arranged according to the time, in which the several events intended to be celebrated really happened; for they were substituted in the place of heathen festivals, in order to annihilate even the traces of heathenism. Thus the festival called *Nativitas Invicti* was converted into *Nativitas Christi*⁹.

by determining the feasts of the Passover, and other feasts, at which Jesus was present in Jerusalem, has in some measure introduced chronology into his history of Christ's ministry, which may be applied to the other Gospels, because St. John has some material facts, which form so many epochs, or points of reckoning, in the life of Christ, in common with the other Evangelists⁹. See the following Table, N^o. 22. 53. 97.

2. But not all the single facts, related by the three first Evangelists, can be introduced with certainty either in the intervals determined by the above-mentioned feasts of the Passover, or in the intervals determined by the three principal points of reckoning just mentioned, because the Evangelists follow not always the order of time.

3. For this reason, I would not have the reader suppose, that the several facts delivered in the following Table are arranged, without exception, according to the order, in which they really happened: for it is my intention to give rather a General Index to the Four Gospels, than to draw up a Chronological Table. In general, I follow St. Matthew, who was eye-witness to the facts which he has recorded, and from whose arrangement I shall not depart, except for particular reasons, as in N^o 33—38.

4. I shall not attempt to determine the time with any certainty, except in those cases, where it is determined by the Evangelists themselves; as, for instance, where they say, 'on the evening of the same day,' or, 'on the following morning,' or as in N^o 63, 'after *six* days,' which I do not consider as a contradiction to St. Luke, who says, 'about *eight* days after.' It is true that in these determinations of time the Evangelists might make mistakes, if they were not rendered infallible by divine inspiration: but of historians in general we suppose that their accounts are exact, till we have reason to believe the contrary, and I know of no such reason, which takes place in regard to the Evangelists. When one Evangelist determines the time,

and the other does not; for instance, when the one unites several facts in such a manner, as to shew that they happened on the same day, but the other separates them in his narrative, I follow the former in preference to the latter.

5. St. Luke, ch. ix. 51.—xviii. 14. has recorded a set of facts without any determination of time, and which appear to have happened in different years. These facts I arrange (N°. 69—83) in the order in which they are placed in St. Luke's Gospel, except those, which are determined in point of time by other Evangelists: but this order must not be considered as chronological. In some of these facts, for instance, N°. 69, 77, are traces, from which we may perceive, that they happened a few months before the death of Christ; but some of them certainly happened much earlier. It is therefore not commendable, that harmonists, not excepting even the excellent Archbishop Usher, have interwoven them in the continued narrative of the life of Christ, into which they cannot with any propriety be introduced. Several volumes of anecdotes of the late King of Prussia have lately been published, but wholly without regard to the order of time. Any person therefore, who undertook to compose a chronological journal of the life of the late King, might introduce all those anecdotes, of which the time is capable of being determined: but those, which admit of no determination, he would be obliged to omit.

6. That I do not deny, there are contradictions in the Gospels, appears from what I have already written on this subject: but the greatest part of them admit of a reconciliation, which however I cannot attempt at present, because it is a subject, which properly belongs to the Notes to the New Testament.

ST. MATTHEW ".

ST. MARK.

2. Genealogy of Christ.
I. 1-17.

6. Joseph's dream, I. 18-
24.

8. Birth of Christ, I. 25.

11. Jesus sought, and wor-
shipped by the wise men:
flight into Egypt, and
return: massacre of the
children of Bethlehem,
Ch. II. 1-23.

1. Preface, I. 1-4.	I. 1-14.
III. 23-38.	
3. Birth of John, I. 5-25.	
4. Birth of Christ announced to Mary, I. 26-38.	
5. Mary's visit to Elizabeth, I. 39-55.	
7. Birth of John, I. 56-80.	
II. 1-20.	
9. Circumcision of Christ, II. 21.	
10. Presentation of Christ in the temple, II. 22-40.	

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

**13. John preaches, III. 1.
12.**

I. 1-8.

**14. Christ baptized, III.
13-17.**

I. 9-11.

**15. Christ tempted, IV.
1-11.**

I. 12, 13.

St. LUKE.

St. JOHN.

12. Education of Christ, and remarkable history of him in his twelfth year, at the feast of the passover II. 41-52.

III. 1-20.

III. 21-23.

IV. 1-12.

16. Remarkable addition made by this Evangelist, relative to the testimonies in favour of Christ, by which he obtained his first disciples, who soon increased in numbers, I. 15-52.

17—20. History of Christ before the imprisonment of John.

17. Christ returns to Galilee, and changes water into wine at Cana, II. 1-12.

18. Goes to Jerusalem at the feast of the passover, and drives the sellers out of the temple, II. 13-22.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

**22. Arrives in Galilee,
calls several disciples,
and performs miracles.
IV. 12-24.**

I. 14-21.

St. LUKE.

St. JOHN.

19. Gives Nicodemus, who visits him by night, more complete information of his doctrine, II. 23. — III. 21.

20. Remains in Judæa: additional testimony of John the Baptist concerning him, III. 22-36.

21. Returns (after the imprisonment of John) through Samaria to Galilee: conversation with the woman of Samaria: many Samaritans believe in him, IV. 1-42.

IV. 13, 14.

IV. 43, 44.

23. Remarkable addition of a second miracle at Cana, by which the absent son of a man of rank is at once restored to health, IV. 45-54.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

25—30. History of a single day, and that a Sabbath.

27. Christ delivers a discourse, in which he condemns the morality of the Pharisees, and opposes to it a better morality, which he commissions his apostles to teach, IV. 25. V. VI. VII.

28. Cleanses a leper, VIII. 1-4.

29. Heals the servant of a centurion, VIII. 5-13.

25. Christ teaches in the synagogue at Capernaum, and heals a demoniac, I. 21-28.

26. Christ ascends a mountain, passes the night in prayer, and then chooses his apostles, III. 13-19.

I. 40-45.

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ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

**24. Christ teaches in the
synagogue at Nazareth,
IV. 15-30 *.**

25—32. History of a single day, and that a Sabbath.

IV. 31-37.

VI. 12-16.

VI. 17-49.

V. 12-16.

VII. 1-10.

* In point of chronology, this does not belong to the present place, not even according to St. Luke: but I place it here, because St. Luke has introduced it immediately after the preceding history. Perhaps it belongs to No. 50, though I have not placed it there, because it does not exactly agree with the accounts quoted in that article from St. Matthew and St. Mark.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

30. Restores Peter's mother in law, and, after the sabbath was ended, several other sick persons, VIII. 14-17.

I. 29-34.

The day immediately following the preceding Sabbath.

31. Christ departs from Capernaum, I. 35-39.

33—37. Another history of a single day, which was likewise a Sabbath.

33. Christ defends his disciples, who plucked ears of corn on the sabbath, XII. 1-8.

II. 23-28.

34. Cures a withered hand, XII. 9-21.

III. 1-12.

35. Drives out a devil, and is accused of doing it by the assistance of Beelzebub, the prince of the devils. His answer, XII. 22-50.

III. 20-35.

St. LUKE.

St. JOHN.

IV. 38-41.

The day immediately following the preceding Sabbath.

IV. 42-44.

32^a. Restores to life the young man at Nain, VII. 11-17.

32^b. Peter's copious draft of fishes; of which no traces are discoverable with respect to the time when it happened, V. 1-11.

33—37. Another history of a single day, which was likewise a Sabbath.

VI. 1-5.

VI. 6-11.

XI. 14-36. VIII. 19-21.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

37. Preaches in parables,
XIII. 1-53.

IV. 1-34.

38. Christ endeavours to
retire from the multi-
tude, and sails to the
other side of the lake
Gennesaret. Account of
one, who offers himself
to be a disciple of Christ,
and of another who
requests permission to
remain with his father,
till his death. VIII.
18-27.

IV. 35-41.

39. Drives out a devil,
who calls himself Le-
gion, VIII. 28-34.

V. 1-20.

40. Heals a lame man,
IX. 1-8.

V. 21. II. 1-12.

41. Calls Matthew, and
Levi: dines with tax-
gatherers, IX. 9-17.

II. 13-22.

42. Heals a woman afflict-
ed with an hemorrhage,
and restores the daugh-
ter of Jairus, who was
supposed to be dead,
IX. 18-26.

V. 23-43.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

36. Dines with a Pharisee:
conversation at table,
XI. 37. XII. 12.

VIII. 4-18.

VIII. 22-25. IX. 57-62.

VIII. 26-39.

VIII. 40. V. 17-26.

V. 27-39.

VIII. 40-56.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

43. Restores two blind men to sight, IX. 27-31.

44. Restores a dumb man to his speech, IX. 32-34.

45. Sends out his twelve Apostles, IX. 33.-XI. 1.

46. Answers John, who inquires of him, whether he is the Messiah, XI. 2-19.

47. Curses the cities, in which he had performed the greatest part of his miracles, XI. 20-30.

VI. 7-13.

ST. LUKE.	ST. JOHN.
IX. 1-6. and (but at a later period) the seventy disciples, X. 1-24*.	
VII. 18-35.	
48. Is anointed by a woman, who had led a sinful life, VII. 35-50.	
49. Account of those who ministered to Christ, on his travels, VIII. 1-3.	

* I place the sending out of the seventy disciples in the same article, with that of the twelve Apostles, merely because the two facts resemble each other, for we have no knowledge of the precise period, in which the former event happened. The Evangelists themselves have often adopted a similar plan.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

50. Christ comes to Nazareth, where he is disrespectfully treated, XIII. 54-58.

VI. 1-6.

51. Herod, who had beheaded John, is doubtful, what he should believe of Christ, XIV. 1-13.

VI. 14-29.

53. Five thousand men fed with five loaves and two fishes, XIV. 14-36.

VI. 30-56.

54. Discourses on washing of hands, clean and unclean meats, and other Jewish doctrines, XV. 120.

VII. 1-23.

55. Christ heals the daughter of a Canaanite woman, XV. 21-28.

VII. 24-30.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

Perhaps Ch. IV. 15-30,
which I placed N°. 24,
belongs to this article,
and contains the same
history, but differently
related.

IX. 7-9.

52. Account of several
remarkable transactions
and discourses at a great
festival in Jerusalem,
omitted by the other
Evangelists, Ch. V. en-
tire.

IX. 10-17.

VI. entire.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

56. Performs several miracles, XV. 29-31.

VII. 31-37.

57. Feeds four thousand men with seven loaves, and a few small fishes, XV. 32-39.

VIII. 1-10.

58. Answers those who require a sign from heaven, XVI. 1-4.

VIII. 1-13.

59. Commands his disciples to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which command they misunderstand, XVI. 5-12.

VIII. 14-21.

60. Restores a blind man to sight, VIII. 22-26.

61. Asks his disciples whom they suppose him to be. Peter answers that he is the Messiah, which Jesus confirms, XVI. 13-20.

VII. 27-30.

62. Foretells his death on the cross, XVI. 21-28.

VIII. 31-IX. 1.

63. Is transfigured on a lofty mountain beyond the Jordan, XVII. 1-13.

IX. 2-13.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

IX. 18-21.

IX. 21-27.

IX. 28-36.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

**64. Cures a lunatic, XVII.
14-21.**

IX. 14-29.

**65. Again foretells his
approaching sufferings,
XVII. 22, 23.**

IX. 30-32.

**66. Pays the half shekel
as tribute for the service
of the temple, XVII.
24-27.**

**67. His discourses occa-
sioned by the dispute,
who was the greatest in
the kingdom of heaven,
XVIII. 1-20.**

IX. 33-50.

**68. Answers Peter's ques-
tion, how often we
must forgive, XVIII.
21-35.**

ST. LUKE,

ST. JOHN.

IX. 37-42.

IX. 43-45.

IX. 46-50. XVII. 1-5.

St. MATTHEW.

St. MARK.

St. LUKE.

St. JOHN.

69—83. Single scattered accounts recorded only by St. Luke, some of which belong to the three or four last months of the life of Christ, others to an earlier period, and which are not arranged according to the order of time.

69. Christ is refused the offices of hospitality by the Samaritans, IX. 51-56.

70. Answers the question, Who is our neighbour? X. 25-37.

71. Visits Martha a second time : his discourse relative to her too anxious preparations for table, X. 38-42.

72. Teaches his disciples to pray, XI. 1-13.

73. Discourses occasioned by the request which a person present had made to Christ, that he would command his brother to divide with him his inheritance, XII. 13-59.

74. Discourses occasioned by Pilate's having put to death several Galileans, and offered their blood in sacrifice, XIII. 1-9.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

St. LUKE.

St. JOHN.

- 75. Christ cures on the sabbath day an infirm woman, who was unable to walk upright, XIII. 10-22.**
- 76. Answers the question, whether few or many will be saved, XIII. 23-30.**
- 77. Replies to those, who desire him to retire, because Herod sought to put him to death, XIII. 31-38.**
- 78. Dines with a Pharisee on the sabbath day. His actions and discourses on that occasion, XIV. entire.**
- 79. Dines with publicans, and justifies his conduct to those who censure him. Acceptation of the Gentiles, XV. entire.**
- 80. On this occasion he instructs his disciples in the true use of riches, and defends his doctrine against the Pharisees who ridicule it, XVI. entire.**
- 81. His discourse on the extraordinary effects of faith, XVII. 5-11.**
- 82. Heals ten lepers, of whom the Samaritan alone returned thanks, XVII. 11-19.**

ST. MATTHEW.	ST. MARK.
84. Answers the question relative to divorces, XIX. 1-12.	X. 1-12.
85. Takes little children into his arms and blesses them : and on this occasion reproves his disciples, XIX. 13-15.	X. 13-16.
86. Answers a rich young man, who asked him how he should obtain eternal life. Christ's important discourse on this occasion with his disciples, XIX. 16-XX. 16.	X. 17-31.
87. Discourses again on his approaching death, XX. 17-19.	X. 32-34.
88. The mother of the sons of Zebedee requests for them the first rank in the kingdom of heaven. Christ's answer, XX. 20-28.	X. 35-40.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

83. Answers the question,
When the kingdom of
God should come,
XVII. 20-XVIII. 14.

XVIII. 15-17.

XVIII. 18-30.

XVIII. 31-34.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

93. Restores two blind
men to sight, XX. 29-
34.

X. 46-52.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

89—92. Supplement of several events and discourses, omitted by the three first Evangelists, which took place especially at Jerusalem, and which belong to the period between N°. 53. and N°. 88.

89. Christ's actions and discourses at Jerusalem, at a feast of tabernacles, VII. 1-X. 21.

90. Discourses at Jerusalem, at the festival of the dedication of the temple, X. 22-42.

91. Christ raises Lazarus from the dead, XI. 1-52.

92. Returns to Ephraim, XI. 54-57.

XVIII. 35-43.

94. Visits Zaccheus, XIX. 1-10.

95. Describes in a parable the Jews, who rejected him, XIX. 11-27.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

96. Christ is anointed at Bethany by Mary : he defends this action against the unjust censure of his disciples, particularly of Judas Iscariot, who forms the resolution to betray him, XXVI. 6-13.

XIV. 3-9.

97. Christ's entry into Jerusalem, XXI. 1-11.

XI. 1-10.

98. He goes, as Lord, into the temple, and again drives out the sellers: he curses a fig tree, XXI. 12-22.

XI. 11-26.

99. Answers the question by what power he does this, XXI. 23-46.

XI. 27 XII. 12.

100. Parable of the neglected festival of a king, XXII. 1-14.

101. Answer to the question relative to tribute-money, XXII. 15-21.

XII. 13-17.

102. Answers to the objection made by the Sadducees to the resurrection of the dead, XXII. 22-33.

XII. 18-27.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

	XII. 1-10.
XIX. 28-44.	XII. 9-19.
XIX. 45-48.	
XX. 1-19.	
XX. 20-26.	
XX. 27-40.	

ST. MATTHEW.**ST. MARK.**

103. Answer to the question, Which is the great commandment of the law? XXII. 34-39.

XII. 28-34.

104. The question proposed, Whose son the Messiah is? XXII. 40-46.

XII. 35-38.

105. Discourse against the Pharisees, XXIII. entire.

XII. 39, 40.

106. Small alms offering of a widow commended, XII 41-44.

107. Prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, XXIV. entire.

XIII. entire.

108. Addition to the preceding prophecy, found only in the Gospel of St. Matthew, XXV. 1-30.

109. Christ answers the question relative to the last judgement, XXV. 30-46.

St. LUKE.

St. JOHN.

XX. 41-43.

XX. 44-47.

XXI. 1-5.

XXI. 6-38.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

110. After the preceding discourses were ended, he again foretells his approaching death, XXVI. 2.

113. Judas Iscariot promises to betray Christ, and receives thirty pieces of silver, XXVI. 3-5. 14-16.

114. Preparation for the feast of the passover, XXVI. 17-19.

XIV. 10-11.

XIV. 12-16.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

111. Of the Greeks who wished to see Jesus: Christ's discourse on this occasion, and the answer from heaven, XII. 20-36.

112. Discourse on the infidelity of the Jews, after the performance of so many miracles, XII. 37-50.

XXII. 1-5.

XXII. 6-13.

XIII. 1.

115. Christ, before he eats the feast of the pass-over, washes the feet of his disciples, XIII. 1-20.

ST. MATTHEW.

116. He sits down to table, and speaks of his betrayer, XXVI. 20-25.

118. Institutes the Holy Supper, XXV. 26-29.

121. Christ goes into the garden of Gethsemane, and foretels to Peter, that he would deny him, XXVI. 30-35.

ST. MARK.

XIV. 17-21.

XIV. 22-25.

XIV. 26-31.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

XXII. 14.

117. Presents to his Apostles the cup of the passover: his discourse on that occasion, XXII. 15—18.

XXII. 19, 20.

119. After supper, he speaks again of his betrayer, XXII. 21-23.

120. Another dispute among the Apostles, who should be the greatest in the kingdom of God, XXII. 24-31.

XXII. 32-39.

XIII. 21-30.

122. His discourse on the way, XIII. 31-XVII. 26.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

123. Prayer that the cup might be removed from him, XXVI. 36-46.

XIV. 32-42.

124. Christ is taken into custody, XXVI. 47-56.

XIV. 43-52.

125. Brought before the Sanhedrim, and condemned: is denied by Peter, XXVI. 57-75.

XIV. 53-72.

126. Christ is led before Pilate. Judas hangs himself, XXVII. 1-10.

XV. 1.

127. Christ is accused before Pilate, XXVII. 11-23.

XV. 2-14.

128. Is condemned to death, XXVII. 24-31.

XV. 15-20.

129. And crucified, XXVII. 32-38.

XV. 21-28.

130. Is reviled on the cross, XXVII. 39-49.

XV. 29-37.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

XXII. 39-46.

XXII. 47-53.

XXII. 54-77.

XXIII. 1.

XXIII. 2-22.

XXIII. 23-25.

XXIII. 26-35.

XXIII. 36-46.

XVIII. 1-12.

XVIII. 13-28.

XVIII. 29.-XIX. 12.

XIX. 13-16.

XIX. 17-25.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

132. Extraordinary events
at the death of Christ,
XXVII. 20-54.

XV. 38-41.

134. Burial of Christ,
XXVII. 55-61.

XV. 42-47.

135. Appointment of a
guard at his sepulchre,
XXVII. 62-67.

136. The women purchase
spices, to embalm the
body of Christ*, XVI.
I.

* This account, which is given only by the two Evangelists, who were not eye-witnesses, is liable to some objections. See my History of the Resurrection.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

131. Supplement of several facts not recorded by the other Evangelists, XIX. 26-30.

XXIII. 47-49.

133. Christ, on examination of the crucified, is found to be already dead: and is moreover pierced in the side with a spear, XIX. 31-37.

XXIII. 50-56.

XIX. 38-42.

XXIII. 56.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

137. Resurrection of Christ, and the first accounts of it, which are brought by the women, XXVIII. 1-11.

XVI. 2-8.

138. Further accounts of it brought by Mary Magdalene, who sees Christ alone, and is commanded to report it to the Apostles, XVI. 9, 10, 11.

139. The guards bring the account to the chief priests, and are bribed to say that the disciples had stolen the body, XXVIII. 11-15.

140. Christ shews himself alive to the two disciples, who were going to Emmaus; XVI. 12, 13.

141. Christ shews himself to ten Apostles, and to several disciples, who were with them, XVI. 14-18.

St. LUKE.

St. JOHN.

XXIV. 1-11.

XX. 1-10.

XX. 11-18.

XXIV. 13-34.

XXIV. 36-49.

XX. 19-23.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

**144. Christ shews himself
in Galilee to all his
disciples, on a moun-
tain, where Christ had
appointed them,
XXVIII. 16-20.**

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

142. Eight days after, he shews himself to the eleven Apostles, Thomas likewise being then present, XX. 24-31.

143. Christ shews himself to two disciples and five Apostles, at the sea of Tiberias. Remarkable discourse with Peter and John, XXI. entire.

SECTION VIII.

Of two very actively employed Sabbaths in the Life of Christ, which are of importance in settling the Harmony of the Gospels.

Two very actively employed days in the Life of Christ, and both of them sabbath days, deserve particular notice, because they have occasioned the greatest difficulty in arranging the Gospel history according to the order of time. If we attend to the express determinations of time, which have been given by one or more of the Evangelists, and their accounts are perfectly accurate, we must conclude that the several facts arranged N°. 25—30, happened in *one* day: as also those, which are arranged under N°. 33—37. To assist the memory, I will give names to those days, and call the one *The day of the sermon on the mount*¹, and the other *The day of the sermon in parables*². The events, which took place on these two days have been separated, and recorded some in one place, some in another: an arrangement, which, though we cannot call it erroneous, as the Evangelists did not engage to write a journal, has influence on our determination of the period of some other events. It is however not impossible, that the actions of these two days, which are very similar to each other, have been confounded, that what belongs to the one has been referred to the other, and consequently that there is not only an apparent, but even a real contradiction in point of time, between St. Matthew and the other Evangelists.

I will first examine the day of the sermon on the Mount, N°. 25—30. Its history is briefly as follows. On the eve of a sabbath day, when the sabbath was just commenced, Jesus goes into a synagogue at Capernaum, delivers a discourse of the same import with that on the Mount³, and cures a demoniac: he then departs out of the city, and goes up into a mountain,

where he passes the whole night in prayer: on the following morning he chooses his Apostles, and delivers a discourse called the sermon on the Mount, in which he teaches them the morality which they were to follow, a morality directly opposite to that of the Pharisees: he then enters again into Capernaum, cures a leper, the servant of a centurion, the mother-in-law of St. Peter, and when the sun was set, and the sabbath therefore ended, several other sick persons which were brought to him, and then leaves Capernaum. The reasons, why I believe that all these events happened in the same day, are the following.

1. The cure of the demoniac, Mark i. 21—28. Luke iv. 31—37. and of St. Peter's mother-in-law, happened on the same day, as appears from Mark i. 29. Luke iv. 38.

2. The election of the twelve Apostles took place on the morning of that day, on which the sermon on the mount was delivered. See Luke vi. 12—17.

3. That the sermon on the mount recorded by St. Luke is no other than that recorded by St. Matthew, appears from the events which immediately follow it. Both Evangelists relate that Jesus, after the sermon was ended, went into Capernaum, and healed the servant of a centurion, a cure attended with such remarkable circumstances, that I can hardly suppose it to have happened twice, and that too in the same city.

4. The cure of the leper, according to St. Matthew's account, must have happened between the sermon on the Mount and the cure of the centurion's servant, when Jesus was just returned into Capernaum. St. Mark and St. Luke relate this fact on a totally different occasion, because they were unacquainted with the time, and St. Luke even with the place^r, in which it happened. The whole account is too circumstantial to admit the supposition, that the same cure, with all its concomitant circumstances, took place more than once.

^r Εγιντο εν τη οικια αυτου εν μια των πολιων. Ch. v. 12.

5. It is evident from St. Matthew's relation, that the cure of St. Peter's mother-in-law happened on the same day, as the two just mentioned miracles ⁴.

6. The circumstance mentioned by all three Evangelists, that several sick persons were brought in the evening, and after sun-set, to the house where Jesus was, is a proof that the day in question was a sabbath day. For the Jews, on account of their over-strict observance of the sabbath, would not permit any cure to be exercised on that day: but as soon as the sun was set, the sabbath was ended, and then they could bring their sick without scruple to the house where Jesus was, and likewise St. Peter's mother in law could prepare for him a repast.

7. That Jesus immediately afterwards left Capernaum, is evident from the accounts of all the three Evangelists.

The several events, which happened on this day, St. Luke, as appears from the preceding Table, has recorded in different places, because he was unacquainted with the time, in which they really happened. We cannot therefore say that St. Luke was mistaken, for he has left the time undetermined; yet his separation of the several facts, which happened on the same day, is attended with this consequence, that he has related one and the same fact, the departure of Christ from Capernaum, on two different occasions, namely ch. iv. 42. after the cure of the sick persons, who were brought to him at the close of the sabbath, and again ch. vii. 11. after the cure of the centurion's servant.

But there is one circumstance, in which the three Evangelists are so at variance, that they are hardly to be reconciled with each other. Whoever reads the account given by St. Matthew, ch. viii. 18—27. must conclude that Jesus, on quitting Capernaum, immediately crossed the sea, where he calmed the tempest. It is true that ver. 18. contains no express determination of time: yet every reader will naturally suppose, that it is connected with the preceding verses, and that what

is related v. 18—27. immediately followed that which is recorded v. 16, 17. The two other Evangelists, on the contrary, relate that Jesus, on quitting Capernaum, went, not to the sea side, but into the towns and villages of Galilee: and according to St. Luke, ch. vii. 11. he entered on the following day into Nain, where he restored a young man to life. I own that the distance between the two cities¹ makes this last account rather improbable: and the words *ev rē ēnē*, on which the supposition that Christ's entry into Nain was on the very next day, are at least dubious, for many manuscripts have, *ev rē ēnē*, that is, not on the day following, but on a time following. Before however I examine this difficulty, I must proceed to the other actively employed sabbath.

This is the day of the sermon in parables, a day replete with discourses and events, and on which, as on the day of the sermon on the Mount, Christ at last withdraws himself from the pressure of the multitude. The two first numbers, N°. 33, 34, follow each other in all three Evangelists: they fall likewise on a sabbath, and on the same sabbath, for they cannot possibly be separated. The third number, N°. 35, St. Matthew unites by the word *τὸ αὐτὸ* ch. xii. 28. with the preceding N°. 34.; but the two other Evangelists, who were not eye-witnesses, separate it, and introduce it in another part, though without any determination of time. This however is the only portion of the history in question, which could be separated from the rest, and referred to the next day, in which case N°. 33—37. would contain the history of two days⁶.

To return to N°. 35. On the same day, on which Jesus had cast out a devil, and the thronging of the multitude had allowed him not sufficient time to eat¹, a Pharisee invites him⁷ to dinner¹. But if Jesus was so engaged on this day, that he had not had time to eat, we might almost conclude, that he was likewise busily employed the evening before, a circumstance favourable

¹ Mark iii. 20.

⁷ Luke xi. 37.

to the opinion, that N°. 34, 35, 36, hang together⁸. *Ἀριστον* I take in the literal sense of the word, and understand it of dinner (at ten in the morning)⁹, because so many events afterwards happened on this very day. For not only the long discourse recorded by St. Luke, ch. xi. xii., and the assembling of the multitude before the house ch. xii. 1., but likewise the sermon in parables¹⁰ N°. 37. certainly took place on the same day, that Jesus had cast out the devil, and had been sought by his mother, for Matth. xiii. 1. begins with *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*. St. Mark likewise unites these events, though he has not so expressly determined the day.

The history of the day of the sermon in parables is therefore the following. On Friday afternoon, when, according to the tenets of the Jews, the sabbath commences, that is, as St. Luke expresses it, *σαββατὸν δευτεροπρωτῷ*¹¹, Jesus goes with his disciples from the country into the city of Capernaum: and the disciples being hungry on the way, they pluck out ears of corn, which is censured by the Pharisees, but justified by Jesus. When he was arrived at Capernaum, and the sabbath day itself had actually commenced, or as St. Luke expresses it, ch. vi. 6. *ἐν ἑτέρῳ σαββατῷ*¹² in opposition to *σαββατὸν δευτεροπρωτῷ*, he entered into the synagogue, where there was a man, whose right hand was withered. Here the scribes and Pharisees endeavoured to ensnare him, by proposing to him the question, whether it was lawful to perform cures on the sabbath day: intending, if he answered in the negative, to accuse him of being an impostor and unable to perform miracles without pre-concerted measures with the sick, and, if he answered in the affirmative, to charge him with a violation of the sabbath. Jesus in a very extraordinary manner evaded their artifices, and restored the sick man without any one's being able to accuse him of a breach of the sabbath. A dumb and blind demoniac is then brought to him, probably on the following morning, the sabbath still continuing; he cures the demoniac and is accused by some of the Pharisees of driving out devils by the

assistance of Beelzebub¹³, while others require a sign from heaven, as a proof of the authority by which he acted. To each he gives a proper answer. In the mean time his mother and his brethren seek for him, with a design of conducting him home, as to a place of security, not because they supposed he stood in connection with evil spirits, but because they apprehended he had lost his understanding; but Jesus, who is surrounded by the multitude, instead of inviting them in, when informed that they stood without, replies, that 'whosoever does the will of his Father which is in heaven, is his brother, and sister, and mother.' A Pharisee invites him to dinner, and Jesus accepts the invitation: but a dispute arises at table, in consequence of Jesus having neglected to wash his hands. An innumerable multitude in the mean time assembles before the door, when Jesus delivers a discourse, related Luke xii. 1—12. He then goes from the house of the Pharisee to the lake of Gennesaret, the multitude follows him: in order therefore to be better seen and heard, he enters into a ship, and preaches in parables: N°. 37. An explanation of these parables he gives at the request of his disciples, after he was returned home. Immediately after the sermon he crosses the lake of Gennesaret. N°. 38.

As this sermon is recorded by St. Mark immediately before his account of the storm, which Jesus calmed, but is related by St. Matthew long after his description of the storm, it has been supposed by several harmonists that Jesus held this sermon twice. It is true that this supposition contains in itself nothing either incredible, or even improbable: yet I think that there are sufficient reasons for believing in the present instance, that both Evangelists mean one and the same sermon, delivered on one and the same day. For St. Matthew and St. Luke agree in the relation of several very particular circumstances immediately preceding it, and which I can hardly suppose to have happened twice; namely, the accusation that Jesus cured demoniacs by the assistance of Beelzebub, his reply to this accusation, and thirdly,

his singular answer to those who informed him that his mother and his brethren were in search of him. Further, what is still more decisive, the disciples would hardly have asked Jesus at two different times for an explanation of the parable of the seed sown on different kinds of land : for when he had once given the explanation, there could be no necessity for asking it a second time. That they had forgotten it, and that Jesus was obliged again to explain to them so easy a parable, is a supposition almost incredible : but, if we admit the fact, still Jesus would not have answered them, ‘ To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God,’ but on the contrary would have given them a reproof like the following. ‘ To you is not given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God ; for he who retains not that, which has been given, deserves not to receive more.’

Whoever examines the preceding harmonic table of the Gospels, will perceive, that on the two days, of which I have just examined the history, depends the arrangement of many facts, which happened either on or near to one of these two days, and which the Evangelists have related, one at one period, another at another. Now these two days might be very easily confounded, as they are in many respects similar to each other : the scene of action is on both days in Capernaum, on both days Jesus leaves the city in the evening, on both days he performs miracles and delivers discourses, both are sabbath days, and on each he is accused of a violation of the sabbath. Two such days as these might be very easily exchanged by any one, who had not kept a regular journal, and who wrote merely from memory. The question to be asked therefore is : Has any such exchange taken place in the present instance ? According to St. Mark, ch. iv. 35—41. and St. Luke, ch. viii. 22. Jesus crossed the sea, when he was exposed to a severe storm, on the second day²⁴ : but according to St. Matthew, the storm happened on the day after the sermon on the mount, when, according to St. Mark

and St. Luke, Jesus went westward on the land side. Which of the Evangelists are we then to follow? We may abide by the relation of St. Mark and St. Luke, without necessarily supposing that St. Matthew was mistaken, and therefore that he was not inspired; for he has not positively determined the time, but says only, ch. viii. 18. 'When Jesus saw great multitudes about him, he gave commandment to depart to the other side.' Yet on the other hand it is difficult, after having read ver. 14—17. to suppose on coming to ver. 18. that the writer could have any other intention, than to connect the subsequent with the preceding relation, and to describe the passage across the sea, as having happened on the day after the sermon on the mount^a. Further on the day after the sermon in parables, St. Matthew makes no mention of any passage across the sea, but says only, ch. xiii. 53. 'That when Jesus had finished these parables he departed thence.'

The determination of the difficulties, which I have stated in this section, has very material influence on our arrangement of the facts recorded by the Evangelists, as many a harmonist has severely felt, without being conscious perhaps of the real cause, which produced the perplexity. Which of the Evangelists we ought to follow I am really unable to determine: for though St. Matthew has in general the advantage over St. Mark and St. Luke, in being eye-witness to the facts which he records, yet the present instance makes an exception. For St. Matthew by his own account^a was not called from the receipt of custom, and therefore was not become an attendant on Jesus, till after Jesus was again returned to Capernaum. Nor is this a contradiction to the account given N°. 26. from which it appears that the twelve Apostles, among whom St. Matthew is mentioned by name, were chosen on the morning of that day, on which Jesus held the sermon on the mount. St. Matthew might have been nominated an Apostle,

^a Ch. ix. 1—9.

and yet not instantly abandon his occupation as receiver of tribute : the sermon on the mount was delivered on a sabbath day, on which the receivers of tribute were disengaged, but on the following morning he returned to his duty at the house of custom, whence Jesus now invited him to be his constant attendant. Besides, even an eye-witness, who relates from memory events, which happened several years before, may easily exchange two days, which are similar to each other.—In this instance therefore I have followed St. Mark and St. Luke, because they make a majority of evidence, and because they have in fact determined the time ¹⁶. A further examination of the two days, which I have considered in this section, would perhaps throw more light on what is called the Harmony of the Gospels.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE CAUSE, WHY ST. MATTHEW AND ST. MARK, AND ALSO ST. MARK AND ST. LUKE, HAVE IN SEVERAL INSTANCES A REMARKABLE VERBAL HARMONY, THOUGH THE ONE DID NOT COPY FROM THE WRITINGS OF THE OTHER.

I HAVE already observed that the three first Evangelists appear not to have read each other's writings, not even St. Mark the Gospel of St. Matthew : of which the apparent contradictions, and, in respect to the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark in particular, their very great disagreement in the arrangement of the recorded facts, afford sufficient proof.

Yet, on the other hand, these three Evangelists agree sometimes in the very same expressions, and in such a manner as we seldom find in the writings of independent and unconnected historians. If this agreement was observable only in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, it might be explained on the commonly received

opinion that St. Mark had read the Gospel of St. Matthew. But when the same expression, and that even a harsh Hebraism, is used likewise by St. Luke, who was able to write pure Greek, this agreement in words, which is sometimes visible even where there is an apparent contradiction in facts, must be owing to some other cause, which merits particular investigation¹.

The following may serve as examples. Mark i. 4. Luke iii. 3. *Κηρυσσων βαπτισμα μετανοιας εις αφεσιν αμαρτιων*.—Matth. iii. 12. Luke iii. 17. *Ου το πτυον εν τη χειρι αυτη, και διακαθαριει την αλωνα αυτη, και συναξει τον σπον (αυτη) εις την αποθηκην (αυτη), το δε αχυρον κατακαυσει πυρι ασβεσφ*. Here the harsh Hebraism *εν τη χειρι αυτη* is worthy of notice².—Matth. iv. 5. Luke iv. 9. *πτερυγιον*, a very unusual word, peculiar to the Egyptian Greek dialect, and of which no commentator has given an accurately philological explanation.—Mark v. 22. ii. 1-12. and Luke viii. 41. v. 17-26. are remarkable, not only for the similarity of expressions used in these passages, but likewise for the separation of two events, which in the Gospel of St. Matthew are connected with each other³.—Matth. vi. 11. Luke xi. 3. *επισσιος*, a word, which, according to Origen⁴, no Greek writer had ever used before the Evangelists. The agreement however in respect to *επισσιος* may be explained on the supposition, that this word was already in use among the early Christians in the Lord's Prayer, at the time when St. Matthew and St. Luke wrote their Gospels.—Matth. viii. 2-4. Mark i. 40-45. Luke v. 12-16.—Matth. xvi. 24. Mark viii. 34. Luke ix. 23. In this last example it is remarkable that all the three Evangelists agree in using the Syriac phrase *οπισω με ελθειν*⁵, instead of the common Greek word *ακολουθειν*⁶.—Mark xii. 41, 42. Luke xxi. 1, 2. *γαζοφυλακιον* and *λεπτον*, the former of which is taken by these two Evangelists in an unusual sense⁷.—Mark xiv. 12-16. Luke xxi. 7-13.—Mark xiv. 54. Luke xxii. 56. *προς το φως*⁸.—Matth. xxviii. 1. Luke xxiii. 54. *επιφωσκω*, a harsh Syriasm explained above, Vol. I. ch. iv. § 5.

This remarkable verbal agreement I am unable to explain on any other than the following hypothesis. Before the three first Gospels were written, or at least, before St. Matthew's Gospel had been translated into Greek, there existed several apocryphal Gospels, to which St. Luke alludes in his preface, and of which it was his object to correct the inaccuracies. But when the accounts, which they contained, were accurate, St. Luke, as well as St. Mark and the translator of St. Matthew, abided by the expressions, which they found, as they were regardless of the ornaments of style. It is likewise possible that St. Mark and St. Luke followed these early accounts in the arrangement of the recorded facts, and that hence arose the deviation from St. Matthew's order, which has occasioned so much perplexity to the harmonists.

Another argument for the opinion that the Evangelists made use of written documents is, that St. Luke, who when left to himself was able to write good Greek, has sometimes in his Gospel such harsh Hebraisms, as he would hardly have used, unless he had drawn from written documents. I will mention a few examples, Ch. i. 49. *αγιον το ονομα αυτε*, if it is equivalent to *α αγιον το ονομα αυτε*⁹, is a harsh Hebraism.—Of *ελεος*, ver. 50. 54. 58. 72. I have already treated, Vol. I. ch. iv. sect. 7.—*Εποιησε κρατος*, ver. 51. is exactly derived from the Hebrew *יָפָה כֶּבֶד*¹⁰, *res magnas gessit, vicit*.—*Μνησθηναι ελεος*, *τη Αβρααμ*, ver. 54, 55. is the same Hebraism as we find in the Septuagint, Psalm xcvi. 3. *εμνησθη τς ελεος αυτε τη Ιακωβ*, and Psalm cxix. 49. *μνησθητι των λογων σου τη δελη σου*.—v. 76. *προ προσωπε τε κυρις*¹¹, and v. 79. *σκια θανατος*¹² are manifest Hebraisms.—Ch. vii. 21. *εθεραπευσε πολλες απο—μαστιγων*^{*} is an harsh expression, which no where occurs in the New Testament, except in the present instance, and at Mark iii. 10. v. 29. 34. Homer indeed, in describing a dis-

^{*} *Μαριξ* is the common literal translation, in the Septuagint, of *מַרְיָס*¹³.

order with which the Greeks were afflicted, says, they were lashed with Jupiter's scourge¹³: but Homer had here the image of a scourge before his eyes, and wrote in allegory, whereas a writer who literally calls a disease a scourge, and uses such expressions as 'to be afflicted with a scourge,' 'to be cured of a scourge,' no longer thinks on the original meaning of *μαστιξ*. Pure Greek writers never applied the word in this manner.—Ch. ix. 51-53, *προσωπον* disharmoniously occurs not less than three times, where a pure Greek writer would not have used it even once. In the second instance, *προ-προσωπευε* is a common Hebraism¹⁵: in the second and third instances, *το προσωπον αυτε εστηριξε τε πορευεσθαι εις Ιερουσαλημ*, and *το προσωπον αυτε ην πορευομενον εις Ιερουσαλημ* are less common Hebraisms, of which we find examples in 2 Kings xii. 17. Jerem. xlii. 15. 2 Chron. xxii. 2¹⁶.—Luke xii. 8. *ος αν ομολογησει εν εμοι*, and *ο υιος τε ανθρωπου ομολογησει εν αυτε*, a Syriasm, which I have already explained¹.—Luke xiii. 16. *ιδε* in the sense of jam, is a Syriasm borrowed from *ܝܕܐ*¹⁷, of which I recollect no other instance in the whole New Testament².

¹ See Vol. I. ch. iv. sect. 5.

² Unless Luke xiii. 7. is to be considered as another instance. In the Septuagint is an example at Deut. 18 viii. 4.

CHAPTER IV.

OF ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL.

SECTION I.

Account of St. Matthew, and of the time when he wrote his Gospel.

ST. MATTHEW is said to have written his Gospel before the other three Evangelists^a. His name in Hebrew is מַתְּתִי contracted from מַתְּתִי, and not מַתְּתִי, which in Greek would be expressed by *Matthias*¹. His profession and call to the apostolic office he himself relates, ch. ix. 9.: and by his long attendance on Christ he was enabled to communicate accounts on which we can depend.

It has been the common opinion, and I acceded to it in the first edition of this Introduction, that St. Matthew was named likewise Levi, and that he was

^a I purposely let this sentence remain doubtful, as I wrote it in the second edition of this Introduction, at a time when the assertion that St. Matthew really composed his Gospel before the other three Evangelists, which I made in the first edition, began to appear to me uncertain. Soon after the second edition appeared, Dr. Büsching published his Harmony of the Four Gospels, in which he asserted, p. 97, that St. Luke wrote before St. Matthew: and not observing that I had already begun to waver in my former opinion, requested me to favour him with my sentiments in regard to his own. To this I answer that I am so far of his opinion at present, as to believe, that when St. Luke wrote his Gospel, he knew nothing of a Gospel written by St. Matthew, at least not of a Greek Gospel, such as Theophilus could read: for Ch. i. 1—4. he speaks of the Gospels, which then existed, as Gospels written by persons, who were not eye-witnesses, and whose accounts therefore stood in need of that correction which he gave them, by tracing up every relation to its first source. But as I believe that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, I am not certain that the original was not in existence, when St. Luke wrote his Gospel: I will only affirm that the translation had not then been made. That St. Mark wrote later than St. Luke I have no doubt, of which I shall assign the reasons hereafter.

the son of Alphæus, because St. Mark, ch. ii. 14. relates the call of Levi, a receiver of tribute and son of Alphæus, and St. Luke, ch. v. 27. relates also the call of Levi, both with the same circumstances, and nearly in the same words, as St. Matthew relates his own call. Grotius in one of his Notes to Matth. ix. contradicts this opinion: and Theodore Hase has published in the fifth volume of the Bibliotheca Bremensis a treatise entitled, *Disquisitio de Levi a Christo ad apostolatum vocato*, in which he has endeavoured to shew, that Levi, mentioned by St. Mark, is not St. Matthew, but the apostle Lebbeus. Heumann in his Exposition of St. Mark's Gospel has adopted the same sentiments, and supported them by new arguments: Lardner on the contrary, in the third volume of his *Supplements to the Credibility of the Gospel History*, p. 317-323, has endeavoured to confute the opinion maintained by Theodore Hase. After having weighed the arguments on both sides, I am inclined to entertain the following opinion, which is a medium between both, and which Grotius himself adopted.

The accounts which are given by St. Matthew, ch. ix. 9. by St. Mark, ch. ii. 14. and by St. Luke, ch. v. 27. contain, as to the main point, a relation of one and the same transaction, as must be evident to every one who compares Matth. ix. 1-17. Mark ii. 1-22. Luke v. 17-39. and examines the whole connection^s. But it is not therefore a necessary consequence that St. Matthew and Levi were one and the same person, since it is at least possible, that two receivers of tribute were called on the same day, and even from the same tribute house^s. One of them was St. Matthew; and, as it was of more importance to the readers of St. Matthew's Gospel, to be informed of the call of its author to the apostleship, than of the call of Levi, especially if Levi was not called to be an apostle, it is easy to conceive the reason, why St. Matthew mentioned only his own call, and was silent in respect to that of Levi. St. Mark and St. Luke on the contrary, might

without impropriety be silent in respect to St. Matthew, and mention only the call of Levi, partly because Levi, as being the son of Alphæus, was related to Christ⁴, and perhaps through this relationship occasioned the call likewise of St. Matthew; and partly, because perhaps Levi was the principal, and St. Matthew only an inferior person at the tribute-house, a supposition, which is not improbable, as St. Mark expressly relates that the entertainment, which was given to Jesus on this occasion; was in the house of Levi, and St. Luke describes also Levi as the master of the feast; whereas St. Matthew, after having related his own call, does not say that the entertainment was given in *his* house, but says only, 'as Jesus sat at meat in *the* house⁵.'

My reasons for believing that St. Matthew and Levi were different persons, notwithstanding both were tax-gatherers, and both were called at the same time, are the following.

1. In the catalogue of the twelve Apostles, St. Mark^b and St. Luke^c ascribe to our Evangelist no other name than that of Matthew. Is it credible then, that in describing his call to the apostleship, they should both have agreed in naming him Levi, and have thus occasioned an unnecessary confusion to the reader⁶?—The same argument operates likewise against the opinion, that Levi is the same person as Lebæus.

2. The sons of Alphæus, at least of that Alphæus, with whom we are acquainted in the New Testament⁷, were near relations of Jesus, for their mother, whose name was likewise Mary, was sister to Jesus's mother. They were James, Joses, Simon and Judas, and they are mentioned Matth. xiii. 55. and there called brethren of Christ⁸. One of them, namely James, is expressly called the son of Alphæus, Matth. x. 3. Mark iii. 18, Luke vi. 15.; and of their mother we find an account Matth. xxvii. 56. Mark xv. 40. If St. Matthew therefore was a son of the same Alphæus, he was a near relation of Jesus⁹. But of this relationship we no where

^b Ch. iii. 18.

^c Ch. vi. 15.

find the smallest trace : and at the principal passage ^d, where St. Matthew names the relations of Christ, he is silent in respect to himself ^e.

But, though I believe that Levi and St. Matthew were not the same person, I shall not attempt to discover which of the twelve Apostles Levi really was. I see no necessity for supposing that Levi was an Apostle at all : at least the command, which he received to follow Christ, does not necessarily imply that he was admitted into the number of the twelve, since Christ selected seventy disciples, in addition to the twelve Apostles ¹¹.

We know therefore very little of St. Matthew, before his call to the Apostleship, and are unacquainted even with the name of his father. The accounts, which are given of his death, are likewise attended with great uncertainty, and it is a matter of doubt, whether he died naturally, or suffered martyrdom ¹². But since we know for certain that he was an Apostle of Christ, this single circumstance is sufficient to prove both the credibility and inspiration of his Gospel.

^d Ch. xiii. 55.

^e To the preceding arguments I added, in the second edition, the following. That St. Matthew was a son of Alphæus, and consequently brother of St. James, is likewise improbable from the manner in which St. Matthew mentions himself in the list of the Apostles, ch. x. 3. He writes thus : ' Thomas, and Matthew the tax-gatherer ; James the son of Alphæus, and Lebbaeus surnamed Thaddæus.' Now if St. Matthew as well as St. James, had been a son of Alphæus, he would surely not have neglected to mention it : and he would have written. ' Matthew the tax-gatherer, son of Alphæus, James his brother, and,' &c.—This argument may be applied with not less force against the identity of Levi and Lebbaeus. For if they had been one and the same person, St. Matthew would have written. ' James the son of Alphæus, and Lebbaeus his brother, who was surnamed Thaddæus : ' especially as St. James and Thaddæus stand in the same pair, which is not the case with St. James and St. Matthew.

This objection I omit at present, because Lebbaeus was certainly brother of James, though it did not occur to me that he was so, when I made the objection. But I have thought proper to print it in a note, as a caution to others, lest any one should hit on the same argument, and suppose it to be valid ¹⁰.

The year likewise in which St. Matthew wrote his Gospel, cannot be determined with certainty. Ancient testimonies contradict ancient testimonies on this subject. Theophylact and Euthymius, who lived in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, contend that St. Matthew's Gospel was written in the year of Christ 41¹³, which makes it the most ancient of all the books of the New Testament. The same is asserted in most of the subscriptions to this Gospel, and likewise in a life of St. Matthew, written in Arabic¹⁴. Eusebius however, to whom appeal has been made in support of this opinion, has not advanced it¹⁵. Nicephorus relates that it was written fifteen years after the ascension, but Irenæus says that 'St. Matthew wrote his Gospel, at the time, when St. Paul and St. Peter were preaching at Rome', which according to some critics¹⁶ was in the year 61, though it really must have been much later. For further information on this subject, I refer the reader to Lardner's Supplements to the Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. I. p. 95. and following pages.

In a case therefore where our historical accounts are so contradictory, it is the safest method to make no positive affirmation whatsoever. Arguments *a priori* can never decide on a question, which merely relates to a matter of fact: and after the reasons, which have been assigned by Masch¹⁷, and Lardner, we are left in the same state of uncertainty, as before. Both of these writers delivered their opinions independently of each other¹⁸, and the latter endeavours to prove by arguments *a priori*, that St. Matthew's Gospel was written above thirty years after the ascension, whereas the former has attempted to shew by a similar mode of reasoning, that it was written at a much earlier period. Dr. Masch

¹³ Adv. Hæres. Lib. III. Cap. I.

¹⁴ See Mill. Prol. § 61—64.

¹⁵ In his Essay on the Original Language of St. Matthew's Gospel¹⁶, §. 2.

¹⁷ The one published in 1755, the other in 1756.

contends, 'it is probable that the Apostles soon provided for an authentic history of Christ's transactions, because many years did not elapse before they separated to preach the Gospel in various parts of the world,' and he adds 'that a measure so necessary for the conversion of unbelievers, and for the support of believers, could hardly admit a delay of thirty years.' But to this argument we may reply, that as long as the verbal preaching of the Apostles lasted, written accounts were not altogether necessary: and Masch himself is of opinion that seven or eight years elapsed after the ascension without any written Gospel. The same arguments then, which are used to vindicate Divine Providence, in permitting seven or eight years to elapse, notwithstanding so many converts were made on the day of Pentecost, who lived at a distance from Palestine, and seemed therefore to stand in need of written documents, are applicable to a period of thirty years, or to the whole period, during which the Apostles continued to teach verbally.—Dr. Lardner, who by arguing a priori as well as Dr. Masch, deduced a very different conclusion, says in the Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. I. p. 116, 'The life of Jesus could not be forgotten in thirty or forty years.' And he presently after adds, 'If about thirty years after our Lord's ascension, his history was written by eye-witnesses or their companions, it was soon enough: yea, it was the fittest time of all. At the year sixty of our Lord's nativity, according to the vulgar æra, and later, there certainly were enough such persons, as those just mentioned, still living, to record his words and works, and more, who were willing and desirous to read written histories of him, than before: and also more to transcribe and copy out of those histories for their own use, and for the use and benefit of others, than in any preceding time.' Now though I admit with Lardner that the year 60 would not have been too late, yet I would not therefore infer that St. Matthew's Gospel was not written sooner: for even had it been written within a year after Christ's

ascension, it could hardly be said, that its composition was premature.

Equally indecisive are the internal marks, which Lardner supposed he had discovered in the Gospel of St. Matthew, and from which he argued that it could not have been written till after the year 60. Now I have no objections to make against any attempt to determine the date of a publication from its internal marks: but in St. Matthew's Gospel I am unable to discover any such marks, as could lead to a conclusion in respect to the year, when it was written. Lardner indeed supposes that this Gospel discovers so complete an insight into the doctrine of the call of the Gentiles, and the abolition of the Levitical law, as the Apostles, he says, did not possess, till many years after the death of Christ: whence he concludes that it must have been written many years after that event. But I cannot suppose, that the Apostles, after that they had received the gifts of the Holy Ghost, still retained their Jewish prejudices, and moreover retained them in such a manner, as to be unable at any time to give a true and faithful account of Christ's doctrine, since they wrote under the immediate influence of the Deity. It is true that the Apostles did not insist on the abolition of the Levitical law in Palestine, for this doctrine belonged properly to other countries, and God permitted those who had been educated in the Levitical law, still to retain it: yet it does not necessarily follow that the Apostles believed it still continued to have the force of a divine obligation. In the presence of the Jews they avoided a doctrine, which was not intended for them, and which could not have failed to have given them offence. Again, the Apostles, it is true, during several years did not go abroad, to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles. But shall we conclude therefore that they were prevented by Jewish prejudices from attempting the conversion of the Gentiles? The Pharisees themselves, who compassed land and water to make a proselyte, would hardly have gone so far; and they

would only have insisted on circumcision for the Gentile converts. That St. Peter was commanded in a vision to preach the Gospel to Cornelius, does not appear to me to imply that previous to that command St. Peter had considered it as unlawful : and it is probable that he had no other motive, than mere tenderness for the Jews, who were unwilling to receive into the church those who had not been circumcised, for abstaining from all connection with the Gentiles, till he had been expressly informed, that the time was now arrived for the conversion also of those, who had not been initiated in the law of Moses. But even if we admit that St. Peter, before he had the vision in the house of Cornelius, retained the national prejudice which the Jews in general had against the Heathens, we must still ascribe his conduct, not to an error of the understanding, but simply to a want of energy in the will.

Were it true, that the Apostles were not entirely free from such erroneous notions, which however it would be difficult to reconcile with the gifts of the Holy Ghost, yet St. Matthew, considered as a mere human historian, was surely able to give a true and faithful account of the doctrines which he had heard delivered by Christ. If they appeared to him extraordinary, and contrary to his former notions, he might have accompanied them with a comment expressive of his former prejudices : yet these prejudices would not have rendered his memory so weak, as to be unable to retain the doctrines, which he had actually heard, nor his hand so untrue, as to be unable to record them. The first example which Lardner has produced is from Matth. xxviii. 19. 'Go ye, and teach all nations.' But as this command was given by Christ before his ascension, and not invented by St. Matthew thirty years afterwards, I can see no reason why St. Matthew could not have recorded it seven years, or even seven days, after it was delivered, as easily as at a later period. If he understood not the call of the Gentiles in its full extent, he might have thought within himself, that they

ought at the same time to be circumcised : yet his own private opinion would not have prevented him from delivering, as an honest man, the command of Christ, in the form, in which he had received it.

I have hitherto represented Lardner's internal marks of time in the most advantageous light. But his other examples have really less weight than that, which I have just examined. For instance, ' If he had not known that our Saviour was designed to be, or was already become a blessing to the Gentiles, he would scarcely have thought of inserting the history of the Magi coming from the East to Jerusalem.' A still more extraordinary argument he derives from the consecration of the Eucharist, ' This is my blood of the New Testament, which is given for many, *that is, for all men.*' Internal marks of this description Lardner has enumerated to the amount of fourteen, not one of which is of any real value¹⁸ : yet, though his arguments are weak, the proposition itself, namely, that St. Matthew did not write his Gospel before the year 60, is probably true, and I adopt it on the authority of Irenæus.

One difficulty however attends the testimony of Irenæus on this subject. In a preceding paragraph of this section, where I quoted the words of this Greek father, I considered them as applying to the time, when St. Paul was prisoner for the first time in Rome, of which we read an account in the twenty-eighth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles¹⁹. But at that time St. Peter does not appear to have been in Rome : and as Irenæus expressly says, that the Gospel of St. Matthew was written, ' while St. Peter and St. Paul were preaching in Rome, and laying the foundation of the church in that city^{*}, ' Lardner understands St. Paul's second imprisonment in Rome, which ended with his martyrdom.

* The Greek words of Irenæus, quoted by Eusebius, (Hist. Eccles. Lib. V. cap. 8.) are *τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τῷ Παύλῳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐναγγelizομένοις καὶ θεμελιεύουσιν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.*

According to this explanation, St. Matthew's Gospel was written, not in the year 61, but in 64 or 65. On this subject more will be said hereafter.

Before I deliver my own sentiments, I must mention a fourth opinion, which is very different from either of the three already mentioned, and, though almost destitute of historical evidence¹, refers the composition of St. Matthew's Gospel to a much earlier period. Tillemont^m lamely contends, that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in the third year after Christ's ascension²¹. He argues thus: When St. Paul was at Jerusalem in the fourth year after Christ's ascension²², he saw no one of the Apostles there, except St. Peter and St. Jamesⁿ; the other Apostles therefore, and consequently St. Matthew, must have already left Jerusalem. But St. Matthew is said to have written his Gospel at Jerusalem²³: hence it follows, that he wrote it before St. Paul's arrival. Now this induction is wholly insufficient for the establishment of an historical fact, as it is not only unsupported by, but even contrary to the testimony of ancient writers. The words of St. Paul, 'I went to Jerusalem to see Peter, but other of the Apostles saw I none, except James,' in fact imply that there were other Apostles at that time in Jerusalem²⁴, with whom St. Paul made no acquaintance, because he was not come to learn the Gospel from the Apostles, but had learnt it by immediate inspiration from the Deity. The object of St. Paul in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians, is to shew how little connection he had with the Apostles, and that his knowledge was not derived

¹ I purposely use the expression '*almost* destitute of historical evidence,' because Cosmas of Alexandria might be quoted in support of Tillemont's opinion: for, according to Cosmas, St. Matthew's Gospel was written at the time of the dispersion of the Christians after the death of Stephen²⁰. But a writer of the sixth century can no more be considered as evidence for an historical fact in the first century, than Tillemont himself.

^m Memoires, Tom. I.

ⁿ Gal. i. 18, 19.

from them: his account therefore, that he saw only St. Peter and St. James at Jerusalem, can never warrant the inference that all the other Apostles had left it.

To the preceding opinion may now be added a fifth, in which however no particular year is determined for the composition of St. Matthew's Gospel. Dr. Storr in his treatise 'On the Design of the Evangelical History and Epistles of St. John, § 62.' contends that St. Matthew wrote later than St. Mark, and derived from him a considerable part of his materials. But Storr's arguments have not rendered this opinion even probable.

Having related the sentiments of others, I will now briefly state my own. Though I cannot pretend to determine with any certainty, I acknowledge that the relation of Irenæus appears to me the most probable: not only because Irenæus is the most ancient writer on this subject; but likewise for other reasons. St. Luke, as I shall shew hereafter, could not well have seen the Gospel of St. Matthew before he wrote his own; or, he would have avoided every apparent contradiction to an eye-witness, and moreover would not have arranged his facts in a manner, so very different from that of St. Matthew. But if St. Matthew's Gospel was written several years before that of St. Luke, it could hardly have been unknown to this Evangelist, especially as he had been in Jerusalem, and even wrote his Gospel, as I shall endeavour to shew hereafter, during St. Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea. Besides, when an ancient father assigns a date to the publication of a book, we have rather reason to suspect, that he has made it too ancient, than that he has made it too modern.

Dr. Masch, in his treatise on the original language of St. Matthew's Gospel, § 2. prefers to the testimony of Irenæus the accounts of Theophylact and Euthymius, who lived near a thousand years later. He says, that Irenæus, in the very place, when he speaks of the time

when St. Matthew's Gospel was written, has made two evident mistakes: first, in saying that St. Mark wrote his Gospel after the death of St. Peter and St. Paul, though it is certain that St. Mark suffered martyrdom before them: and secondly, in describing St. Peter and St. Paul as preaching both of them at the same time in Rome, which is not true. The falsity of these accounts therefore, Dr. Masch contends, destroys the credibility of Irenæus as to the remaining part of the story.

I shall not enter into the inquiry at present, whether Irenæus was mistaken in regard to these two positions, as I shall examine them hereafter. On the first, I shall acknowledge that Irenæus really was mistaken, though I shall not undertake to determine in what year St. Mark suffered martyrdom, as it is uncertain whether he suffered martyrdom at all. But the second position I cannot consider as necessarily erroneous: for though St. Peter could not have been at Rome when St. Paul came thither a prisoner from Jerusalem, yet I can see no ground for the assertion, that they were not afterwards together in Rome, and suffered martyrdom there. Though I shall not enter into this controversy, which belongs to the province of ecclesiastical history, yet I must observe, that if the testimony of a writer, who lived near the time, when the acts which he has recorded, are said to have happened, is for this reason to be rejected, that he has introduced into his narrative some inaccurate circumstances, there will remain but a small portion of history, in which we can confide. We know by experience what happens to ourselves, when we relate a story, which we have heard from others. Error very frequently mixes itself with the truth. In the examination of the story, the mistakes are rejected, as soon as they are discovered to be such, and that which is true, is separated from that which is false: and, since we should act unjustly, if we discarded the whole, because a part is inaccurate, we must give credit to the remainder, till that also can be shewn to be equally ungrounded.

Further, Dr. Masch contends, what I believe every one will readily grant, that several accounts of the life of Christ had been drawn up, before St. Luke wrote his Gospel. But the inference which he thence deduces, I cannot so readily admit. He says, the circumstance, that so many persons had then written an history of Christ's transactions, may be most easily explained on the hypothesis, that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in the year 41 : since in that case it is easy to conceive, that his example, and the commendations bestowed on his Gospel, might induce others, though they had no authority for that purpose, to engage in a similar undertaking. But on the contrary, if we suppose that St. Matthew's Gospel was not written before the year 61, it follows that the first accounts which are given of the life of Christ, were written by unauthorized persons, which Dr. Masch contends, Divine Providence would hardly have permitted. Hence he argues that the first Life of Christ was written by an Apostle.

Now this kind of reasoning, in which we argue from what, according to our opinion, Divine Providence ought to have performed or neglected, has never afforded me the smallest conviction, when the question simply related to what actually has or has not happened, even in cases, where I have fancied, that I could clearly perceive, why one mode of proceeding would have been more beneficial than another. Our views are too confined, and we know too little of the whole chain of causes and effects, to determine what the wisdom of the Deity should ordain : we must believe, that whatever is ordained, is for the best, even though to our imperfect views it should appear otherwise. The history of mankind can furnish us with numberless examples, which we might suppose to be incompatible with the wisdom and the justice of the Deity : we know that powerful combinations are frequently formed to violate and suppress the truth, and that even those warriors, whose object is tyranny and rapine, are not seldom re-

warded by splendid victories. We do not call in question the truth of such combinations and victories, because we cannot reconcile them with divine wisdom: but, satisfied of the reality of the facts, we still confide in the Deity, and trust that the final event will not be unworthy the great Creator of all things. And as we argue in political history we argue likewise in ecclesiastical. The long history of heretics would be reduced to nothing, if we concluded, that God would never suffer what appears to us to be detrimental: and we should be obliged to deny, that the very numerous abuses, which prevailed in the Christian Church before the Reformation, had ever existed. But the disadvantages, which would arise from the circumstance, that the first accounts of Christ's ministry, were not written by Apostles, is really not so great as Dr. Masch supposes. The first *verbal* accounts which were communicated out of Palestine, were certainly not communicated by the Apostles: and if the first *written* accounts were not communicated by them, yet as long as they lived and taught, there was little danger to be apprehended from the erroneous relations of other writers. And, whatever inconveniences might have followed, yet as soon as the four Evangelists had written their Gospels, those inconveniences were removed. At least the former erroneous accounts could then do no greater injury, than if they had been written many years afterwards: for the credibility of an historian depends on his character and circumstances, not on the priority of his composition. And this is the reason, why our four Gospels alone have descended to posterity, while other narratives of Christ have almost totally vanished.

I have no determined opinion on this subject, which I wish to support in opposition to other critics. Though I am inclined to abide by the testimony of Irenæus, because it is the most ancient which we have, I will not pretend to decide whether the words of Irenæus should be so explained, as to denote the period when St. Paul was a prisoner in Rome for the first time, or the period

written either in the beginning of the year 41, or before that year, as Pearce has already observed in his Commentary on the Evangelists³. It is true that this argument applies immediately to the two first chapters only, on which a doubt is entertained whether they were written by St. Matthew. But if it proves that an addition to St. Matthew's Gospel was not written after the year 41, it will follow of course that the Gospel itself was not written later⁴. I can see therefore no impropriety in believing that both the early and the later date, assigned to St. Matthew's Gospel, are consistent with the truth: that it was originally written in Hebrew⁵ in the beginning of the year 41, before Herod Agrippa was appointed king of Judea, but that the Greek translation of it was not made till 61, or later⁶.

SECTION III.

Of the Original Language of St. Matthew's Gospel. Introductory Remarks to this Inquiry.

I now come to a much controverted question, in what language St. Matthew's Gospel was originally written; whether in the Greek, which is now extant, as many modern writers contend, or in Hebrew, as all the ancient authors, who have expressly delivered their sentiments on this subject, have affirmed. By Hebrew we are not to understand at present the language, in which the books of the Old Testament are for the most part written, but the Chaldee dialect, which was

³ On this account therefore it might have been unknown to St. Luke⁴.

spoken at Jerusalem in the time of the Apostles^a, and to which the ancient Fathers apply the name of Hebrew, as well as to the language spoken before the captivity.

I still retain the opinion, which I advanced in the first edition of this Introduction, that we ought to abide by the testimony of the ancients, and to assume a Hebrew original for St. Matthew's Gospel: though I acknowledge that this opinion has in some measure lost of it's certainty, since the appearance of a publication which was directed against my defence of it^b. This publication, which was written by Dr. Masch, and printed at Halle in 1755, is entitled, 'Essay on the original language of St. Matthew's Gospel^c.'

The opinion of modern writers of the Protestant church is for the most part unfavourable to a Hebrew original. I purposely say of the Protestant church, because the members of the church of Rome adhere in general to the opinion of the Fathers^d, especially Richard Simon, to whom the criticism of the New Testament is highly indebted, and who has written a profoundly learned defence of a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel, in his *Histoire critique du Texte du N. T.* ch. 5, 6. Maius, in his *Examen historico-criticæ*, cap. 5, 6. and Schröder in his dissertation *De lingua Mathæi authentica*, have contradicted Simon. Their objections I endeavoured to answer in the first edition; but at present I shall chiefly confine myself to

^a That Chaldee was the common language spoken at Jerusalem, in the time of the Apostles, I have shewn in the Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews, which I have prefixed to the Commentary on that Epistle^e, § 11.

^b This section I added in the second edition, in consequence of the publication to which I here allude: but a later and more minute examination of the passages in Origen and Eusebius, which Dr. Masch had quoted in support of a Greek original, has really confirmed me in my former opinion. I leave the sentence however unaltered; that the reader may perceive, with what caution I have examined the question.

Dr. Masch's more complete work on this subject, because an answer to his arguments will at the same time contain an answer to those of his predecessors.

But even among the Protestants there are not wanting writers who have ably defended a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel: for instance, among the Lutherans, Conr. Horneius, George Calixtus, Aegid. Hunnius. J. Conr. Dannhauer, J. Meisner, and even the Magdeburg Centuriators, who, if I mistake not, are quoted to that purpose even in Sehröder's dissertation⁴. The late Schwartz, in his treatise, *De solœcismis discipulorum Jesu antiquatis*⁵, p. 49, says very decidedly, '*Omnis antiquitas conspirat in tribuenda ei historia Christi Syriaca. Antiquitatis autem consensui pertinaciter et præfracte refragari temeritatis ejusdam esse videtur et impudentiæ.*' Among the members of the Calvinist church, I will mention Rhenferd and Reland: and Masch⁶ has named several others, as well as members of the church of England⁶, who have adopted the opinion, which he has endeavoured to confute. But as it is not my intention to write an history of the controversy, I shall take no further notice of the authors who have defended my side of the question: and those which I have already mentioned I have introduced with no other view, than to shew that the opinion, which I defend, is not heretical.

In the Introduction, which I have prefixed to my Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the reader will find many observations, which are applicable to the present inquiry: particularly in the 19th and 20th sections; where I have shewn that theological proofs, as they are called, which are grounded merely on certain positions laid down in the systems of dogmatic theology, are inadmissible in deciding a question of history⁷. In fact such proofs ought not to be called theological, for no position can be admitted as theological, unless it can be proved from the Bible: but that St. Matthew wrote in Greek is an article, for which we find no authority.

in the Bible, the question being purely historical, and having no relation to doctrinal Divinity, though it has material influence on the interpretation of St. Matthew's Gospel.

Equally indecisive are the arguments, which are drawn from the superstition, that a Greek original would have been more consistent with the wisdom of Providence, because the Greek language was more generally known. It is not for us to determine, what the Divine Wisdom ought to have ordained, but simply to examine what actually was ordained. Besides, in the present instance, the supposition of an Hebrew original is by no means inconsistent with Divine Wisdom. The Jews had been hitherto the peculiar people of God: in the very age, in which St. Matthew wrote, they had been distinguished by the presence of the Messiah among them, who preached to this nation alone, nor did the Apostles go forth to convert the Gentiles, till they had first preached the Gospel to the inhabitants of Judæa. The first Christian communities consisted of Jewish converts; and the language then spoken by the Jews, not only in Palestine, but on the borders of the Tigris and Euphrates, and probably in Persia and Arabia, was no other than Hebrew, or, as we more properly term it at present, Syro-Chaldee. Was it therefore unbefitting Divine Providence, that one Gospel out of the four should have been written in Hebrew, that the Eastern Jews might have a Gospel in their own language, as well as they, who lived in countries to the westward of Palestine, and understood only Greek? Was no care to be taken for the many thousands of Jewish Christians, who fled to Bessa and the neighbouring cities? Were the Nazarenes, though this name became afterwards an heretical appellation, to be totally neglected? The answers, which Dr. Masch has given to queries of this kind, though not delivered in the same words, the reader will find p. 143, 144, of his above quoted publication. He says, the Greek language was generally understood in Palestine, a position which I

shall examine in the sequel : but however well it might be known in Palestine, it certainly was not understood by the Jews, who lived to the eastward of that country. To other objections drawn from arguments a priori, and from the supposition of what ought to have been performed, I shall make no reply, because they are wholly foreign to a question of historical fact^s.

SECTION IV.

Testimonies of the Ancients, relative to an Hebrew Original of St. Matthew's Gospel.

As our present question is historical, the decision of it must principally depend on the testimony of ancient writers. It is true that, if we take the testimony in the strictest sense of the word, so as to denote the evidence of persons who were contemporary with St. Matthew, we shall not be able to produce any on this subject. But, where ecclesiastical history fails us in the first century, we must be contented with the accounts, which come the nearest to that period : and for the sake of brevity, I must beg leave to use the terms ' witness' and ' testimony,' though the fact, for which I quote the authority of ancient writers, did not lie within their own actual experience. Maius indeed objects, that we ought not so much to examine what the ancients have reported as whether they have reported the truth. But this objection is totally useless, for these reports alone can determine, what is the truth. On a point of doctrine the objection of Maius would be valid : for in such a case the Fathers do not testify a fact, but simply deliver their opinion, which is no proof. Further, I admit that when the Fathers relate what is highly improbable, we are not obliged to give credit to their accounts : but the position ' St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew,' is surely not attended

with the smallest improbability. I shall proceed therefore to examine what the ancients have reported on this subject.

The first evidence for a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel, is Papias, who lived very near the time of the Apostles. His words are preserved by Eusebius, towards the end of the thirty-ninth chapter of the third book of his Ecclesiastical History, and are as follow : *Ματθαῖος μὲν ἐν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλεκτῇ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο· ἤρμηνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἠδύνατο ἕκαστος.* According to Papias then, not only was St. Matthew's Gospel written in Hebrew, but there already existed in his time several Greek translations of it, so that the translation, which we have at present, is not the only one, which was made of the Hebrew original, though this alone, in consequence of its superior excellence, has descended to posterity. Dr. Masch indeed interprets the words *ἤρμηνευσε ὡς ἠδύνατο ἕκαστος* in a different manner¹ : but as this part of the evidence of Papias does not affect our present inquiry, I shall not enter into any controversy about it.

The advocates for a Greek original have not only endeavoured to weaken the evidence of Papias in favour of a Hebrew original, but have endeavoured likewise to employ it in such a manner as to weaken the testimony of other ecclesiastical writers on the same side of the question. Papias, they say, was credulous and superstitious in the extreme, a believer in the Millennium, a writer who reported fabulous miracles, and who gave credit to every story which he heard. A witness of this character, says Dr. Masch, is not to be credited implicitly, and even in cases, where it is possible that he speaks the truth, he will find it difficult to procure belief. Thus the evidence of Papias, the oldest writer on this subject, being set aside, the next step is to render all later accounts suspicious, by saying, that they are founded merely on the relation of Papias, and consequently that they must be rejected, if Papias deserves no credit. But that later writers had no other authority

for the assertion, that St. Matthew's Gospel was written in Hebrew, is mere conjecture, for it is supported by no authority whatsoever: and whoever reads the account of Origen in particular must conclude, that he did not report what Papias only had asserted, but what had been handed down by tradition, and was the general belief in the time of Origen. To reject the testimony of every ancient author, on the bare supposition that their accounts were drawn only from the report of a credulous witness, is surely unjust.

But the superstition of Papias does not appear to me to be of such a nature as to weaken his evidence to a plain fact, which is wholly unconnected with the marvellous: and his simplicity renders him in my opinion an important witness on this occasion. His heterodox notions and chiliastic dreams, which he had in common with many of the Fathers, cannot affect his testimony, when he relates what is unconnected with such opinions: and the force of the objection can apply only to his alleged credulity and weakness of understanding. How far he was weak and credulous we can judge only from the accounts of Eusebius, who read and quoted him: for the works of Papias themselves are no longer extant. Now, though it is a rather arbitrary procedure, to make the character of a witness, of whom the Christians of the second and third centuries, especially Irenæus, had a good opinion, depend on the judgment of a writer of the fourth century, even though that writer was a man of eminence, yet I have no objection in this instance to follow Eusebius, and will therefore quote his own words, that the matter may not appear worse than it really is. They are as follow^{*}: 'I have already related that the Apostle Philip lived with his daughters at Hierapolis, to which I must now add an account of a miracle, which Papias, who lived in the same period, says he heard from the daughters of Philip, namely, that a dead person was in their time restored to life. He mentions also another miracle, which

^{*} Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. 39.

happened to Justus surnamed Barnabas, who is said to have drunk poison, without receiving any injury.— This same writer has recorded many other things, which he had learnt from oral tradition, such as certain parables and doctrines of our Saviour, of which we find no account elsewhere, and also some things which are more fabulous. Among these I reckon the story, that after the resurrection of the dead, a temporal kingdom of Christ will be established on earth, and will last a thousand years. Such notions I suppose he acquired from a false interpretation of the figurative and mystical language of the Apostles : for, if we may judge from his writings, he appears to have had a very weak understanding.

That this judgment of Eusebius is sufficient to destroy the credit of Papias, when he relates a simple fact unconnected with the marvellous, is more than I am able to discover. Through weakness of understanding he gives a too literal explanation of figurative language : but in the present instance we are not to inquire whether Papias expounded rightly, we have only to ask whether he related faithfully : and Eusebius himself, though he condemns his mode of interpretation, does not even doubt that certain accounts of the Apostles had been literally transmitted to him, on which he founded his interpretations. Eusebius therefore, who is the only ancient writer who can be quoted to the disadvantage of Papias, denies only his ability as a commentator, and does not call in question his fidelity as a witness.

Another charge against Papias is, that in consequence of his credulity he has related fabulous miracles. But the examples, which Eusebius has produced in support of the charge, are in themselves neither absurd nor incredible : they are of the same kind as others, which are related in the Bible, and that Justus drank poison without injury is not inconsistent with the promises, which Christ had given to his Apostles. These miracles therefore bear no other mark of falsehood, than that

Papias alone has related them. But if we admit that they are false, does it follow, that a writer is to be rejected when he relates common facts, because at other times he gave credit to the marvellous? We act not in this manner in respect to the writers of the middle ages; for though we reject their fabulous legends of the saints, to which through the superstition of the times they too easily gave credit, yet we receive their testimony as far as it relates to plain historical occurrences.

Thirdly, Papias is charged with weakness of understanding, and on this ground Dr. Masch particularly rests. He allows, that when a man is credulous, merely in consequence of his superstition, his testimony is admissible in respect to facts, which do not favour of the marvellous: but, he asserts, that the evidence of a man, whose credulity arises from a natural weakness of understanding, is at all times to be suspected. Yet in courts of justice, where the nature of evidence is well understood, this principle is never adopted. A weak man may hear as perfectly as a man of profound understanding, and if he is but honest, as Dr. Masch himself acknowledges that Papias was, and had faithfully inquired of eye-witnesses, or persons contemporary with the fact in question, we may surely admit his evidence in respect to what he had heard of those persons. Eusebius, from whose writings alone the arguments are borrowed, which are employed against Papias, does not infer from his simplicity that his accounts in general are false: but on the contrary, if we except the Millennium and some other marvellous stories, he quotes the relations of Papias, as matters well worthy of notice. According to Eusebius, the weakness of Papias consisted merely in a superstitious belief of miracles, and in his literal acceptation of figurative language: his credulity therefore was of the superstitious kind, which by Dr. Masch's own acknowledgement does not render evidence inadmissible. For my own part I can never consider a witness as suspicious, merely because he is deficient in understanding: on the contrary, his very

simplicity would rather induce me to confide in the accuracy of his relation: for men of genius and lively imagination introduce frequently into their narratives their own sentiments and actions, whereas they who are devoid of these endowments, report without ornament or addition what they have literally heard.

I have hitherto argued on the supposition that Papias was really as weak and as credulous, as Eusebius pretends: but if we may judge from the extracts which Eusebius has given from the writings of Papias, the charge will appear to be at least doubtful. The two miracles which he has recorded, even though they should not be true, are far from being ridiculous or absurd, and if Papias received his information from the daughters of Philip, it was no impeachment of his understanding, that he believed them. And as to the parables and speeches of Christ, which Papias declared he had received from oral tradition, though not contained in the Gospels, Eusebius is so far from considering it as a mark of weakness that Papias committed them to writing, that on the contrary he appears to believe that Christ actually delivered what Papias reported. It is merely in the interpretation of these parables and speeches, in which Eusebius discovers the weakness of Papias: and he condemns him only, for interpreting literally and not mystically. Now here it must be particularly observed, that Eusebius was a determined admirer of Origen, the great father of allegory*: when he censures therefore a writer, who explained the Scriptures on different principles, we ought not to produce his censure as a proof, that this writer was deficient in understanding. Origen himself, eminent as he was, would appear to us, if we judged merely from his mode of interpreting Scripture, to be as weak as Papias appeared to Eusebius. Neither is Papias's belief in the Millennium a proof of the charge, which is brought against him: for this belief he had in common with many Fathers, whose understanding was never called in question. And here again the disciple

of Origen appears to have been prejudiced against Papias, for no other reason, than because Papias had entertained a notion, which had been discarded by his master. Origen had taken great pains to explode the doctrine of the Millennium; Papias was the most ancient writer in its defence, and his authority greatly contributed to its propagation. Eusebius therefore, a decided Origenian, endeavoured to destroy the credit of Papias, in order to remove one of the principal supports of the Millennium. That Eusebius was prejudiced, and that his predecessors thought better of Papias, appears from what he himself acknowledges: for immediately after the words above quoted, he adds, 'Yet (that is, notwithstanding the weaknesses with which he had just charged him,) he was the cause that most ecclesiastical writers after his time, appealing to Papias as to one of the earliest Fathers, have adopted the same opinion. This was the case with Irenæus, and with others who entertained similar notions.' It is therefore extremely doubtful, whether this ancient advocate of the Millennium was so deficient in understanding, as the adversary of that opinion has represented him. On the other hand, if we admit that the representation be just, we must not go further than Eusebius himself has done, and because Papias was wanting in sagacity, ascribe to him likewise a want of fidelity.

So much for what Eusebius has said against Papias: let us now attend to what he has said in his favour. In the chapter from which the former quotation was made, Eusebius writes thus: "Papias informs us in the preface to his books, that he himself had neither seen nor heard the holy Apostles: but that he had learnt the Christian faith from those who knew the Apostles." His own words are, "I think proper to relate to thee what I have heard from the elders, and have well retained in my memory, and to add an explanation, in order to confirm the truth. I was never pleased, as most persons are, with those who relate

much, but with those who relate what is true: not with those who hand down foreign doctrines, but with those who deliver the commands, which were intrusted to them by the Lord, and which come from the fountain of truth. Whenever I met with any who had been conversant with our elders¹, I carefully enquired into what the elders had said: what Andrew, what Peter had said: what Philip, or Thomas, or James, or John, or Matthew, or any other disciple of the Lord had said: what Aristion and John the presbyter had said. For I was of opinion, that I could not learn so much from the reading of books, as from the verbal accounts of persons then alive.—He relates that he himself had heard Aristion and John the presbyter, and in his writings, where he delivers what he had heard from them, he frequently quotes them by name.” Now a writer of this description, who studiously endeavoured to discover the truth, and for that purpose inquired diligently of persons, who had been conversant with the Apostles, and among them with St. Matthew, whose name he mentions, may be as defective in understanding, as Eusebius or any one pleases, yet, considered as an honest man, he is an important and irreproachable witness in the examination of the question, in what language St. Matthew wrote his Gospel.

The second witness Irenæus, who in his third book against Heresies, Chap. I. says, ‘Matthew composed a Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect’.² Dr. Masch admits that the words of Irenæus are clear, and that they admit of no other interpretation: the only objection therefore, which he makes is this, that Irenæus probably derived his intelligence from Papias, for whom he had great veneration. But if Irenæus, he adds, derived his intelligence from a person, who

¹ Papias here means the Apostles and their contemporaries.

² The Greek words of Irenæus, as quoted by Eusebius. Hist. Eccles. Lib. V. cap. 8. are, Ο μὲν δὲ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ αὐτοῦ διαλεκτῇ καὶ γράψας ἐξήγγειλεν Εὐαγγέλιον.

deserved no credit, we can no more depend on the accounts of Irenæus, than on those of Papias. Now this argument is founded on a mere supposition : for no one can prove, that Irenæus had no other authority than Papias for what he has asserted, or that any other accounts were then in circulation, which contradicted the assertion of Papias. Dr. Masch indeed requires, that we should bring a positive proof, that Irenæus did not borrow his information on this subject from Papias³, since it is certain that he had several other erroneous notions, which he did derive from Papias : and till this proof has been given, he maintains that Irenæus, to say the least of him, must be declared neutral. Now these erroneous notions relate to the Millennium, which many writers, both in ancient and in modern times, have believed, without forfeiting their credit as historians.

Next follows Pantænus, who was president of a school in Alexandria, toward the end of the second century, and is represented by Eusebius, as a man of great learning. It is true that not only the writings of Pantænus are lost, but that no extracts from them are now on record. Strictly speaking, therefore we cannot produce Pantænus as evidence for a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel. However it is related of Pantænus, that he travelled into India, to preach the doctrines of Christ, and that he found many who were already converts to Christianity, in whose hands was the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew. This information comes from Eusebius, who in his Ecclesiastical History, B. V. ch. 10. writes of Pantænus as follows : ' It is said, that he displayed so much ardour for the Divine Word, that he went a preacher of the Gospel to the nations of the East, and came as far as India. For there were at that time many preachers of the Word, who were animated with a divine zeal of imitating the Apostles by contributing to the enlargement of the Gospel, and the establishment of the Divine Word : of whom Pantænus was one, who is said to have gone

to the Indians. Here it is related that he found in the hands of several, who had already heard of Christ, the Gospel of St. Matthew; that St. Bartholomew, one of the Apostles, had preached to them, and delivered to them the Gospel of St. Matthew written in the Hebrew language, which was preserved among them to that day.^a Dr. Masch contends that this whole relation has so much the appearance of a fable, that Eusebius himself did not believe it, and that a man must be as credulous as Papias, if he did not doubt its truth. Perhaps the story appeared improbable to Dr. Masch in consequence of the word 'India,' which he took, according to its common acceptation, for the country between the Indus and the Ganges: though in fact, even if this sense be ascribed to it, the account is not incredible, for it appears from the very circumstantial Syriac accounts collected by Asseman, that the Christian religion was not only propagated, but flourished, in the East Indies at a very early age, and continued till the fourth century; after which period it was gradually extinguished. But the word India, in ecclesiastical history, is frequently used to denote the happy Arabia, as Tillemont has rightly observed in his *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclesiastique*, under the article Bartholomew. At present the matter is more clear than it was in Tillemont's time. In Arabia Felix were two different kinds of inhabitants, which are mentioned by Moses in the tenth chapter of Genesis, namely, Cushites (from whom the Abyssinians derive their origin), and the descendants of Joktan: the former are called by the Syrians, as well as by the Hebrew, *כוש*, that is, Cushites, the latter *יבן*, that is, Indians*. Now that Pantænus preached the Gospel in Arabia Felix, is by no means incredible, especially as Alexandria, the place of his residence, was at no great distance, and had a much greater commercial intercourse with that country, than it has at present. Further, Arabia Felix, where many Jews re-

* See on this subject Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* Tom. I. p. 359.

sided, and where even kings had been converted to the Jewish religion, is a country where we might not unreasonably expect to hear that a Hebrew Gospel had existed, since the Apostle Bartholomew would hardly have brought a Greek Gospel into a country, where the Greek language was not spoken. Nor is it improbable that this Hebrew Gospel was still extant in Arabia Felix at the end of the second century, though in Palestine itself it did not so long continue to be in common use. That Eusebius did not say in positive terms, 'Pantænus travelled into India,' but only 'it is said that Pantænus travelled into India,' is no proof that Eusebius himself gave no credit to the account: though I confess that the account is not so certain, as it would have been, if Eusebius had expressed himself more strongly. If it be true, it not only affords a strong argument for a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel, but furnishes likewise an answer to the objection, that no ecclesiastical writer has ever pretended to have actually seen the Hebrew original. On the other hand if the relation given by Eusebius is a forgery, it proves at least that it was the ancient opinion, that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, or the story, that Pantænus saw it in that language, would not have been invented.

To the argument drawn by Dr. Masch, from the circumstance, that Jerom⁴ has related the story of Pantænus with several additions to the account given by Eusebius, it is hardly necessary to make a reply: for political as well as ecclesiastical history would soon be reduced to a very narrow compass, if it were allowable to erase every fact, which different historians had differently related, or which through length of time had been augmented by an accession of circumstances not mentioned in the first account. To the objection that the Hebrew Gospel seen by Pantænus was not necessarily the original of St. Matthew's Gospel, since it might have been only a Hebrew translation made by St. Bartholomew, I answer, that if the ancients had not ge-

readily believed; that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, the expression ' Gospel of St. Matthew written in the Hebrew language,' used by Eusebius and Jerom, would leave it undetermined whether they meant an original or a translation: but since the ancients really did believe in a Hebrew original, I do not see how the words of Eusebius and Jerom can be understood of a translation.

The fourth witness is Origen, whose evidence on this subject Eusebius has preserved in the sixth book of his Ecclesiastical History, ch. xxv. As Dr. Masch.^b contends, that Origen himself did not believe what he related in respect to the language of St. Matthew's Gospel, and Schröder pretends, that Origen followed only the authority of Papias, and therefore is not to be considered as separate evidence, I will quote the words of Eusebius and Origen, that the reader may judge for himself. In the first book of his Commentaries on the Gospel of St. Matthew, Origen, observing the ecclesiastical canon, declares that he acknowledges only four Gospels, expressing himself thus: "As I have learnt by tradition (*ἐν παραδόσει πατρῶν*) concerning the four Gospels, which alone are received without dispute by the Church of God under heaven: the first was written by St. Matthew, once a tax-gatherer, afterwards an Apostle of Jesus Christ, who published it for the benefit of the Jewish converts, composed in the Hebrew language: the second is, that according to St. Mark; &c." The bare reading of this passage is sufficient to enable the reader to judge, whether the two preceding objections have any foundation. If Origen had derived his information from the writings of Papias, he would hardly have said, 'As I have learnt by tradition:' and even if he had not used this expression, it would hardly be credible that Origen, whose opinions, both in respect to the Millennium, and in respect to the interpretation of Scripture, were diametrically opposite to those of

Papias, would have blindly followed him in the present instance, if the notion that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew had been confined to Papias alone. Besides Origen declares that he had learnt by tradition, not only that the Gospel in question was written in Hebrew, but also that it was the first Gospel, that it was composed for the benefit of the Jewish converts, and that its author was St. Matthew the Apostle. Did Origen learn all this from Papias only?

A similar reply may be given to the objection of Dr. Masch, who contends that Origen did not believe what he related, and that the expression *ἐν παραδοσει μαθὼν* signifies nothing more than 'I have learnt by hearsay,' or, 'I have heard it reported.' But the term *παραδοσις* in ecclesiastical history signifies not merely report or hearsay, but a communication of accounts on which we may depend, of which the very example in question affords a proof: for through the channel of *παραδοσις* Origen says that he had learnt, 'that the first of our four Gospels was written by St. Matthew, who was once a tax-gatherer, and afterwards an Apostle of Christ,' which Dr. Masch would certainly not consider as an uncertain rumour. It is evident likewise that Eusebius took the word in a most respectable sense: since he introduces the quotation from Origen, which begins with *ὡς ἐν παραδοσει μαθὼν*, by saying, that he acknowledged only four Gospels, observing the ecclesiastical canon, (*τον ἐκκλησιαστικὸν φυλαττῶν κανόνα.*)

The fifth witness is Eusebius himself, who has not only quoted all the preceding authorities for a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel, without even hinting that any objections could be made to them, but likewise in the place where he speaks in his own person on this subject, and where we must of course expect that he delivers his own sentiments. He writes, namely in the third book of his Ecclesiastical History, ch. xxiv. as follows. 'Matthew having first preached to the Hebrews delivered to them, when he was preparing to depart to other countries, his Gospel composed in their

native language^c. This passage is so clear, that one might suppose it impossible to make any objection to it: yet Dr. Masch contends^d, that Eusebius himself did not give credit to what he has here related. 'As an ecclesiastical historian, says Dr. Masch, Eusebius was in duty bound to record the accounts which then existed, but was not obliged to deliver his own private opinion. It was not his intention to relate in his Ecclesiastical History such facts alone as were indisputably true, but to form a complete repository of all the accounts, of whatsoever kind, which had been related by others: because, according to the taste of those times, his readers were anxious to know a multitude of stories, but were totally indifferent as to critical inquiries.' So unfavourable a picture does Dr. Masch draw in the present instance of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History: yet in another place^e, where he quotes a passage from the writings of Eusebius, which he supposes to be favourable to his own opinion, he says: 'I consider the testimony of this meritorious writer, when united with that of Origen, as sufficiently important to be opposed to the assertions of all the other fathers put together.'—But how can it be proved that Eusebius in the passage above-quoted from his Ecclesiastical History, related a story which he himself disbelieved? Dr. Masch indeed has discovered in Eusebius's Exposition of the Psalms, from which by the help of an induction, which is liable however to many objections, he concludes that Eusebius himself believed that St. Matthew wrote in Greek: but this matter I shall particularly consider in the next section, and shall confine myself therefore at present to the passage, with which we are immediately concerned. Now it must be observed, that Eusebius does not introduce his relation, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, with any such expression as, 'it is said,'

^c Πιστεύω γλωττῇ γραφῇ παραδόντος το κατ' αὐτοῦ εὐαγγέλιον.

^d Pag. 190—200.

^e Pag. 155.

or 'Papias and Origen relate;' but writes in positive terms, and in his own person, without appealing either directly or indirectly to any other author, so that we cannot possibly suppose him to have disbelieved what he related, without directly charging him with an intentional violation of the truth. To the argument used by Dr. Masch^f, that Eusebius could not have asserted that St. Matthew wrote in Greek, without entering into a long confutation of Papias, Irenæus, Origen, and other ecclesiastical writers, we may answer, that Eusebius has on many other occasions accompanied his accounts with expressions of doubt and even absolute denial, without entering into a prolix discussion of them. No reason can be assigned therefore why he should not have accompanied his account, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, with some expressions at least of doubt, if he disbelieved what he reported. Further, this argument not only furnishes a proof of the opinion, which it is intended to support, but really operates against it. For if Eusebius ventured not in his Ecclesiastical History to assert that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Greek, because it was his business merely to record whatever accounts he could collect, and a contradiction of the assertion, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, would necessarily have involved him in a long confutation, it follows that there was only one voice on this subject, and that there were no accounts then existing, that St. Matthew wrote in Greek. For an historian, who makes it his business to furnish his readers with whatever intelligence he can procure, would hardly in a case where the reports were contradictory to each other, neglect to mention that, which he believed to be the true one, and relate only that, which he believed to be false.

The other testimonies in favour of the opinion that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, I shall produce, without either quoting the words of the respective authors, or

making any further remarks^c: partly because they are less liable to objection, and partly because they are less important than the preceding. In the third century we have the authority of Dorotheus: in the fourth century that of Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Gregory of Nazianzum, Chrysostom, and Jerom; of whom the last mentioned writer, on account of his learning and his residence in Palestine, deserves very particular attention. In the fifth century we have Augustin, though I admit that he is no great authority in the present inquiry: in the eleventh century Theophylact, and in the fourteenth Nicephorus Callisti, whom I should have omitted as too modern, if they afforded not a proof that so late as their time no contradictory account had forced itself into notice among the Greeks. Theophylact especially warrants this inference, for he was a very diligent and accurate interpreter of Scripture, and yet we find in his writings no trace whatsoever of a supposition that St. Matthew wrote in Greek. This learned bishop in the Preface to his Exposition of St. Matthew's Gospel, says 'Matthew first wrote a Gospel in the Hebrew language for the sake of the Hebrew believers, eight years after Christ's ascension: and John, as is reported, translated it from the Hebrew into Greek^d.' The latter clause contains a report, which no writer before Theophylact, has ever mentioned, and is contradicted by Papias, who says that every one interpreted St. Matthew's Gospel as well

^c Whoever wishes for more information relative to these may consult either Schröder or Lardner.

^d Ματθαίος πρῶτος πάντων ἐγράψεν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἑβραϊδὶ φωνῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ ἑβραίων πιστευούκους μετὰ οκτὼ ἐτη τοῦ τε Χριστοῦ ἀναλήψεως. Μιτιφρασι δὲ τούτου Ἰωάννης ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑβραϊδὸς, ὡς λέγουσι. Simon in his Hist. Crit. du Texte du N. T. p. 120. quotes from the Codex Regius 2871, a subscription of a similar import, namely, Τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαίου εὐαγγελίου ἑβραϊδὶ διαλεκτῇ γραφὴν ἐξεδόθη ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἑρμηνευθεὶς, δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ.

as he could, and by Jerom¹, who says, it is uncertain who made our translation of it. St. John's peculiar style likewise is a sufficient proof that he was not the translator. The latter part therefore of Theophylact's account I acknowledge is false: but we must not therefore reject the former part. For he declares, in positive terms, and without any expressions of doubt, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew: but that St. John was the translator, a story probably invented in order to enhance the canonical authority of the Greek translation, he mentions as a mere report, without vouching for its truth.

Though the subscriptions to the books of the New Testament are of no great authority, because their authors are unknown, and some of them are manifestly erroneous: yet, since many Greek manuscripts contain subscriptions to St. Matthew's Gospel expressive of the opinion that he wrote in Hebrew, but none, as far as I recollect, expressive of the opinion that he wrote in Greek, this uniformity in the manuscripts is not unworthy of notice. The subscription in the Codex Regius 2871 I have already quoted: and it appears from Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 46, that the Codex Stephan. 16, at the end of St. Matthew's Gospel, has *εκ τς κατα Ματθαιον ευαγγελις, εγραφη Εβραισι εν Παλαιστине μετα ετη η της αναληψεως*. Wetstein's Codex 80, numbered 136, in my catalogue, has *Εγραφη εν Ιερουσαλημ Εβραιδι διαλεκτω*: and a Roman MS. described in Blanchini Evangeliarium quadruplex, P. 1. p. 516. has *εγραφη το κατα Ματθαιον ευαγγελιον εβραισι εις την Παλαιστινην*.

The Syriac and Arabic subscriptions agree with the Greek. In the Syriac version, at the close of St. Matthew's Gospel, we find 'Here ends the holy Gospel according to the preaching of Matthew, which he preached in Palestine, in the Hebrew language.' The word 'preaching' in the Syriac subscriptions has the

¹ Catal. Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum 6.

same sense as 'writing,' as appears from the subscriptions to the Gospels of St. Mark and St. John. In the Arabic version, published by Erpenius, is the following subscription to St. Matthew's Gospel, which I quote in the original, because the edition of Erpenius is scarce:

كامل نسخ بشاره متي الرسول وكان كتبها بارض فلسطين
 بالهام روح القدس عبرانيا بعد صعود ربنا يسوع المسيح بالجسد
 الي السماء ثمان سنين في اول سنة من ملك اقلوديوس
 قيصر ملك الروم

'Here ends the copy of the Gospel of the Apostle Matthew. He wrote it in the land of Palestine, by inspiration of the Holy Spirit, in the Hebrew language, eight years after the bodily ascension of Jesus the Messiah into heaven, and in the first year of the Roman emperor Claudius Cæsar.' The same opinion was entertained, I believe universally, by the learned Syrians. At least, the two most eminent Syrian writers, Barsalibæus and Gregorius Bar-Hebræus, who lived in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, assert in their Prefaces to the Evangelists, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew⁶: and Ebed Jesu, metropolitan of Armenia, in the thirteenth century, says in his Catalogue of Syrian writers⁷: 'Matthew, who composed the first book of the New Testament, wrote in Palestine, in the Hebrew language.'

Before I conclude this section, I must take notice of an inaccuracy, of which I was guilty in the first edition of this Introduction, because, if I left it unnoticed, others might fall into the same mistake. I quoted,

⁶ See Asseman's second note in his *Bibl. Orient.* Tom. III. P. i. p. 8.

namely, Hegesippus, who lived in the latter half of the second century, and before his conversion to Christianity was of the Jewish religion. Now since the Jewish converts especially may be supposed to have used a Hebrew Gospel, the testimony of Hegesippus would in this respect, as well as on account of its antiquity, be of very great importance in the present inquiry. But since Eusebius, from whom alone we can derive information on this subject, the works of Hegesippus being no longer extant, has not quoted the words of this writer relative to a Hebrew Gospel, but speaks only in his own person, and uses expressions, which are not decisive, I admit that the account of Hegesippus, in the form in which we have it, does not furnish us with any certain information in regard to the language, in which St. Matthew wrote. The passage in question is as follows¹: *ἐκ τε τῆ καθ' Ἑβραίων εὐαγγελίου, καὶ τῆ Συριακῆς^m, καὶ ἰδιῶς ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδος διαλέκτος τινὰ τίθησι, ἐμφαινὼν ἐξ Ἑβραίων αὐτὸν πεπίστευκεναι.* Here Eusebius says, that Hegesippus quoted from the Gospel according to the Hebrews: but since he has not added that this Gospel was the same as the Hebrew original of St. Matthew, this passage is indecisive.

¹ Hist. Eccles. Lib. IV. cap. 22.

^m This τῆ Συριακῆς was probably the Syriac translation of Tatian's Diatessaron, on which Ephrem the Syrian wrote a commentary, See Assemani Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. P. i. p. 12, 13, and Beausobre Histoire des Manichéens, Tom. I. p. 304.

SECTION V.

Examination of the question, whether Origen and Eusebius in any part of their writings have argued, as if they supposed St. Matthew wrote in Greek.

It appears from the preceding section that the testimony of the ancient writers, who have said any thing expressly on this subject, is unanimous in favour of a Hebrew original. But Dr. Masch has endeavoured to draw over Origen and Eusebius to his party by the aid of an induction from certain passages in their writings, which in his opinion imply a Greek original : whence he argues, that in the places, where Origen and Eusebius have related in positive terms that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, they have related what they themselves did not believe. Before I examine the passages, which Dr. Masch has selected for this purpose, I must beg leave to observe that, even if they imply what he supposes, they will not prove that Origen and Eusebius entertained the sentiments which he ascribes to them. Perhaps no author can be produced, who is so uniformly consistent and systematical, as never to advance a sentiment in one part of his writings, from which inferences may be deduced, that are at variance with what he has asserted elsewhere. We do not examine every sentence which we write in its full extent, and in all its consequences : and therefore as we do not always foresee the use which may be made of what we have written, we may at one time indirectly contradict an opinion, which at another time we had directly affirmed. Suppose an author then thus circumstanced, and that his real opinion was required. Ought it to be determined by the passage where the notion was only implied, or by the passage, where it was expressly declared? Origen says in express terms that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew : Eusebius says the same, not only where he quotes from other writers, but where he

speaks in his own person, and where he speaks professedly on the subject. Admitting then that two other passages can be produced, for instance from their commentaries on the Bible, in which the same authors have written in a manner which appears to be inconsistent with their former positive assertions, I ask, whether their direct testimony is not to be preferred to that which they have given only by implication? I think no doubt can be made that it ought. Besides, when a man assumes the character of an historian, he is more attentive to the facts, which he relates, than when he merely alludes to them in a commentary. This we know from our own experience: and every one who has passed through a regular course of divinity in any of our German universities may have had an opportunity of observing, that his professor in reading lectures on exegetical or dogmatical theology, has been guilty of inaccuracies relative to dates and councils, which he would have avoided in reading lectures on ecclesiastical history.

Thus far I have argued, as if the passage produced by Dr. Masch really contradicted those, which I have quoted in the preceding section. I will now examine the passages themselves, and see whether they warrant the conclusions, which have been drawn from them.

1. Origen in his Commentary on St. Matthew^a rejects the words, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' ch. xix. 19. and says: 'It is manifest, that there is a material difference in the manuscripts', which

^a Pag. 881. of the Cologne edition, or Vol. III. p. 671 of the Benedictine edition..

• According to Dr. Masch's representation, p. 146. one might suppose that these words applied to Matth. xix. 19. and that Origen meant to say, there was a difference in the MSS. in respect to the words, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' But as far as I understand Origen, this is not his meaning: he observes only in general terms, that many alterations had been made in the MSS. of St. Matthew's Gospel; and from this general assertion endeavours to justify a critical conjecture at the place in question.

has been occasioned either by the negligence of transcribers, or by the audaciousness of those who have ventured to alter the Scriptures, or by the liberties which have been taken in adding or erasing, in order to improve the text'. Now as Origen, says Dr. Masch², was accustomed to correct the Greek versions of the Old Testament by the assistance of the Hebrew, he would hardly have neglected in the present instance, where he doubted the genuineness of a passage in the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, to have had likewise recourse to the Hebrew original, as the surest means of determining the question, if a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel had existed.—This is the objection: I will now proceed to the answer.

That Origen did not appeal to a Hebrew original, in order to determine the authenticity of doubtful passages in the Greek Gospel, I readily admit: but I cannot consider this neglect as a proof, that no Hebrew original existed. Dr. Masch indeed asserts, p. 147, that Origen had read, and occasionally quoted a Hebrew Gospel, which was reported to be that of St. Matthew: but as I know not on what authority this assertion is made, I cannot enter into a discussion of it³. If Origen was in possession of the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes, we are not certain that he considered *this* Gospel as the same with the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew: and therefore his neglect to appeal to it in the case in question will prove nothing⁴. But suppose Origen really believed that a Hebrew Gospel in his possession was St. Matthew's original: yet an

² Jerom not only had read the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes, but translated it into Latin, and moreover was inclined to believe that it was the original of St. Matthew's Gospel⁴. Yet in his Commentary on this Gospel he leaves it unnoticed in places where he examines the authenticity of readings: for instance, *Matth. v. 22*. He thought probably that, even if it was the original, it was too corrupted to be of any service in a case of criticism.

appeal to it would not have been the only decisive method of determining the authenticity of a text, since an original itself may be corrupted as well as a translation'. In examining a doubtful passage of the Latin version, in St. Luke or St. John's Gospel for instance, of which no doubt is entertained that they were written originally in Greek, we do not instantly conclude that the passage is genuine, when we have found that it is in the Greek Gospel of St. Luke or St. John: for the Greek may be corrupted as well as the Latin. Now it is not improbable that Origen thought the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew had been so corrupted, as to render it an improper criterion in settling the text of the Greek: and if it was the same, as that which the Nazarenes used, he did not think so without reason.

Further if we read in connection all that Origen has written^a on the passage, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' our surprize that he did not appeal to the Hebrew Gospel will be still more diminished. He alleges various arguments, and, as far as I can judge, in the name of others, rather than in his own, to shew that a doubt may be entertained of the authenticity of the passage in question, but comes to no absolute decision either one way or the other. His principal argument is the following. Jesus appears to have approved the young man's answer, 'All this have I kept from my youth,' because St. Mark immediately adds, 'Then Jesus beholding him, loved him.' But if the commandment, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' had been observed by this young man from his youth, there failed nothing to his moral accomplishments; since the love of our neighbour is the fulfilling of the law: and consequently Jesus would not have replied, 'If thou wilt be perfect, sell that thou hast, and give to the poor.'—It appears from what I have already said, that Origen's inquiry in the present in-

^a Tom. III. p. 669—672.

stance is by no means a critical one : and therefore if he had possessed the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew in its utmost purity, we need not be surprised, if he had not appealed to it. Immediately after the sentence which Dr. Masch has quoted from Origen's Commentary, and which I have given in a preceding paragraph, Origen writes as follows. ' I have discovered, through the assistance of God, a method of correcting the differences in the copies of the Old Testament, and have used the other editions as a criterion. When I found variations in the copies of the Septuagint, I examined the readings of the other editions, and retained those which they confirmed. Some readings which were not in the Hebrew, I marked with an obelus, not venturing wholly to reject them. Other readings I marked with an asterisk, namely such as were not in the Septuagint, but which I added from the other editions, because they were confirmed by the Hebrew.' Now since Origen relates this in the very place where he examines whether Matth. xix. 19. be genuine, and yet has not recourse to the same critical method of determining the question, as he had applied in the Septuagint, it appears that he was not inclined, at least not at that time, to undertake the same laborious task in respect to St. Matthew's Gospel, as he had undertaken in regard to the Greek version of the Old Testament. He plainly distinguishes the critical from the exegetical examination of a reading : he shews from his own example relative to the Old Testament, in what manner critical inquiries must be conducted, and then concludes. Shall we infer therefore that in Origen's opinion St. Matthew's Gospel was not written in Hebrew, because he did not appeal to it? I think not : but I leave it to the reader, to draw that inference which he thinks the most probable.

2. There is another passage in Origen's works, which Dr. Masch considers as still more decisive than that which I have already examined : namely, in Origen's

Homily on the Preface of St. Luke's Gospel'. Here Origen discovers in the word *εργασάτω* a tacit censure, on the part of St. Luke, of those who had written Gospels before him, a censure inapplicable to men inspired by the Holy Spirit, and observes: 'Matthew did not take in hand, but wrote by the instigation of the Holy Spirit: in like manner Mark, and John, as also Luke. But they who composed the Gospel, intitled, the Gospel of the Twelve, took in hand'.⁹ Now since Jerom. relates that the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes, which was the same as that which is known by the name of 'The Gospel of the Twelve,' was called likewise by many the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew⁹, Dr. Masch considers the passage just quoted as a proof that Origen expressly rejected the Hebrew Gospel ascribed to St. Matthew, and that he opposed it to the inspired Greek Gospel. But this is more than I can admit: for though Origen rejects the Gospel, called the Gospel of the Twelve, and opposes it to inspired Gospels, it by no means follows that he rejected therefore St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, unless it can be proved that in Origen's opinion the Hebrew Gospel, of which he spake, was the very same as that which St. Matthew had written¹⁰. As far as relates to the present instance, it is of no consequence what others thought of the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes, but what Origen himself thought of it: and it is not improbable that, though Origen believed St. Matthew had written in Hebrew, (for he has expressly declared it) he did not believe that the Gospel used by the Nazarenes, was the same as St. Matthew's Gospel. Or if he believed it to have been originally the same, yet in consequence of the many alterations and additions,

⁹ Dr. Masch quotes from Simon Hist. Crit. des Commentateurs du N. T. ch. v. p. 82. where Simon has quoted the passage from Greek manuscripts.—It has been since published in the Benedictine edition of Origen's works, Vol. III. p. 932.

which had been made in it, he might have thought proper to distinguish it from the genuine uncorrupted Gospel of St. Matthew".

3. Dr. Masch produces a passage from Eusebius's Commentary on the Psalms, from which he says, this ecclesiastical writer manifestly signifies that in his opinion St. Matthew wrote in Greek". Eusebius namely in his Annotation on Psalm lxxxviii. 2. which in the Septuagint runs thus, *Ανοιξω εν παραβολαις το σωμα μου φλεγομαι προβληματα απ' αρχης*, but in St. Matthew's Gospel, ch. xiii. 35, is quoted in the following manner, *Ανοιξω εν παραβολαις το σωμα μου· ερευξομαι κεκρυμμενα ενο καταβολης κοσμου*, explains this difference by saying: *Εβραιος εν ο Ματθαιος οικια εκδοσει κεχρηται*. By *οικια εκδοσις* Dr. Masch understands 'St. Matthew's own translation,' and hence argues that, according to the representation of Eusebius, St. Matthew wrote in Greek. But the word *εκδοσις* does not necessarily signify a translation: it signifies literally an edition, and may be applied to the Hebrew as well as to the Greek. Nor will *οικια*, even if *εκδοσις* be construed translation, signify 'Matthew's own,' but will rather denote a translation which was in use where St. Matthew lived; with which explanation the word *κεχρηται* well agrees. I believe indeed that Eusebius, by the words *Εβραιος εν ο Ματθαιος οικια εκδοσει κεχρηται*, meant to say, 'Matthew, as being a Hebrew, used the edition of his own country,' that is, the Hebrew Bible, and therefore quoted the passage as he found it in the Hebrew. But even if *εκδοσις* must be construed translation, still *οικια εκδοσις* in reference to St. Matthew, will denote a Chaldee and not a Greek translation. The explanation therefore given by Dr. Masch is not defensible. But were it true that the words of Eusebius admitted of the interpretation which he has given them, yet no one can deny they are capable also of another: and since Eusebius has at other times positively declared, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, the explanation which agrees with this opinion,

and makes Eusebius consistent with himself, is surely preferable to that, which involves him in a glaring contradiction.

SECTION VI.

Additional arguments in favour of the opinion, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew.

As I have shewn in the two preceding sections that the testimony of the ancients is uniformly in favour of a Hebrew original, it may appear unnecessary to produce any other arguments, since questions of history must be finally determined by historical evidence. But if any reasons can be assigned which shew that the fact, for which I contend, is probable in itself, they may be admitted as auxiliary or corroborative evidence.

In the first place then, it is agreed on all sides*, that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Palestine, and for the immediate use of the inhabitants of that country, or, as ecclesiastical writers call them, the Hebrews. But if St. Matthew wrote for the immediate use of the inhabitants of Palestine, it is reasonable to suppose that he wrote in the language of that country, that is, Syro-Chaldee, which ecclesiastical writers call Hebrew, as well as the more ancient language of the Old Testament. This subject I have examined at large in the Introduc-

* Dr. Semler indeed makes an exception; for in his *Hist. Eccl. selecta capita*, Tom. I. p. 42, he says, *Carpocrates et Cerinthus cum Alexandria versati fuerint, et tamen Matthæi evangelio usi, sequitur ut falsum fere sit, Matthæi Evangelium Palestinensibus fuisse destinatum.* But the circumstance that Carpocrates and Cerinthus read St. Matthew's Gospel in Alexandria, affords not even a presumption, that he did not write it for the immediate use of the inhabitants of Palestine. Both Dr. Semler and myself have read St. Luke's Gospel: we might therefore say on the same principles, *Sequitur ut falsum sit Lucæ Evangelium Theophilo fuisse destinatum.*

tion to the Epistle to the Hebrews¹: and, as what I have said on the language of that Epistle is equally applicable to that of St. Matthew's Gospel, I refer the reader to it for further information¹.

Dr. Masch indeed has brought nine arguments² to prove that the Jews even of Jerusalem universally understood Greek: but they really are of no value whatsoever. His first argument is, that in the Jewish synagogues, as soon as a section had been read from the Hebrew Bible, it was usual to explain it to the people by reading it in the Chaldee or the Greek version. Now it is true that the Greek version was read in the Jewish Synagogues in Egypt, in Asia Minor, and other countries where the Jews themselves, as well as the rest of the inhabitants, spoke Greek: but in Judæa, and in all those countries which lay to the eastward, the Chaldee version was used. In the present inquiry therefore which is confined to Judæa alone, it is wholly foreign to the purpose to argue from the practice of reading the Greek Bible³. Another argument is, that many apocryphal books were written in Greek, and that Aquila made a Greek translation of the Old Testament: but this proves only that there were countries in which the Jews spoke Greek, not that it was spoken in Palestine, and that too above fifty years before the time of Aquila⁴. The assertion that the Greek language was introduced into Palestine in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes is more than any one can prove: on the contrary, the victories of the Maccabees, and the

¹ Sect. 2.

² Pag. 138—142.

³ Dr. Masch says, 'What service could Aquila propose to render to the Jews by making a new Greek translation of the Old Testament, unless the Greek language was universally known to them? Answer, That they, who *did* understand Greek, might read it.—It is surely a very extraordinary conclusion, that because Aquila, who was a native of Pontus, and lived half a century after the destruction of Jerusalem, translated the Old Testament into Greek, the inhabitants of Judæa in the time of the Apostles likewise spoke Greek.

subsequent enmity of the Jews toward the Grecian kings of Syria, must have prevented the introduction of that language. Another argument used by Dr. Masch is, that in the Targum, and also in the Talmud, several Greek words and expressions occur: whence he infers, that the Greek language must have been well known to the Hebrews. Now we might with equal reason contend, that, because many Latin and French words have been adopted in the German language, the Latin and French languages are universally understood in that country, and that a Latin or French Bible would be intelligible to a German congregation. But every one knows that this conclusion would be false: and therefore we cannot conclude, from similar premises, that a Greek book would have been intelligible to a Jewish congregation in Jerusalem. In the Syriac language a much greater number of Greek words was adopted, than we find in any Targum, or even in the Talmud: yet, the Greek language was so little understood by the common people in Syria, that the Syrian fathers, not excepting Ephrem, who lived at Edessa, a Grecian colony, thought it necessary to write in the language of the country¹.—As Dr. Masch's other arguments prove nothing more than that the Greek language was spoken by the Jews who lived in the countries which lay westward of Palestine, and that they who lived in Jerusalem *might* have learned Greek from the foreign Jews who resorted to that city, it would be useless to attempt a confutation of them. To his objection, that St. Matthew's Gospel, if written in Hebrew, (that is, Syro-Chaldee) would have been confined in its use to a very small district, I answer, that Syro-Chaldee was spoken not only by the Jews of Palestine, but also by the Jews of Syria and Mesopotamia. In Arabia likewise were many Jewish families; and though Syro-Chaldee was not the language of Arabia, as it was of Syria and Mesopotamia, yet the Jews who settled there, and brought with them their Chaldee paraphrase, re-

tained probably their native language. Nor must we forget that Arabia is the country, where Pantænus is said to have seen the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew at the end of the second century; whence we see that it continued in use among the eastern Jews long after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the Jews of Palestine.

If St. Matthew wrote before St. Luke, whether in the year 41, or 49, is immaterial, a second reason for supposing that he wrote in Hebrew may be sought in the preface to St. Luke's Gospel. In this preface St. Luke, at least as I understand him, casts an indirect censure on the Gospels which had been written before his own. Consequently, St. Matthew's Gospel, if it then existed, must have been unknown to St. Luke. But this is inexplicable on any other supposition than that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew; for had he written in Greek, whether in 41, or 49, his Gospel could not have remained unknown to St. Luke, who had travelled with St. Paul through so many different countries, who had been with him in Jerusalem, and spent two years in Cæsarea⁴. However I shall not insist on this argument, because it depends on the supposition that St. Luke wrote later than St. Matthew, which, though admitted by Dr. Masch, some authors have denied.

A third probable argument may be derived from the quotations in St. Matthew's Gospel from the Old Testament: for they more frequently agree with the Hebrew text, than with the text of the Septuagint², as Jerom has observed in several places. Now this phænomenon cannot be better explained, than on the hypothesis that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and that his Greek translator gave sometimes a literal translation of the Hebrew quotations, but at other times consulted the

² See Vol. I. ch. v. sect. 3. of this Introduction.

Septuagint, and quoted the passages, as they stood in the Greek version⁷.

SECTION VII.

Examination of the Objections, which have been made to the Opinion, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew¹.

1. THE first objection is, that amongst all the writers who have asserted that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, not one has pretended to have actually seen and used the original.

Now there are many books besides St. Matthew's Gospel, which are no longer extant in the language in which they were written, and yet we do not doubt, that those books once existed. It is surely not incredible that a Gospel written in Hebrew might dwindle into oblivion, and become gradually extinct, after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the Hebrew Jews. Palestine ceased at the end of the first century to be a seminary for Jewish converts, who understood Hebrew: and to the Greek Christians, a Hebrew Gospel was of no value.

But suppose the Hebrew Gospel continued several centuries in existence, yet, if we except Origen and Jerom, perhaps none of the fathers, who have spoken of this Gospel, were able to read it. The objection therefore applies chiefly, if not entirely to Origen and Jerom. But Jerom not only declares that he had seen the Hebrew Gospel, which was believed to be St. Mat-

⁷ The exclamation of Christ on the cross, Matth. xxvii. 46. *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani*, is given in the Syriac version, without any interpretation: but in the parallel passage of St. Mark's Gospel, an interpretation is added in the Syriac version, as well as in the Greek. This difference is not unworthy of notice, though I do not think it of sufficient importance, to ground an argument upon it.

thew's original, but even that he made a translation of it. Origen indeed rejects the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes, which is the Gospel that Jerom translated, whence it is inferred that in Origen's opinion the author of it was not an Apostle. But this inference is liable to many objections: for the Gospel used by the Nazarenes, which Jerom translated, may have been originally the work of St. Matthew, and afterwards so corrupted by alterations and additions, as deservedly to lose all canonical authority. On this subject I shall say nothing further at present, because it will be particularly considered in one of the following sections. But whether it is admitted that the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes was originally the work of St. Matthew or not, yet, if we may credit the accounts of Eusebius and Jerom, Pantænus at least saw it in the hands of the Christians in Arabia Felix, a country where we may not unreasonably suppose that a Hebrew Gospel must have been longer preserved than in Palestine itself².

2. Another opinion is, that if St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and by Hebrew is to be understood the language spoken in Palestine in the time of the Apostles, a Syriac translation of the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew would have been wholly unnecessary: for, as the Chaldee dialect spoken in Jerusalem differed from the Syriac only in the form of the letters and in the punctuation, a Syrian need only have learnt the Hebrew characters, to have understood St. Matthew's Gospel in the original.

But if St. Matthew wrote in ancient Hebrew, this objection will not apply. And if by Hebrew we understand Chaldee, we must recollect that we have a Syriac version of the Chaldee passages in the book of Daniel. This question I have fully examined in the sixteenth section of my Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews, to which I refer the reader for further information².

² See Sect. 4. of this chapter.

3. The third objection is, that in St. Matthew's Gospel an interpretation is given of several Hebrew words, for instance, Ch. i. 23. xxvii. 36. 46: which would not have been given, if St. Matthew had written in Hebrew for the use of the Hebrews.

Now if St. Matthew wrote in Chaldee, an interpretation of Hebrew words was not improper: and in whatever oriental language he wrote, his Greek translator would have added interpretations of the oriental expression, which he retained in the translation, or Greek readers would not have understood them³.

4. The fourth objection is, that in St. Matthew's Gospel passages of the Old Testament are sometimes quoted not according to the Hebrew text but according to the Septuagint text: for instance, Ch. ii. 18. iii. 3. iv. 4. 6.

Now this is a very extraordinary objection, because the passages of the Old Testament are commonly quoted in this Gospel according to the Hebrew text, as is observed by Jerom, who assigns as a reason for it, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew. It is true, that some few quotations in the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew agree with the text of the Septuagint. But this will not prove that St. Matthew himself wrote in Greek and quoted from the Septuagint: for Hebrew quotations from the Old Testament made in a Gospel written originally in that language, may sometimes at least have been given by a Greek translator in the words of the Greek version, which was in general use. Irenæus certainly wrote in Greek, and quoted from the Greek text of the New Testament: yet in the Latin translation of the works of Irenæus, the quotations from the New Testament, instead of being verbally rendered from the Greek, are given in the words of the Latin version. But if the agreement of these quotations with the Latin version will not prove that Irenæus wrote in Latin, neither will the agreement of the quotations in St. Matthew's Gospel with the text of the Greek version, prove that St. Matthew wrote in Greek⁴.

5. Dr. Masch objects* that in the genealogy of Christ, in the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, the proper names are written with the orthography of the Septuagint. Further, that in several places, where there are no formal quotations from the Septuagint, we find phrases and modes of expression, which were manifestly taken from it: for instance, ch. v. 4. 5. 34. vii. 8. xxiv. 15. 29. xxv. 36. compared with Isaiah lxi. 2. lx. 21. lxvi. 1. Prov. viii. 17. Dan. ix. 27. Isai. xiii. 10. Ezek. xviii. 7.

Now I shall make no objections to these seven examples (though I do not think them happily chosen, for some of them are real quotations,) because if not seven only but seventy passages could be produced from the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, which contained expressions used in the Septuagint, they would not prove that it was not a translation. Arguments of this kind are merely neutral and prove, neither on the one side, nor on the other. They shew only that the person, who wrote the Greek Gospel, was well acquainted with the language of the Septuagint: but they leave the question wholly undecided whether that person was an original writer, or only gave a translation of the work of another. Both Jews and Christians, who lived in countries, where the Greek language was spoken, and of course read the Bible in the Greek version, were by daily habit so familiarised with its expressions, that it would have been hardly in their power to write, whether an original or a translation, without occasionally introducing them. Besides, four of these seven examples are taken from Christ's sermon on the mount, if they prove therefore, that this discourse in the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew is not a translation, they must prove at the same time, that

* Pag. 130—134.

Christ delivered it in Greek, which is more than Dr. Masch himself would allow^b.

With respect to the first part of this objection, that the proper names in the genealogy of Christ are written as they are in the Septuagint, it cannot prove that the genealogy was written originally in Greek, unless it can be shewn that a translator in rendering from the Hebrew, must necessarily have retained the Hebrew orthography. When Dr. Masch says, that a translator could not have written all these proper names as we find them in the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, without turning every instant to the Septuagint, he must suppose, that a Greek translator of the Hebrew Gospel in the first century was in the same situation as he or I should be, if we had to translate from Hebrew into Greek. But a Greek translator would as readily adopt the orthography of the Septuagint, as a German translator that of Luther's version : for the Greek Bible was to him, what the German Bible is to us. Besides, this objection, if valid, would prove too much : for it would apply also to St. Matthew himself.

6. Dr. Masch asserts^c, that in St. Matthew's Greek Gospel are found all those qualifications, which discover a work to be an original, and which, without a most extraordinary combination of circumstances, are not to be expected in a translation. Most translations, he says, especially such as are literal, instantly betray themselves as such : and it is not difficult to discover even the language from which they were made, because a translator insensibly adopts the modes of ex-

^b As the Aramæan words, which occur in Christ's discourses, are expressed in our Greek Gospels according to the punctuation of the Chaldee dialect, which was spoken in Jerusalem, and was more refined than the Syriac, we must conclude that, though the latter dialect was spoken in Galilee, the former was used by Christ, which was probably owing to the circumstance, that both Joseph and Mary came out of Judæa.

^c Pag. 82—97.

pression, which are peculiar to the language from which he translates.

Now one should suppose from this objection, that the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew was written in such pure language as to discover no marks of a Hebrew idiom : for otherwise the objection is wholly inapplicable in the present instance. But it is so well known that the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew abounds with Hebrew idioms, that it would be a waste of time to produce examples^d. Even were it written in the purest Greek, its language would be no absolute proof that it was not a translation : for there are some, though not many, translations, which are so well executed, that they might easily pass for originals.—On the other hand, it must not be understood, that the hebraizing language in St. Matthew's Gospel affords a positive argument for a Hebrew original, since St. Matthew himself would not have written in pure Greek. Though I deny therefore Dr. Masch's inference, I do not, from his premises alone, infer the contrary.

7. The seventh objection is, that no translation ever was made without some few mistakes : but that no one can shew any such mistakes in the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew.

But this objection proves nothing : for if the Greek Gospel is a translation, the original is lost : and therefore

^d The Greek Gospel of St. Matthew hebraizes in a much greater degree than the writings of St. Luke and St. Paul, than the Gospel and Epistles of St. John, and the Epistles of St. Peter and James. It has even more Hebraisms than many books of the Septuagint ; for instance, the Proverbs of Solomon, and the five books of Moses, though the latter are a very close translation from the Hebrew. The Apocalypse, though it contains more violations of the rules of grammar, yet is written in such flowing language, and has so much both of the beautiful and the sublime, as to put it out of all competition, as far as the excellence of composition is concerned, with St. Matthew's Gospel. The only book of the New Testament, which is written in worse Greek, is the Gospel of St. Mark : and this is, owing rather to other causes, than to the number of Hebraisms.

a comparison between them, which alone can determine the question, cannot take place.

8. The eighth objection is, that the Greek fathers quote the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, as an inspired book, and with such confidence, as implies that, notwithstanding their declarations that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, they really believed that they were using the words, which proceeded from the pen of the Evangelist.

To this objection I answer that the Greek fathers quoted the septuagint as an inspired work, and with as much confidence as they quoted the Greek Gospel. They who have not access to an original must be contented with a translation: and, as some of them believed in the present instance that the translation was made by an inspired writer, they entertained no doubt of its accuracy⁵.

9. Lastly, as a proof that St. Matthew wrote in Greek, it is alleged that the Greek Gospel already existed, when St. Mark wrote. In support of this position Dr. Masch^{*} has produced the following example. The text of the Septuagint at Zech. xiii. 7. is Πάταξτε τὰς ποιμένας, καὶ ἐκσπάσατε τὰ πρόβατα: but in St. Matthew's Gospel, ch. xxvi. 31. the passage is quoted thus, Πάταξω τὸν ποιμένα, καὶ διασκορπισθήσονται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποιμνῆς, and these very words are used likewise by St. Mark, ch. xiv. 27. with exception to τῆς ποιμνῆς, which St. Mark has not. This deviation of the two Evangelists from the Septuagint, and their verbal agreement with each other, Dr. Masch considers as a proof, that St. Mark copied from the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew.

To this objection I answer that, though the text of the Septuagint quoted by Dr. Masch from Zech. xiii. 7. which is that of the Roman edition, is very different from the quotation made in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, it is by no means improbable that in

the time of the Apostles there existed copies of the Septuagint, in which no such difference was visible. The various readings still existing at this passage justify the conjecture: for instead of *παταξατε τας ποιμένας, και εκσπασατε τα προβατα*, the Codex Alexandrinus has *παταξον τον ποιμενα, και διασκορπισθησονται τα προβατα της ποιμνης*. The difference between this text and that of the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew is not so material: it consists chiefly between *παταξω* and *παταξον*^f, for *διασκορπισθησονται* is found in several MSS both in St. Matthew's and in St. Mark's Gospel. Further, this reading is quoted by Flaminius Nobilius (and moreover without *της ποιμνης*, which is omitted by St. Mark), among the various readings to the Septuagint: it is confirmed by the Aldine and Complutensian editions, and other authorities, which may be seen in the sixth volume of the London Polyglot. It is therefore not improbable that in St. Mark's copy of the Septuagint, the passage in Zechariah was worded as he has quoted it: and therefore his agreement in this instance with the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew will not prove that he copied from it.

On the other hand, if the reading *παταξατε τας ποιμένας, κ. τ. λ.* and no other, was in the copies of the Septuagint in the first century, it follows that the quotations from Zech. xiii. 7. as we find it both in Matth. xxvi. 31. and Mark xiv. 27. was taken not from the Septuagint, but from the Hebrew Bible. Indeed *παταξατε τας ποιμένας*, in the plural number, would not have suited the purpose for which the quotation was made: for Christ, who made it at the time when he was seized, applied it to himself, who was the shepherd that was smitten, as the Apostles were the sheep of the flock, that were scattered abroad. It is true, that two separate

^f In the Arabic version of Zechariah, which was made from the Septuagint, we find *اضرب*, which may denote either *παταξω* or *παταξον*, according as it is pointed.

‘beauty,’ and *κοσμος* has likewise this sense, that the translation in question was occasioned by a too literal adherence to the original. Now all the kingdoms, which existed in Palestine in the time of Christ, could be seen from the top of Mount Nebo⁹: St. Matthew therefore meant all the kingdoms of Palestine, which his translator converted into all the kingdoms of the world.—Ch. v. 18. *ως αν παντα γεινηται* is not very intelligible, for the question relates to the laws of God, and the laws of God are not universally fulfilled. Perhaps the words of the original were *לְעוֹלָם וָעוֹלָם*, which are capable of a different translation from *ως αν παντα γεινηται*; for *לְעוֹלָם* may denote ‘for ever,’ and *וְ* if *לְ* was used in the preceding clause, would signify ‘but.’ The meaning therefore of Christ was, ‘As long as heaven and earth remain, they shall not be abolished, but every thing shall be executed.’—Ch. v. 48. *τηλειωται* is somewhat obscure. A word expressive of peace or reconciliation, would be more suitable to the context, than a word expressive of perfection. Perhaps *מְשָׁלֵם* was used in the original, which admits both senses.—Ch. viii. 28, 29. mention is made of two demoniacs, whereas St. Mark and St. Luke mention only one. Now, if the dialect, in which St. Matthew wrote, was the Syriac, this contradiction may be ascribed to the translator. For in Syriac, when a noun is in what is called the Status emphaticus, it has the very same orthography in the singular, as it has in the plural⁶; and even in the verb, the third person plural is sometimes written like the third person singular, without the Vau, namely *ܘܡܐ* for *ܘܡܐܐ*. However I shall not insist on this explanation, because I much doubt whether St. Matthew wrote in Syriac⁷.—Ch. ix. 18. Jairus says of his daughter *αρτι ετελευτησε*, ‘she is already dead,’ whereas, according to St. Mark, he says *εσχρατως εχει*, ‘she is at the point of death, and receives the first

⁹ See Deut. xxxiv. 1—34. From the top of Nebo, even Mount Sinai may be discerned.

intelligence of her death, as he was returning home accompanied by Christ. Various artifices have been used by the harmonists to reconcile this contradiction, and with very little success: but as soon as we reflect on the words, which must have stood in the original, all difficulty vanishes on this head. For $\pi\mu\delta\ \pi\mu\gamma$ may signify either 'she is now dead,' or 'she is now dying.'^p St. Matthew's translator rendered the word according to the former punctuation, whereas he ought rather to have adopted the latter, as appears from what is related by the two other Evangelists.^q—Ch. xi. 12. $\eta\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \tau\omega\upsilon\ \sigma\pi\alpha\upsilon\omega\upsilon\ \beta\alpha\zeta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ is so harsh and obscure, and the expression used by St. Luke^p on the same occasion, $\eta\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \tau\epsilon\ \theta\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\zeta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ is so easy and natural, that there is reason to doubt whether St. Matthew's original was in this passage rendered properly. Now $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\zeta\omega$ is in Hebrew $\וְבִינַי$: but if this word be written $\וְבִנַי$ with Samech instead of Sin, as it is in Syriac, a translator might render it by $\beta\iota\alpha\zeta\omega$, especially if $\delta\delta\pi$ followed in the same sentence. For both $\וְבִנַי$ and $\delta\delta\pi$ signify, 1. *Crucius fuit*, 2. *Violavit*; and the corresponding Arabic word $\وَجَسَّ$ signifies also *intempestive fecit*, and *vim intulit*. If then St. Matthew wrote $\mu\lambda\iota\kappa\iota\omega\tau\ \eta\ \sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon\mu\ \tau\epsilon\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \tau\omega\upsilon\ \sigma\pi\alpha\upsilon\omega\upsilon$, the translator might explain $\beta\iota\alpha\zeta\omega$ by $\delta\delta\pi$, and consequently render the three words by $\eta\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \tau\omega\upsilon\ \sigma\pi\alpha\upsilon\omega\upsilon\ \beta\iota\alpha\zeta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, I will not affirm however that this solution is the true one, as it is rather too artificial.—Ch. xxi. 33. $\omega\rho\upsilon\zeta\epsilon\ \lambda\eta\upsilon\omega\upsilon$, 'he dug a wine press,' is an incorrect expression, for it was properly the $\upsilon\pi\omicron\lambda\eta\upsilon\iota\omega\upsilon$ which was dug, and hence St. Mark^q has $\omega\rho\upsilon\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\ \upsilon\pi\omicron\lambda\eta\upsilon\iota\omega\upsilon$, which is correct. St. Matthew wrote probably $\וְבִנַי\ \וְבִנַי$, an expression used by Isaiah, ch. v. 2. on which I refer the reader to Lowth's note on that verse.—Ch. xxi. 41. $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\sigma\iota\upsilon\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$ seems to be a false reading, not only because the words which follow were, according to St. Mark, uttered by Christ, but because it is improbable that the Jewish priests

^p Ch. xvi. 16.^q Ch. xii. 1.

who certainly understood the import of the parable, which Christ had just delivered to them, would have answered *κακὸς κακῶς ἀπολεσεὶ αὐτοὺς*, and from the account given by St. Luke it appears that they actually gave a very different answer*. In this passage therefore St. Matthew wrote probably *ἔειπεν*, 'he said,' which was mistaken for *ἔειπον* 'they said,' perhaps by the transcriber, who wrote the copy, from which the Greek translation was made. Further, if this mistake was made in the verse in question, the translator must have considered *ἔειπεν* ver. 42. not as a continuation of Christ's discourse, but as a reply to what the Jewish priests had said. Perhaps objections may be made to this solution: but I know of no other method of reconciling in this instance, St. Matthew with St. Mark and St. Luke, and it is surely better to suppose that St. Matthew's translator made a mistake, than to ascribe the mistake to the Evangelist himself. It is true that the difficulty may be removed by saying that *λεγοῦσιν αὐτῷ* is an interpolation: but for this assertion we have no authority, since these words are found in all the Greek manuscripts, except the Codex Leicestrensis, which cannot be put in competition with the united evidence of all other manuscripts.

To the example which now follows I believe no objection will be made. Immediately after Christ was fastened to the cross*, they gave him, according to St. Matthew, ch. xxvii. 34. vinegar mingled with gall, but according to St. Mark, ch. xv. 23. they offered him wine mingled with myrrh. Here is a manifest contradiction, and of course in one of the two accounts there must be an inaccuracy. That St. Mark's account is the right one is probable from the circumstance, that

* *Ἀναστασις δὲ οὐκ ἔτι γένοιτο.*

* What is now the object of consideration must be carefully distinguished from that which took place several hours afterwards, shortly before Christ expired.

Christ refused to drink what was offered him, as appears both from Matth. xxvii. 34. and Mark xv. 23. Wine mixed with myrrh was given to malefactors at the place of execution, in order to intoxicate them, and make them less sensible to pain. Christ therefore with great propriety refused the aid of such remedies. But, if vinegar was offered him, which was taken merely to assuage thirst, there could be no reason for his rejecting it. Besides, he tasted it, before he rejected it, and therefore he must have found it different from that which, if offered to him, he was ready to receive. To solve this difficulty we must suppose that the words used in the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew were such, as agreed with the account given by St. Mark, and at the same time were capable of the construction, which was put upon them by St. Matthew's Greek translator. Nor is it difficult to conjecture what these words were. Suppose St. Matthew wrote 'חליא במריא, which signifies 'sweet wine with bitters,' or 'sweet wine and myrrh,' as we find it in St. Mark, and St. Matthew's translator overlooked the Jod in חליא, he took it for חלא which signifies 'vinegar:' and 'bitter' he translated by *χολη*, as it is often rendered in the Septuagint. Nay St. Matthew may have written חלא, and have still meant to express 'sweet wine:' if so, the difference consisted only in the points, for the same word חלא,

* I here write the words in Chaldee; to make them Hebrew we need only substitute ח for א.

• אֲחֵלָּא in Chaldee, اَلْ in Syriac, and اَل in Arabic, signify *acetum*. In Hebrew the word would be written אֲחֵלָּא. Further אֲחֵלָּא in Chaldee and Syriac, as well as اَلو in Arabic, signifies *dulcis fait*. Hence אֲחֵלָּא, and in the status emphaticus אֲחֵלָּא, may signify *vinum dulce*. In Latin, *Dulcia* is particularly used to denote wine mixed with myrrh. See Brissonius de Verborum Significatione, p. 365.

which, when pronounced Halé, signifies 'sweet,' denotes, as soon as we pronounce it Hala, 'vinegar.' The translator of St. Matthew's Gospel misunderstood the words of the original ; but St. Mark, who had been better informed by St. Peter, has given the true account ¹⁰.

Other contradictions, which the harmonists have not been able to reconcile, might perhaps be removed in the same manner : and by shewing that the discordancies arose, not from St. Matthew himself, but from his translator, objections may be answered, which have been made both to the inspiration of the Apostles, and to the Christian religion itself. For instance, if it be true, that the reading *δια τῶν προφητῶν Ἡσαίᾳ*, Matth. xiii. 35. on which Porphyry grounded one of his objections, be genuine in respect to the Greek Gospel, and from Jerom's answer we must really conclude that it was found in most of the Greek manuscripts in his time, it is possible that the reading is not genuine in respect to the Hebrew original, for it is possible that *Ἡσαίᾳ* was added by the Greek translator who might have borrowed it from the 14th verse. An author, who quotes a passage, may be reasonably expected to know from what book he quotes it ; but the same knowledge is not always to be expected from a translator.

SECTION IX.

Of the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes and the Ebionites: and whether this Gospel, in its Primitive State, was the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew.

THE question, whether the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes was written by St. Matthew, must not be confounded with the question, whether St. Matthew wrote a Hebrew Gospel; though the latter be true, the former may not, since it is possible that more than one Hebrew Gospel was composed. We must likewise distinguish the Gospel of the Nazarenes in the state, in which it was known to the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries, from the original state of this Gospel: for in its original state it may have been the work of St. Matthew, and yet have been afterwards so interpolated and corrupted, as to be no longer the same Gospel*. The question therefore to be examined is, whether the Gospel of the Nazarenes was *originally* the same as the Hebrew Gospel written by St. Matthew.

Among the various writers on this subject, I would particularly recommend Simon *Histoire critique du texte du N. T.* ch. 7, 8. where the question is answered in the affirmative. On the other side may be read Maii *Examen historiæ criticæ*, cap. 7, 8: but Maius was rather a zealous adversary, than a calm confuter of Simon, for he argued chiefly from the interpolations in the Gospel of the Nazarenes, which Simon had already acknowledged as such, and consequently not written by St. Matthew. Further may be consulted Mill's *Prolegomena*, § 42—49, and particularly

* This distinction removes likewise an objection to the opinion that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, drawn from the difference between the Gospel of the Nazarenes and the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew.

Dr. Masch's treatise on the original language of St. Matthew's Gospel, where the question is examined with so much the more minuteness, as it afforded the author an opportunity of attacking the opinion, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, on its weakest side. On the Nazarenes and the Ebionites, Epiphanius has written in his 29th and 30th Heresy; but as the accounts given by this Greek Father stand in need of critical corrections, the reader would do well to consult at the same time Mosheim de rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Magnum, p. 324—332, and Walch's History of the Heretics', Vol. i. p. 99—124. So much as is necessary for the examination of the present question I will deliver as concisely as possible.

Both the Nazarenes and Ebionites were Christians of Jewish origin, who lived for the most part to the east of Jordan and the Orontes; and the principal city of the Nazarenes was Pella. The Nazarenes retained the name, which was originally borne, not by a single sect, but by the followers of Christ in general; the Ebionites derived their name either from the Hebrew word Ebion, which signifies 'poor,' or, as some have thought, from a founder of the name of Ebion*. Both sects were nearly allied to each other, but on some points they differed. The Nazarenes are said to have rejected the four Gospels received by the church; and the Ebionites still more books of the New Testament. But as the Nazarenes did not understand Greek, they could not have used the Greek Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; and therefore we should rather say, that the four Greek Gospels were not in use among the Nazarenes, than that they actually rejected them: though on the other hand it is not improbable that they were prejudiced against Gospels, which they did not understand, as some of the Greek Fathers, for this very reason, were prejudiced against the Hebrew Gospel, which the Nazarenes used. Among the Ebionites; there were several who understood Greek; their motive

* See Acts xxiv. 5.

therefore for rejecting many books, which we receive, could be no other, than that they contained doctrines, which were not compatible with their own system. Both sects made use of a Hebrew Gospel, which was called the Gospel of St. Matthew, but which contained many passages not found in the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew. Both sects agreed in retaining the Levitical law*, at the same time that they professed themselves followers of Christ: but they differed from each other in this respect, that the Ebionites considered Christ as a mere man, whereas the Nazarenes, if not all, at least some of them, are said to have ascribed to him a divine origin. According to Mosheim and Walch, these two sects began in the second century[†]: and at the end of the fifth century, they appear to have been extinct. Jerom, who wrote at the beginning of the fifth century, describes the Nazarenes as a sect then existing, but after his time they are not mentioned in ecclesiastical history. It is true, that a sect called Nasiræans existed at Perrha on the Euphrates in the beginning of the sixth century: but they were totally different from the Nazarenes, for they derived their name, not from Nazareth, but from the Nasiræans of the Old Testament, and were a set of superstitious monks, who made it a rule never to eat or drink, except at the sacrament of the Lord's supper, which however they repeated so frequently every day, as to secure themselves from the danger of dying either through hunger or thirst[‡]. This sect therefore must be carefully distinguished from the Nazarenes, who are the subject of inquiry in this section.

Though both the Nazarenes and the Ebionites had a Hebrew Gospel, which was called the Gospel of St.

* The Ebionites were however more zealous in this respect than the Nazarenes, for they insisted on the observance not only of the Law of Moses, but likewise of all the additions which had been made to it by the Rabbins.

† See Assemani. Bibl. Orient. Tom. I. p. 412.

Matthew, it is possible that the Gospel used by the former differed materially from that which was used by the latter. Our accounts of both are very imperfect, but of the two we have the most knowledge of that which was used by the Nazarenes. Jerom, who not only read, but copied and translated it, relates that it was written with Hebrew letters, but in the Chaldee dialect^b. The circumstance that it was written with Hebrew letters was undoubtedly the cause of its being so little known to the Syrians, who would have understood it, if it had been written with Syriac characters.

It has been supposed, though perhaps without sufficient reason, that Tatian, an Assyrian writer of the second century, made use of the Gospel of the Nazarenes, in composing his harmony, which is generally called *δια τερσαρων*, but sometimes *δια πεντε*, on the supposition that it was composed out of five Gospels^c. Were the supposition grounded, the Harmony of Tatian, and the Commentary, which Ephrem wrote on it^d, would be of some importance in the present inquiry: but neither of these works are now extant^e. Tatian omitted the genealogy of Christ, because, as some say, he was a Docete: but he might have omitted

^b In Evangelio juxta Hebræos, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone, sed Hebraicis literis scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, secundum Apostolos, sive, ut plerique autumant, juxta Matthæum, quod et in Cæsariensi habetur bibliotheca, narrat historia, &c. Hieronym. adv. Pelagianos, Lib. III. Tom. iv. p. 533. ed. Martianay. When therefore the same Father, in his Note to Matth. xii. 13. says, In Evangelio quo utuntur Nazareni et Ebionitæ quod nuper in Græcum de Hebræo sermone transtulimus, et quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum, &c. it is evident that he used the word Hebrew in its most extensive sense, so as to include also the Chaldee.

^c Simon Hist. crit. du texte du N. T. Ch. VII. p. 74. Fabricii Codex apocryphus Nov. Test. Tom. I. p. 379. Beausobre Histoire du Manichéisme, Tom. I. p. 303, 304.

^d Assemani Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. P. 1. 379.

it on the authority of the Hebrew Gospel. This however is only conjecture. It is more certain that Origen was acquainted with this Gospel, for he has sometimes quoted it in his Commentary on St. Matthew⁶: but he did not receive it as the genuine work of an Apostle.

Jerom found a copy of this Gospel, which in his time appears even in Palestine to have become scarce, in the library of Cæsarea, which had been formed by the martyr Pamphilus. Another copy was lent him by the Nazarenes at Berœa in Syria, the city which is now called Aleppo⁶. This copy Jerom transcribed^f, and translated into Latin⁷: his translation however, as well as the original, is unfortunately lost. After the time of Jerom no ecclesiastical writer appears to have used or even to have seen the Gospel of the Nazarenes: the sect itself dwindled gradually away, and consequently their Gospel, which few persons could read, fell by degrees into oblivion. Single copies were probably preserved for some time in different libraries; but few public libraries in the East escaped the ravages of the flames on the invasion of the Saracens, and the copies, which remained in private families, were probably thrown aside as unintelligible and useless, as soon as their value was forgotten. It is probable therefore that no other traveller into Asia will have the same success at Aleppo, as Jerom.

In examining the Gospel of the Nazarenes, one of the first questions which occur is, whether it had the two chapters, with which the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew commences. Epiphanius, who was born in Palestine, and therefore had the best means of infor-

⁶ That Aleppo and Berœa are one and the same city, appears from the accounts of the Syrian writers of the sixth century, who relate of Aleppo what contemporary Greek historians relate of Berœa. See the geographical Index to the second volume of Assemani Bibl. Orientalis, and consult the passages to which reference is there made.

^f Hieronym. de Vir. illustr. Tom. IV. p. 102. ed. Martianay.

renes, and consequently that it contained the second chapter¹¹.

The Gospel of the Nazarenes had, on the other hand, many passages, which are not in our Greek Gospel of St. Matthew. For instance, ch. iii. *Ecce mater domini et fratres ejus dicebant ipsi Joannes Baptista baptizat in remissionem peccatorum: eamus et baptizemur ab eo. Dixit autem eis; quid peccavi, ut vadam et baptizer ab eo, nisi forte hoc ipsum quod dixi ignorantia est*¹². After the account of Christ's baptism follows, *Factum est autem cum ascendisset dominus de aqua, descendit fons omnis Spiritus sancti, et requievit super eum. Et dixit ille, fili mi, in omnibus prophetis expectabam te, ut venires, et requiescerem in te: tu enim es requies mea, tu es filius meus primogenitus, qui regnas in sempiternum*¹³. At ch. xii. 10. the man with a withered hand says, *Cœmentarius eram, manibus victum quæritans: precor te, Jesu, ut mihi restituas sanitatem, ne turpiter mendicem cibos*¹⁴. At ch. xviii. 21, 22. the text was worded thus, *Si peccaverit frater tuus in verbo, et satis tibi fecerit, septies in die suscipe illum. Dixit illi Simon discipulus ejus: septies in die? Respondit Dominus et dixit ei: etiam ego dico tibi, usque septuagesies. Etenim in prophetis quoque, postquam uncti sunt Spiritu sancto, inventus est sermo peccati*. In ch. xxvii. is the following relation: *Dominus autem, cum dedisset sindonem servo sacerdotis, ivit ad Jacobum, et apparuit ei. Juraverat enim Jacobus se non comesturum panem ab illa hora, qua biberat calicem Domini, donec viderat eum resurgentem a dormientibus*¹⁵. And soon after this passage is, *Adferte, ait Dominus mensam et panem.—Tulit panem et benedixit ac fregit, et post dedit Jacobo Justo, et dixit ei, frater mi comede panem tuum, quia resurrexit filius*

¹¹ Hieronym. adv. Pelagianos, Lib. III.

¹² Hieronym. Lib. IV. Comment. in Jesaiam, cap. 11.

¹³ Hieronym. Comment. in Matthæum.

hominis a dormientibus^{*}. In the 28th chapter [was likewise a passage relative to Christ's appearance to Peter, which Ignatius¹ has in Greek as follows. *Και οτε προς τας περι Πετρον ηλθεν, εφη αυτοις, λαβετε ψηλαφησατε με, και ιδετε οτι εκ ειμι δαιμονιον ασωματον.* Ignatius indeed does not say whence he derived this quotation: but Jerom, under the article Ignatius, in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, ch. 16. says, that it stood in the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes. Further, Jerom says in another place², *Cum enim Apostoli eum putarent spiritum, vel (secundum evangelium, quod Hebræorum lectitant Nazaræei) incorporale dæmonium.*

These and other passages in the Gospel of the Nazarenes, which are not contained in the Greek, the Christian Church has not received as Scripture authority. Yet the passages which Jerom has quoted, he has produced, as respectable though not Scripture authority: and the passage, which Ignatius quoted, is produced by this apostolical Father as a part of the sacred writings. It is however improbable that they proceeded from the pen of St. Matthew³: for if they had, it is hardly credible that such long and remarkable passages would have been omitted in the Greek. The ancient transcribers of the Gospels were always more inclined to insert new passages, than to erase what already existed: we must conclude therefore that, if the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes was St. Matthew's original, it received various additions, after the Greek translation had been made, and that hence arose the difference between the Hebrew and the Greek texts. In addition to the history recorded by St. Matthew, many other

^{*} Hieronym. Catal. Scriptorum Ecclesiast. s. v. Jacobus.

¹ Epist. ad. Smyrnenses, cap. 3.

² Hieronym. Opera, Tom. III. p. 478. ed. Martianay.

³ Perhaps the passage quoted by Ignatius may be excepted, for though it is in no Greek MS. at present, it might have been in the Greek text, when Ignatius wrote.

therefore, that Jerom would hardly have had recourse to conjecture, to determine the true reading of this passage, if he had been really in possession of St. Matthew's original, is of no weight. Besides, cases may occur, and the present appears to be one of them, in which an original is of less authority than a translation. Jerom supposed that *ἐκ* was an interpolation: he knew likewise that the Hebrew Gospel abounded with interpolations, and consequently, if he had found this word in the Hebrew Gospel, he would not have considered it as a proof, that the reading was genuine. This answer applies with still greater force to another example quoted by Mill from Matth. xxiv. 36. 'But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven, but my Father only.' On this passage Jerom observes, that in some copies the words, 'nor the Son,' were added: but he does not appeal to the Hebrew Gospel to determine whether they were genuine. Now suppose he had found these words in the Hebrew Gospel, the question to be asked is: ought he, as a critic, to have used this as an argument in favour of their authenticity? Certainly not. For since many of the Nazarenes denied the divinity of Christ, and this very reading has been used as an argument against the divinity, Jerom must necessarily have suspected that it was one of the many additions, which had been made to the Hebrew Gospel.

But at Matth. xxiii. 35. where the inquiry related, not to an addition of one or more words, but merely to the substitution of one word for another, Jerom really has quoted the Hebrew Gospel, and moreover for a reading of great importance. Matth. xxiii. 35. runs thus: 'That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar.' Now it appears from 2 Chron. xxiv. 20—22. that Zacharias, who was slain between the temple and the altar, was the son, not of Barachias, but of Jehoida: conse-

quently if the account in the Chronicles be accurate¹; the reading Barachias at Matth. xxiii. 35. cannot be the true reading. Some commentators have recourse to the supposition that Jehoiada and Barachias were different names of the same person: but this assertion is wholly incapable of proof, and is in itself highly improbable. Wetstein conjectures that St. Matthew purposely avoided the use of the word Jehoiada, because it contained in it the abbreviated name of Jehova, and therefore substituted Barachia. But this caution in respect to the abbreviation יד was confined only to the number 15, which it is true the Jews never noted by יד, though Jod is 10, and He is 5. And even if this reverence for יד extended to proper names, Wetstein's solution would be unsatisfactory, for in the Hebrew these two letters occur together in Barachia, as well as in Jehoiada. That Zacharias the eleventh of

¹ I purposely use this restriction, because I have some doubts in respect to the whole narrative, 2 Chron. xxiv. 15—22. as I have already observed in my note to 2 Kings xii. 20. No mention is made of it in the Books of the Kings, and yet we might suppose that so remarkable an event would hardly have been omitted. The narrative was probably taken from a Medrash or commentary on the Kings, agreeably to what we find ver. 27. of this very chapter of the Chronicles¹³. Besides, the narrative itself begins with an account, which is contradictory to chronology, as I have shewn in the Note to 2 Chron. xxiv. 15. It is possible therefore that Zacharias son of Barachias, and the eleventh of the minor prophets, was the person who was murdered, and that the commentator on the Kings, from whom the account in the Chronicles was derived, misunderstood the fact, and introduced it in an improper place. This supposition is as credible, as that the history of Zacharias, son of Jehoida, if it be true, should have been omitted in the Book of Kings. It is no objection, that the murder of Zacharias, son of Barachias, is no where recorded in the Old Testament: for between the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah there is an interval of more than thirty years, in which we are totally ignorant of the transactions of the Jews. The difficulty therefore may be solved on the supposition that the account given 2 Chron. xxiv. 15—22. is inaccurate, as easily as on the supposition that the reading Barachias, Matth. xxiii. 35. is spurious. In that case we may consider the story recorded 2 Chron. xxiv. 15—22. as tacitly corrected by Christ.

~~The~~ minor prophets, who was son of Barachias, was murdered, we read no where ¹ and it is not probable that two different persons named Zacharias, should both of them have been murdered under the very same circumstances. But if we admit that the eleventh of the minor prophets fell a sacrifice to the Jews, as well as the son of Jehoiada, yet Christ would rather have instanced the son of Jehoiada, because the murder of this person was not only particularly known, but was supposed to call aloud for vengeance ². The blood therefore of this Zacharias was more properly mentioned with the blood of Abel, than the blood of another Zacharias, whose murder, even if he did fall a victim, was unknown ³.—Now at this passage Jerom relates, that the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes read 'Zacharia the son of Jehoiada.'

I have already observed that though the Ebionites, as well as the Nazarenes, had a Hebrew Gospel, which was called the Gospel of St. Matthew, we must not therefore conclude that it contained the same text as that which the Nazarenes used. Of the Gospel used by the Ebionites we have hardly any other information, than that which has been given by Epiphanius, who, as an ecclesiastical writer, was far from being of the first class, and as a critic, must be referred to the very lowest class. But on the other hand, he had this advantage, that he was a native of Palestine, and understood Hebrew. Though he appears not to have seen the Gospel used by the Nazarenes, and to have derived his knowledge of it merely from the report of others ⁴, yet

* The Rabbins relate, that when Jerusalem was taken by the Chaldeans, the blood of the murdered Zacharias issued like a fountain, and that it was not appeased till Nebusaradan had made atonement by the sacrifice of a thousand Jews. See the quotations made by Wetstein in his note to this passage.

⁴ If he had himself examined the Gospel used by the Nazarenes, he could not have been in doubt, whether it contained the genealogy of Christ.

it is highly probable that he himself was in possession of a copy of the Gospel used by the Ebionites, as he has made from it several extracts, which I shall presently quote.

According to Epiphanius the Gospel of the Ebionites was different from ~~the~~ Gospel of the Nazarenes : for he describes the former as having an uncorrupted, the latter a very corrupted text *. Of the Nazarenes he says *, ' They likewise have the Gospel of St. Matthew perfectly entire, and in the Hebrew language. For this Gospel is still preserved by them, as it was originally written in Hebrew. But I am not certain whether they also have omitted the genealogy from Abraham to Christ '. Of the Ebionites, on the contrary, he says *, ' In the Gospel used by them, which bears the name of St. Matthew's Gospel, is however not entire and perfect, but is partly corrupted, partly mutilated (they themselves call it the Hebrew Gospel,) is related, &c. It is evident therefore that Epiphanius considered the two Gospels as having a very different text. The latter had been so corrupted, that he describes it as being the Gospel of St. Matthew in name only : and from his

* Jerom on the contrary speaks of the Gospel used by the Ebionites, as if it were the same, as the Gospel used by the Nazarenes : for in his Note to Matth. xii. 13. he says, ' In Evangelio quo utuntur Nazareni, et Ebionitæ, quod,' &c. Perhaps Jerom had never seen a copy of the Hebrew Gospel in the hands of the Ebionites, and therefore spoke of them as being the same Gospel, on the report of others, as Epiphanius on the same ground described them as different.

* Hæres. XXIX. § 9.

* As Dr. Masch objects to this translation, I will print the Greek of Epiphanius unpointed, that the reading may examine without any bias in my favour. Εχουσι δε το κατα Ματθαιον ευαγγελιον πληριστοι Εβραιοι παρ' αυτοις γαρ σαφως τυτο καθως εξ αρχης ιγγραφη Εβραιοις χρημασιν ιτι συζηται εκ οιδω δε ει και τας γενεαλογιας τας απο του Αβρααμ αχρι Χριστου περιμιλον. Before πληριστοι Casaubon thought that ο should be supplied ; but this is not only an arbitrary and unwarrantable alteration, but is likewise unsuitable to the context.

* Hæres. XXX. § 13.

saying that the Ebionites called it the Hebrew Gospel, one might doubt whether the Ebionites themselves ascribe to it the name of St. Matthew's Gospel^d. On the other hand, though Epiphanius says that the Nazarene Gospel contained St. Matthew's text perfectly entire (πληρεςατον,) we must not therefore conclude that it was wholly unadulterated. The word πληρεςατον Epiphanius probably used in the same sense as modern critics use the phrase *lectio plenior*, which may, or may not be, more than the original text : and meant only to say that the Nazarene Gospel contained the whole of St. Matthew's text^e, which the Ebionite Gospel did not, without affirming either directly or indirectly, that the Nazarene Gospel had not been interpolated. But the interpolations in the Nazarene Gospel appear to have been of a very different kind from those in the Ebionite Gospel. In the former, they seem to have been simply additions in detached places, which left the original text as it was, but only augmented : whereas the Ebionite Gospel, according to Epiphanius, contained also a text, which was itself corrupted. Having premised these accounts I will now produce two passages, which Epiphanius has quoted^f from the Gospel of the Ebionites, in the words of his Greek translation¹⁶.

The first passage appears to have been a kind of preface to the Ebionite Gospel^g, and is as follows.

^d Perhaps it had received so many additions, as to be no longer the work of one writer.

^e On the genealogy alone he expresses a doubt.

^f Hæres. XXX. §. 13.

^g It is evident that the passage which follows can never have been a part of St. Matthew's Gospel. St. Matthew, when he speaks of himself, speaks in the third person (ch. ix. 9,) but this passage is written in the name of several in the first person plural. It was perhaps designed as a general preface in the name of the twelve Apostles : for the Ebionite Gospel had among other names, that of the Gospel of the Apostles, being a composition probably, which

Εγενετο τις ανηρ ονοματι Ιησους, και αυτος ως ετων τριακοντα^a, ος εξελεξατο ημας. Και ελθων εις Καφαρναουμ εισηλθεν εις την οικιαν Σιμωνος τε επικληθεντος Πეტρου¹, και ανοίξας το στομα ευσ ειπε, παρερχομενος παρα την λιμνην Τιβεριαδος εξελεξαμην Ιωαννην και Ιακωβον υιους Ζεβεδαις, και Σιμωνα, και Ανδρεαν, και Θαδδαιον, και Σιμωνα τον Ζηλωτην, και Ισδαν τον Ισκαριωτην, και σε τον Ματθαιον καθεζομενον επι τς τελωνις εκαλεσα, και ηκολεθησας μοι. Υμας εν βελομαι ειναι δεκαδυο^b Αποστολς εις μαρτυριον κε Ισραηλ¹. Και εγενετο ο Ιωαννης βαπτίζων, και εξηλθον προς αυτον Φαρισαιοι, και εβαπτισθησαν^m, και πασα Ιερουσολυμαⁿ και ειχον ο Ιωαννης

contained various accounts, supposed to be derived from the Apostles. If we consider the passage in any other light than that of a preface, and regard it as a part of the narrative, it is manifestly absurd: for it makes Christ address his Apostles, before the baptism of John is related.

^a These are nearly the words of St. Luke, ch. iii. 23, και αυτος ην ο Ιησους ουσι ετων τριακοντα.

ⁱ This history is not the same as that which is given Matt. viii. 14. where it is related that Jesus went into the house of Peter, but no mention is made of any speech to the Apostles. It is one of the additions to this Gospel, and might possibly be true, if St. Matthew's name had not been mentioned, who was not called to be an Apostle, till after this visit in the house of Peter.

^k But only eight Apostles are here mentioned by name: for no notice is taken of Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas, and James the son of Alphæus.

^l After this place we begin to find traces of St. Matthew's text, though considerably abbreviated, as every one will see who compares this passage with Matth. iii. Perhaps however this concise text may be ascribed to Epiphanius himself, who instead of giving a literal translation from the Gospel of the Ebionites, may have inserted only so much of its matter, as was necessary for the purpose of his quotation.

^m These words agree exactly with Mark i. 4.

ⁿ Here the Pharisees are mentioned first, and then the inhabitants of Jerusalem in general, as if the Pharisees had set the example: whereas in our Gospels the Pharisees are mentioned last, which shews that they only followed the multitude. If Epiphanius has adhered closely to his original, this inversion in the Gospel of the

ενδυμα απο τριχων καμηλε, και ζωνην δερματινην περι την οσφυν αυτου· και το βρωμα αυτου (φησι) μελι αγριου^a, ε η γευσις ην τα μαννα, ως εγκρος εν ελαιω^b. — On these last words Epiphanius immediately observes, ινα δηθεν μεταστροφωσι τον της αληθειας λογον εις ψευδος, και αντι ακριδων ποιησωσι εγκροδας εν μελιτι^c.

Ebionites, may have been owing to their respect for the Pharisees. Perhaps the same motive induced them to omit St. John's severe censure of that sect.—Further, in the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, John's dress and manner of life are described before mention is made of baptism: but in the Ebionite Gospel the latter is mentioned first, as in the Gospel of St. Mark.

• This account of John's dress and manner of life agrees with Matth. iii. 4. except that in the Gospel of the Ebionites no mention is made of locusts as a part of John's diet for which I can assign no other reason, than that animal food was thought unsuitable to the severe life of the Baptist. That βρωμα is used, and not τροφη as at Matth. iii. 4. makes no difference; for both βρωμα and τροφη can be expressed by the same Hebrew word.

• This is similar to Exod. xvi. 31. το δε γειμα αυτου ως γυχρις εν μελιτι: and Numb xi. 8. και ην η ηδογη υμιν γειμα γυχρις εν ελαιω.

^d This observation of Epiphanius is not consistent with his quotation, in which John's food is described as being wild honey alone, which is compared, in respect to its taste, with manna, or with a cake baked in oil, (ως γυχρις εν ελαιω.) But the observation of Epiphanius implies that in the Gospel of the Ebionites John's food was described as being 'wild honey and cakes,' instead of 'wild honey and locusts,' as in St. Matthew: for he says that the Ebionites had converted ακριδεις into γυχριδεις εν μελιτι. Whether the observation of Epiphanius be just, and consequently his quotation inaccurate, or the reverse, I will not pretend to determine. We must recollect however that, as the Ebionite Gospel was not written in Greek, an accidental exchange of γυχριδεις for ακριδεις could not have taken place in the Gospel itself: for the Hebrew name of γυχρις and ακρις are too unlike to admit of an accidental exchange. Unless therefore Epiphanius has made a very uncritical conjecture, the confusion can be explained on no other hypothesis, than that the Ebionite Gospel was a composition or harmony formed out of several Gospels, of which one or more were written in Greek, and that the fabricator, mistaking ακριδεις for γυχριδεις, translated it into Chaldee by 'cakes' instead of 'locusts.' On the other hand, it is not impossible that the conjecture is totally ungrounded.

The Gospel itself, according to Epiphanius¹, began thus. *Εγένετο εν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ηρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἰσδαίας, ἦλθεν Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων βαπτισμῷ μετανοίας ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ², ὃς ἐλέγετο εἶναι ἐκ γένους Ααρων τοῦ ἱερέως, παῖς Ζαχαρίας καὶ Ελισαβέτ³, καὶ ἐξήρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντες.* Here Epiphanius observes, that after an interval, in which several things were mentioned, the Gospel proceeded as follows. *Τὸ λῶς βαπτισθέντος ἦλθε καὶ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου, καὶ ὡς ἀνῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ποιήσαντες οἱ οὐρανοὶ, καὶ εἶδε τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου⁴ ἐν εἰδει περιτερας κατελθούσης καὶ εἰσελθούσης εἰς αὐτὸν⁵, καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, λέγουσα· σὺ μὲν εἶ ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ*

¹ Hæres. XXX. § 13. The passage here quoted, which Epiphanius introduces with the words *Ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγελίου*, immediately follows in Epiphanius that which I have just given, from which one might suppose that the first was a kind of preface. Yet it contains a part of the history recorded in the third chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, which was not wanting in the Ebionite Gospel. Epiphanius is so very concise on this subject, that it is difficult to determine the real state of the case.

² This strange historical blunder, which makes John the Baptist preach in the time of Herod king of Judæa, who had been dead nearly thirty years, when John began to preach, is a very sufficient proof that St. Matthew was not the author of this passage: for no man who was a contemporary with John could have imagined that Herod was then king of Judæa. The passage appears to have been fabricated by an absurd composition of two different passages in St. Luke's Gospel¹⁷, namely ch. i. 5. and iii. 1, 2, 3. In like manner the words *βαπτίζων βαπτισμῷ μετανοίας ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ* appear to have been put together from Mark i. 4. and Matth. iii. 6.

³ From the expression *ἐλεγετο εἶναι* one might conclude that the author of this passage doubted, whether John was really the son of Zacharias and Elizabeth, and whether he had not a divine origin.

⁴ At Matth. iii. 15. is *τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ*, Luke iii. 22. *τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἁγίου*. The author of this passage in the Ebionite Gospel has put them both together and written *τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου*. This instance again betrays a composition from several Gospels¹⁸.

⁵ Here we discover some traces of St. Matthew's text, ch. iii. 16. *καὶ ἐρχομένου ἐκ' αὐτοῦ*: though in the Ebionite Gospel more is said than St. Matthew meant.

ηυδοκησα. και παλιν, εγω σημερον γεγεννηκα σε⁷. Και ευθως περιελαμψε τον τοπον φως μεγα. Ον ιδων⁸ (φησιν) ο Ιωαννης λεγει αυτω⁹ συ τις ει, Κυριε; και παλιν φωνη εξ ερανης προς αυτον¹⁰ στος εστιν ο υιος μου ο αγαπητος, εφ' ου ηυδοκησα¹¹. Και τοτε (φησιν) ο Ιωαννης προσπεσων αυτω ελεγε¹² δεομαι σε, Κυριε, συ με βαπτισον. Ο δε εκωλυεν αυτω¹³ λεγων¹⁴ αφες, οτι στως εστι πρεπον πληρωθηναι παντα.

It appears from the preceding extracts from the Ebionite Gospel, that it was not the original Gospel of St. Matthew, but on the contrary that it was a composition, put together partly from St. Matthew's, and partly from the other Gospels. The Nazarene Gospel therefore, which, according to Jerom, was St. Matthew's original^c, must have been very different from the

⁷ By none of the Evangelists are the words *εγω σημερον γεγεννηκα σε*, said to have been uttered at the baptism of Christ¹⁰. They are an interpolation in the Ebionite Gospel, and are derived from the false notion, which prevailed in the first century, that Christ was a mere man till the time of his baptism, and that he then became the Son of God, and filled with the Holy Ghost.

⁸ Here the pronoun relative, which refers to *φως*, and therefore ought to be neuter, is of the masculine gender, perhaps because the light is supposed to represent the Deity. This however must be ascribed to Epiphanius the translator, for in the Ebionite Gospel no such distinction could have been made, as neither Hebrew nor Syriac has a neuter gender²⁰.

⁹ The Evangelists mention only one utterance from Heaven, at the baptism of Christ: which St. Matthew has in the third person, *Ουτος εστιν ο υιος μου ο αγαπητος*, *εγω ηυδοκησα*, but St. Luke in the second person, *Συ ει ο υιος μου ο αγαπητος*, *εγω σοι ηυδοκησα*. The Ebionite Gospel has both of these expressions, and betrays therefore a composition from the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke²¹.

¹⁰ Here *εκωλυεν αυτω* is said of Christ, which is the very reverse of Matth. iii. 14. where we find *Ο δε Ιωαννης διεκολυεν αυτον*.

^c Jerom speaks indeed on this subject sometimes only in the name of others, and says of the Nazarene Gospel, 'Quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum.' But in his Catalogue of Illustrious Men (Tom. IV. p. 102. ed. Martianay,) he speaks in his own name, and says in positive terms that the Gospel used by the Nazarenes was St. Matthew's original. 'Matthæus qui et Levi ex publicano Aposto-

Ebionite Gospel. For it is hardly credible, if the Nazarene Gospel had differed from the Greek text of St. Matthew, as much as the Ebionite Gospel, that Jerom, who transcribed and translated it, could have taken it, even after deducting the interpolations, for the original of St. Matthew's Gospel. It is true that Jerom makes no distinction between the Nazarene and the Ebionite Gospel: for he says in his note to Matth. xii. 13. In Evangelio quo utuntur Nazaræni et Ebionitæ—quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum. But we must recollect that Jerom never saw the Hebrew Gospel which was used by the Ebionites: he was acquainted only with that which was used by the Nazarenes, and therefore had no opportunity of comparing the one with the other. Through want of knowledge then he might suppose that they were the same, though they were really different. But he was not exposed to the danger of any such mistake in regard to the Nazarene Gospel and the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew: for he had both of them in his own possession, was fully acquainted with the contents of both, and therefore, if they had been materially different, he could not have even doubted on the subject. However, I am far from supposing that Jerom took the Nazarene Gospel for the *unadulterated* original, as it is evident from the quotations, which he has made from it, that it abounded with interpolations. For that reason he has not quoted the Nazarene Gospel as canonical authority: but on the other hand he quotes it in his Commentary on St. Matthew without any expressions of disrespect, and at the beginning of his third book against the Pelagians^d,

tolus primus in Judæa, propter eos qui ex circumcisione crediderant, Evangelium Christi Hebraicis literis verbisque composuit: quod qui postea in Græcum transtulerit non satis certum est. Porro ipsius Hebraicum habetur usque hodie in Cæsariensi bibliotheca, quam Pamphilus Martyr studiosissime confecit. Mihi quoque a Nazaræis, qui in Berœa urbe Syriæ, hoc volumine utuntur, describendi facultas fuit.

^d Tom. IV. p. 533. ed. Martianay.

he says, *Quibus testimoniis si non uteris ad auctoritatem, utere saltem ad antiquitatem, quid omnes viri ecclesiastici senserint.*

On the other hand I admit that Jerom is far from being consistent and uniform in his accounts of the Nazarene Gospel: for though he declares in positive terms, as appears from the preceding quotation, that it was St. Matthew's original²³, yet at other times he writes as if he had not a thorough conviction of the truth of this assertion. For instance in his Commentary on St. Matthew, ch. vi. 11. where he had translated *τοῦ ἀποῦν ἡμῶν τοῦ ἐπιστοῦν* by *panem nostrum supersubstantialem*, he says, '*Quod nos supersubstantialem expressimus, in Græco habetur ἐπιστοῦν, quod verbum LXX. περιστοῦν frequentissime transferunt. Consideravimus ergo in Hebræo, et ubicunque illi περιστοῦν expresserunt, nos invenimus Sgolla²⁴, quod Symmachus ἐξαυτερον, id est præcipuum, vel egregium transtulit, licet in quodam loco peculiare interpretatus sit. Quando ergo petimus, ut peculiarem vel præcipuum nobis deus tribuat panem, illum petimus qui dicit, Ego sum panis vivus, qui de cœlo descendi. In Evangelio, quod appellatur secundum Hebræos, pro supersubstantiali pane reperi Mahar²⁵, quod dicitur crastinum; id est, futurum da nobis hodie.*' Here Jerom acknowledges that where *ἐπιστοῦν* is used in the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, *מחר* was used in the Hebrew²⁶: yet instead of altering the old Latin translation *panem nostrum quotidianum* to *panem nostrum in diem crastinum*, he alters it to *panem nostrum supersubstantialem*. As Jerom then rejected here the reading of the Hebrew Gospel, one might conclude that he at least doubted, whether it was St. Matthew's original. However the inference is not so certain, as it appears to be. For Jerom manifestly sacrifices the rules of criticism to his passion for spiritualizing the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer. Jerom thought it not sufficient to pray for earthly bread, and consequently worked out of *ἐπιστοῦν*

the sense of *supersubstantialis*. That he abandoned therefore in this instance the reading of the Hebrew Gospel will not decide against it.

In the Prologue to Jerom's Commentary on St. Matthew, there is another passage, which, at first sight, appears to be still more formidable than the preceding, 'Plures fuisse, qui Evangelia scripserunt, et Lucas Evangelista testatur,—et perseverantia usque ad præsens tempus monimenta declarant; quæa a diversis auctoribus edita diversarum hæreseon fuere principia; ut est illud juxta Ægyptios, et Thomam, et Matthiam, et Bartholomæum, *duodecim quoque Apostolorum*. Here it cannot be denied that Jerom refers the Gospel which bore the title of Evangelium secundum Apostolos, to the class of apocryphal Gospels. Further, he himself relates^s, that the Gospel used by the Nazarenes had among other names that of Evangelium secundum Apostolos. He condemns therefore in the passage just quoted the Gospel used by the Nazarenes as apocryphal: which appears to be a direct contradiction to his other assertion, that the Gospel used by the Nazarenes was St. Matthew's Hebrew original^a. We must either suppose therefore that Jerom was so forgetful and inconsistent as no man in his senses can well be, or there must be some method of reconciling these contradictory accounts. Now I can see no other method of reconciling them than the following: that Jerom really believed, that the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes was, in its primitive and unadulterated state, the work of St. Matthew, but that in a course of years it had received so many additions, containing accounts pretended to have been derived from the Apostles, (whence the name of Evangelium secundum Apostolos was given it,)

^s Adv. Pelagianos, Lib. III. The words have been already quoted.

^a See the passage quoted in the preceding note (c).

as to induce Jerom to rank it among the apocryphal Gospels.

Origen, as appears from a passage already quotedⁱ, makes likewise a distinction between the Gospel, which was called *Evangelium secundum Apostolos*, and the Gospel of St. Matthew: saying, that the latter was written by inspiration, but not the former. Now whether Origen believed that his Hebrew Gospel which was used by the Nazarenes, was originally the work of St. Matthew, but that it had ceased to deserve the title of St. Matthew's Gospel in consequence of its numerous interpolations, or whether he believed that the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes was from the very first, a distinct composition from the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, I will not undertake to determine. But this I may venture to assert, that Origen's rejection of the Nazarene Gospel as a work destitute of canonical authority, will not prove that he adopted the latter opinion: for Origen may have been influenced by the very same motive, as that which induced Jerom to reject at one time, as apocryphal, a work, which at another time he had called St. Matthew's original.

The celebrated chapter in the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius^k where a catalogue is given of the canonical and uncanonical books of the New Testament, has been so differently interpreted, as to give sometimes a favourable, at other times an unfavourable result for the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes, or as it is frequently called, the Gospel according to the Hebrews. The expressions used by Eusebius are certainly ambiguous: yet after an attentive perusal of the passage, it appears to me that what Eusebius has said of this Gospel is much more in its favour than the contrary. Eusebius divides the real and pretended books of the New Testament into three separate classes, which he calls *ομολογούμενα*, *αντιλεγόμενα*, and *νοθα*, and arranges the books,

ⁱ In the fifth section of this chapter.

^k Lib. III. cap. 25.

which belong to these respective classes, in the following manner²⁴. Εὐλογον δ' ενταυθα γενομενους ανακεφαλαιωσασθαι τας δηλωθεισας της καινης διαθηκης γραφας· και δη τακτεον εν πρωτοις την αγιαν των Ευαγγελιων τετρακτυν· οἱς επεται η των πραξεων των Αποστολων γραφη· μετα δε ταυτην, τας Παυλος καταλεκτεον επισολας· αἱς εξης την φερομενην Ιωαννης προτεραν, και ομοιως την Πეტρος κυρωτεον επισολην· επι τστοις τακτεον, ειγε φανειη, την Αποκαλυψιν Ιωαννης, περι ης τα δοξαντα κατα καιρον εκθησομεθα· και ταυτα μεν εν ομολογουμενοις. Των δ' αντιλεγομενων, γνωριμων δ' εν ομως τοις πολλοις, η λεγομενη Ιακωβος φερεται, και η Ισδα, ητε Πეტρος δευτερα επισολη, και η ονομαζομενη δευτερα και τριτη Ιωαννης, ειτε τς Ευαγγελιστς τυγχανουσι, ειτε και ετερος ομονυμος εκεινω. Εν τοις νοθοις κατατεταχθω και των Παυλος πραξεων η γραφη, ο τε λεγομενος Ποιμην, και η Αποκαλυψις Πეტρος, και προς τστοις η φερομενη Βαρναβα επισολη, ται των Αποστολων αι λεγομεναι· ετι τε, ως εφην, η Ιωαννης Αποκαλυψις, ει φανειη, ην τινες ως εφην αθετησιν, ετεροι δε εγκρινουσι τοις ομολογουμενοις· ηδη δ' εν τστοις τινες και το καθ' Εβραϊς ευαγγελιον κατελεξαν, ψ μαλιστα Εβραιων οἱ τον Χριστον παραδεξαμενοι χαρησι. Ταυτα μεν παντα των αντιλεγομενων αν ειη.

Here it is difficult to determine precisely what Eusebius intended to affirm of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, because it is uncertain to what antecedent he meant to refer the relative τστοις. He says, εν τστοις τινες και το καθ' Εβραϊς ευαγγελιον κατελεξαν, to which the immediate antecedent is ομολογουμενοις, but the remote antecedent νοθοις. He has therefore not clearly explained, whether the Gospel according to the Hebrews was ranked by some (τινες) among the ομολογουμενα, or among the νοθα. If they ranked it among the νοθα, they may have rejected it merely on account of its interpolations, and therefore this rejection will not prove that the Gospel according to the Hebrews was originally a different work from the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew. On the other hand, if they ranked it among the ομολογουμενα, they must have considered this Hebrew Gospel with exception perhaps to its interpolations, as the original of St. Matthew's Gospel. Which of the two

interpretations is the right one, I will not pretend to determine, though Dr. Masch is decidedly of opinion that the former alone is admissible¹. Equally uncertain is the opinion of those who differed from the few (τινες) whose sentiments Eusebius has delivered on the Hebrew Gospel. If these (τινες) referred it to the ομολογουμενα, the majority refused it this honour, and probably on account of its interpolations. If the few (τινες) referred it to the νοθα, as Dr. Masch asserts, the question then to be asked is, to what class did the others, who constituted the majority, refer it? Now it appears to me, that if the few referred it to the νοθα, the majority must have referred it to the ομολογουμενα, and consequently have considered as St. Matthew's original, agreeably to what Jerom says, *Vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum*^m. But Dr. Masch, who asserts the premises, denies the inference, and asserts that the few placed it among the νοθα, but that the majority placed it, not in a higher, but in a still lower class than the νοθα. To make this inference at least plausible, he says, (what I shall certainly not dispute) that Eusebius, after having enumerated the ομολογουμενα, αντιλεγόμενα, and νοθα, mentions a fourth class of books, which calls ατοπα παντη και δυσσεβη, and describes as undeserving of a place even among the νοθα. To this fourth class of totally worthless, and impious books, says Dr. Masch, did the majority, according to Eusebius, refer the Gospel according to the Hebrews. But this inference

¹ He argues, p. 200, from the arrangement observed by Eusebius in the distribution of the several books into ομολογουμενα, αντιλεγόμενα, and νοθα: and contends, that, as Eusebius has mentioned the Gospel according to the Hebrews, in the class of the νοθα, it would be a total violation of order, if we referred τατοις to the word ομολογουμενοις, which he had introduced as a mere remark in treating of the νοθα. Now I admit, that this argument would be valid, if it were applied to a writer, whose accuracy in the arrangement of his materials admitted of no doubt; but the description, which Eusebius has given in this chapter, is really so confused, that we cannot argue merely from the arrangement of its several parts.

^m See his Note to Matth. xii. 13.

is contrary to the testimony of every ecclesiastical writer on this Gospel, for not one has described it as a totally worthless and impious book, but on the contrary they speak of it in general with great respect. Origen, it is true, did not admit its inspiration: yet he frequently quoted it, though not as scripture authority, yet by way of illustration, and in support of his arguments^a. Epiphanius is very far from speaking of the Gospel used by the Nazarenes in disrespectful terms, and Jerom thought it of sufficient importance to merit a translation. Both of these writers indeed lived somewhat later than Eusebius, but if a favourable opinion was entertained of this Gospel in the time of Jerom and Epiphanius, we can hardly suppose that it was treated half a century before, as worthless and impious. Even the interpolations in this Gospel, as far as we are acquainted with them, by no means deserve these epithets: and therefore I am persuaded that it was not the intention of Eusebius to say, that the majority referred the Gospel in question to the *αποφα παντη και δυσσεβη*^a. Dr. Masch objects^o, that the majority could not possibly have placed this Gospel among the *ομολογουμενα*, because the majority of the Christians in the time of Eusebius were not acquainted with it. But this argument proves nothing: for the majority of Christians in the time of Eusebius were no more acquainted with the Hebrew Bible, than with the Hebrew Gospel, their want of knowledge of it proceeding from their ignorance of the language in which it was written. That the majority therefore did not make use of the Hebrew Gospel, will not prove that they absolutely rejected it.—But whatever was the opinion of the few or of the many in respect to the Gospel in question, the opinion, which Eusebius

^a Origen says, (Tract. VIII. in Matth. Tom. I. p. 78.) *Scriptum est in Evangelio quodam, quod dicitur secundum Hebræos; si tamen placet alicui recipere illud non ad auctoritatem, sed ad manifestationem propositæ quæstionis, &c.*

himself entertained of it was certainly in its favour. For immediately after the account which he has given of this Gospel, he adds, *ταυτα μεν παντα των αντιλεγομενων αν ειη*. He places therefore the Gospel according to the Hebrews, that is, the Gospel used by the Nazarenes, in the same rank, not only with the Apocalypse, but with the Epistle of St. James, the second Epistle of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, and the Epistle of St. Jude.

Before I conclude my account of the authors, who have either described or quoted the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes, I must take notice of a passage, which I have already quoted from Ignatius. This father, in the third chapter of his Epistle to the Christians of Smyrna, where he defends the manhood of Christ against the Docetæ, has the following passage: *Εγω γαρ μετα την αναστασιν εν σαρκι αυτον οίδα, και πισευω οντα. Και οτε προς τας περι Πετρον ηλθεν, εφη αυτοις. λαβετε ψηλαφησατε με, και ιδετε οτι ουκ ειμι δαιμονιον ασωματον· και ευθυσ αυτε ηψαντο, και επισευσαν, κραθεντες τῷ σαρκι αυτε και τῷ πνευματι*. This passage was according to Jerom^p in the Gospel of the Nazarenes, and he considers it as a certain fact that Ignatius quoted it from this Gospel. But Ignatius does not say that it was a quotation from this or from any other Gospel. And therefore it is at least possible that this passage, instead of having been quoted by Ignatius from the Gospel of the Nazarenes, was interpolated in this Gospel from the Epistle of Ignatius, who probably derived his information from conversation with the Apostles. I am surprised that this has never occurred to any critic, as the fact is not only possible, but in my opinion highly probable, if not absolutely certain²⁶. In this opinion I am confirmed by the circumstance, that this passage as worded in the Gospel of the Nazarenes, betrays a translation from the Greek. Ignatius writes *προς τας περι Πετρον ηλθε*, which literally translated signifies 'he came to those who were with Peter,' but according to the usage of the Greek language denotes

^p Catalog. scriptor. ecclesiastic. s. v. Ignatius.

simply, 'he came to Peter.' Now according to Jerom this passage was worded thus in the Gospel of the Nazarenes: 'he came to Peter, and to those who were with Peter,' which betrays a twofold translation from the Greek *προς τας περι Περρον ηλθε*, a correct one, 'he came to Peter,' and an incorrect one 'he came to those who were with Peter'²⁷. Ignatius therefore cannot be produced as evidence for the antiquity and authority of the Gospel of the Nazarenes, though he may be considered as a voucher for the truth of this narration which is contained in it. And from this very example we may perceive in what manner the interpolations in the Nazarene Gospel took their rise, namely by adding to the original text of St. Matthew, whatever accounts could be procured from good authority relating to Christ.

The history of the Nazarene Gospel may be briefly summed up under the following heads.

1. Very few ecclesiastical writers have taken notice of this Gospel²⁸: at which we have no reason to be surprised as few of them understood Hebrew, and no translation of it had been made before that of Jerom. Besides, the copies of it were very scarce even in Palestine, for Jerom mentions it as an unusual book, which he found in the library of Cæsarea²⁹.

2. However its name and character were not unknown; though it is difficult to determine, what the majority of Christians in the three first centuries thought of it, because Eusebius has expressed himself in ambiguous terms. In the fifth century most persons believed it to be the original of St. Matthew's Gospel: but whether they knew that it was interpolated, and distinguished the genuine text from its additions, we are not informed.

3. Ignatius does not mention the name of this Gospel: he has a passage indeed, which existed in this Gospel, but that passage, as I have already shewn, was inserted in the Nazarene Gospel from the Epistle of

Ignatius, and not quoted by Ignatius from this Gospel³⁰.

4. It is quoted more than once by Origen, as ancient though not as scripture authority; for he considered it, probably on account of its interpolations, as a mere human composition, but he is far from speaking of it in terms of disrespect. What he thought of its genuine text, when separated from the interpolations, he has nowhere mentioned.

5. Eusebius refers it to the *αντιλεγόμενα*, and places it in the same rank with the Epistle of St. James, the second Epistle of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, the Epistle of St. Jude, and the Apocalypse.

6. Epiphanius describes the Nazarene Gospel, as St. Matthew's original: but he does not appear to have seen it himself, and therefore he probably followed the common opinion.

7. Jerom was well acquainted with it, and describes it as St. Matthew's original. It is true that in one passage, in his cursory Preface to St. Matthew's Gospel, he speaks of it under the name of the Gospel of the twelve Apostles, in disrespectful terms. But he had probably the interpolations only in view, when he cast this censure upon it, and did not mean to reflect on the genuine text. Nay the interpolations themselves he has at other times quoted without the smallest disapprobation, and in his controversy with the Pelagians he has produced them even as authority.

After all then, that has been said on this subject, we see that Jerom is the only ecclesiastical writer, who had sufficient knowledge of the Nazarene Gospel, to furnish us with certain information. By his report therefore I shall abide, and shall consider the Nazarene Gospel as St. Matthew's original, augmented indeed with many additions, which, though they are so far spurious, that they did not proceed from the pen of St. Matthew, who wrote the Gospel itself, were derived probably from good authority, and therefore may

be historically, though not critically, true: Absolute certainty on this subject is not to be expected, since Jerom's translation, as well as the Hebrew Gospel itself is unfortunately lost: we must therefore content ourselves with probabilities, and, though we are in danger of falling into error, must argue from the few documents, which are now extant³¹.

If the original had descended to the present age, it would have been of great use both to critics and commentators, as appears from one of its readings, which Jerom has quoted at Matth. vi. 11. In this passage the Greek text is, *Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπίσσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον*, which in our version is rendered, 'Give us this day our daily bread.' Now the word *ἐπίσιος* is a very unusual word, and hence various commentators have given various explanations of it. Among other interpretations, *ὁ ἐπίσιος* has been explained as denoting *ὁ τῆς ἐπίσης ἡμέρας*: and consequently the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer, as signifying, 'Give us this day our bread for the morrow.' This interpretation, which is in itself highly probable, is confirmed as the true one, by the word used in the Nazarene Gospel, if this Gospel is St. Matthew's original: for Jerom relates that for *ἐπίσιον* in the Greek Gospel, the Nazarene Gospel had *ܠܡܢ*, which denotes *dies crastinus*³². To petition

³¹ Dr. Masch (p. 207—211.) conjectures that the word used in the Nazarene Gospel was not *ܠܡܢ*, but *ܠܡܢ* with an He and not Heth, and that Jerom in the hurry of copying mistook *ܠ* for *ܠܠ*. He is of opinion that if *ܠܡܢ* had stood in the original, no Greek translator of the two first centuries would have rendered it by *ἐπίσιος*, because this word does not occur in that sense in any writer of the two first centuries. But according to Origen the word *ἐπίσιος*, did not occur in this or any other sense, except in the Lord's Prayer, for he says the word was peculiar to the Evangelists. See Westein's Note to Matt. vi. 11. This argument therefore would prove too much. On the contrary, it appears to me, that, if *ܠܡܢ* was the word used by Christ, *ἐπίσιος* is a translation which we might not unreasonably expect from the Evangelists, because *ἐπίσιος* is used in the New Testament to denote the 'day following.' That the Syriac translator has used a different word for *ἐπίσιος* will not prove that *ܠܡܢ* was not used in the original of the Lord's Prayer, for the Syriac translator may have misunderstood the Greek in this passage, as he has done in many others.

the Deity to give us each day what is necessary for the morrow is surely more suitable to our wants, than to request him to give us what is necessary for the day, on which we make the petition, since it generally happens that the wants of that day are already supplied. Christ therefore, who has taught us not to be anxious for the morrow, has commanded us to rely on our heavenly Father, and to petition him that he would grant to day what is necessary for the morrow, that we may await the approach of each subsequent day without fear or anxiety.

The preceding example may serve as a specimen of the exegetical use, which might be made of the Nazarene Gospel, were it now extant. To illustrate its critical use, in determining the authenticity or spuriousness of doubtful passages, we may apply it to the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, on which doubts are entertained, whether they really proceeded from the pen of the Evangelist. It appears from the accounts of Epiphanius, which have been already quoted, that in the Hebrew Gospel used by the Ebionites, the genealogy was certainly wanting; and perhaps the whole of the two first chapters³². Tatian likewise, who is said to have used the Hebrew Gospel omitted the genealogy: in two Capitulations and a Breviary published by Martianay it is wholly unnoticed: and the Codex Ebnerianus, which I have described in the Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts^r, begins St. Matthew's Gospel with the eighteenth verse of the first chapter³³. There are likewise internal marks, which render it at least doubtful, whether the genealogy was written by the same person, who wrote the rest of the Gospel. For instance ver. 6. *Ἰησοῦς ἐγεννησεν Δαβὶδ τὸν βασιλέα* is copied (contrary to the common custom in St. Matthew's Gospel,) not from the Hebrew, but from the Greek, book of Ruth, ch. iv. 22. where we find *Ἰησοῦς ἐγεννησεν Δαβὶδ τὸν βασιλέα*, whereas the Hebrew has simply *יְשׁוּעַ הוּלִיד אֶת דָּוִד*, without any word expressive

of τοῦ βασιλεα ³⁴. Doubts of this kind might be either removed or confirmed by the Nazarene Gospel, were it now extant, and were we absolutely certain that it contained the original text of St. Matthew. But our imperfect accounts of this Gospel make it difficult to determine whether it began in the same manner as our Greek Gospel, or whether it began at the eighteenth verse of the first chapter, or whether it commenced with what is now our third chapter ³⁵.

On the other hand, though it were true that the two first chapters did not exist in St. Matthew's Hebrew original, they would not therefore deserve to be rejected as a false and spurious production. If St. Matthew gave no account of the birth of Christ in his Gospel, he may have written a separate work on that subject, with the title Βίβλος γενεσεως Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ, which when translated into Greek may have been prefixed to his Gospel, lest so small a work, if written separately should be lost. The canonical authority therefore of these two chapters is not necessarily affected even if the Hebrew Gospel did not contain them: though I admit that the proof of their canonicity would be more complete, if we could shew, that they existed in the original Gospel. No two chapters, in the whole New Testament are pressed with so many difficulties, as the two in question: not so much on account of the apparent contradictions to the genealogy given by St. Luke, which may be very satisfactorily reconciled, as on account of the quotations contained in them from the Old Testament, which I am wholly unable to explain. The account likewise given ch. i. 5. that Rahab was the mother of Boaz; and consequently that David was descended from her, appears to be very uncertain, because in the genealogical table of David's ancestors, which is given in the book of Ruth ⁶, and in the first book of the Chronicles ⁷, no mention is made of any such person as Rahab: nor is it said in the book of

³⁴ Ch. iv. 21.

³⁵ Ch. ii. 11.

Joshua¹⁵, where the history of Rahab is related, that she married the father of Boaz¹⁶. Since therefore the Old Testament is silent on this subject, the writer of the genealogy could have derived his information from no other source than Jewish tradition. But we find no such report among the Jewish writers. On the contrary, it appears from the quotations made by Wetstein, that among the descendants of Rahab were several priests: whence we might suppose that she married rather into the tribe of Levi, than into the tribe of Judah¹⁷. Should any critic therefore, in consequence of these difficulties be disposed to separate the two first chapters from the rest of St. Matthew's Gospel, in order to prevent the objections which may be made to them from affecting the credibility and inspiration of the whole Gospel, I should not censure him for his conduct, though for my own part I am unable to come to a positive decision, whether they ought to be separated or not. At any rate, if they were not written by St. Matthew, they were certainly written before the destruction of Jerusalem: for after that period, the Gospel of St. Luke must have been so generally known as to have superseded the necessity of another genealogy. Besides, if this genealogy had been fabricated in a later age, the author of it would have taken care to have avoided even the appearance of a contradiction to the genealogy of St. Luke. Nor must we forget, that the two first chapters, as well as the remaining part of the Gospel, have been uniformly handed down by the ancient church, as the work of St. Matthew¹⁸.

¹⁸ Ch. vi. 25.

SECTION X.

Of the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew which was published by Sebastian Münster: and of the edition published by John Tilet.

WE have two editions of a Hebrew Gospel in print: but it is certain that neither of them is St. Matthew's original, and that neither of them was used either by the Nazarenes or by the Ebionites. Of Münster's edition I can make this assertion from actual examination, for I have found that it has none of the distinguishing passages of the Nazarene Gospel: and they who have examined Tilet's edition, say the same. Besides, in both these editions the language is not Chaldee, but Hebrew as written by the Rabbins, or as we call it, Rabbinic: which alone affords sufficient proof that this is not the Gospel, which was used, by the Nazarenes.

The title of Münster's edition of 1557, is תּוֹרַת : הַמַּשִּׁיחַ Evangelium secundum Matthæum in lingua Hebraica, cum versione Latina, atque annotationibus Sebastiani Münsteri.—Una cum epistola D. Pauli ad Hebræos, Hebraice et Latine. Basilæ apud Henricum Petri *. The first edition, which was printed in 1537, I have never seen, and therefore I know not whether it differs from that of 1557: but there is another edition, printed in 1582, which I have compared with that of 1557, and have found them so similar to each other, that one might suppose the edition of 1582 was nothing more than the edition of 1557, with a new title page and a new preface. In both editions the types are the very same, and resemble each other in the irregularity of their position, and the weakness and illegibility of the impression. Further, the first and last words of

* The subscription, at the end, is dated, Basileæ, per Henricum Petri, anno M.D.LVII. mense Augusto.

each page, are the same in both editions, except that p. 206, 207, there is a trifling difference in respect to the words, which follow **וְכֵן מִן**. However, whether they are the same or not, is of no great importance in the present inquiry, and therefore I shall leave the question to be determined by those, who are bibliographers by profession. Mr. Nahmmacher, who has published three dissertations, entitled, "*Animadversiones in Evangelium Hebraicum Sebastiani Münsteri*," in which he endeavours by the help of this Gospel to explain difficult passages of the Greek, has mentioned another edition published by Cinquarbres, or Quinquarboreus, as he styled himself in Latin, at Paris in 1551.

Sebastian Münster in his dedication to the King of England, Henry VIII. says that he did not print this Hebrew version exactly as it was in his manuscript, but that he supplied the deficiencies, wherever it was imperfect⁷. His publication therefore is of no value to a critic: for no man can quote a reading of this Gospel, either for or against a reading of the Greek text, since he must always remain in doubt, whether it stood in the manuscript, or whether it was one of Münster's additions.

One of the motives to this publication was the hope of converting the Jews; for Münster relates in his Preface⁸, that he was requested by those, who had seen the extracts which he had given from it in some of his former works, to print it for that purpose. But Münster himself, who doubted whether it would produce

⁷ *Matthæi Evangelium—in nativa sua, hoc est, Hebraica lingua, non qualiter apud Hebræorum vulgus lacerum inveni, sed a me reintegratum et in unum corpus redactum emittimus.*

⁸ P. 11. *Quum illud ante multos annos in libris meis Hebraicis citassem, essentque qui me sollicitarent tantum thesaurum in publicum ut emitterem, futurum sperantes ut—qui alieni sunt a Christo hac occasione traherentur ad Christum, tam honestam et sanctam petitionem repellere indignum ratus, &c.* N.B. Though I quote the number of the page, in order to direct the reader, the pages in the preface itself are not numbered.

this effect^a, had another motive. He supposed that St. Matthew's original was in the very same language, as the Gospel which he published^b, and concluded therefore that his work would be of use in ascertaining the meaning of the Greek text, because the Hebrew has many peculiarities, which it is difficult to express in a translation^c. On this occasion he casts a very unseasonable censure on those, who trust to versions, as if the Gospel, which he published, were not itself a version. But since it is not a version into the same dialect, in which the Gospel was originally written, it will not always assist us in attempting to discover the words of the original. It is true that the Chaldee dialect, which was spoken by Christ and his Apostles, is in its structure very closely allied to the Rabbinic: but in their modes of expression there is a material difference, especially since the European Jews have adopted so many terms from other languages, and the dialect of Münster's Gospel is that of modern Rabbinic. Further, the translator does not appear to have been fortunate in the choice of his phrases: and like the Syriac translator he has not always availed himself of the advantages, which the language, in which he wrote, afforded him. The Sermon on the mount for instance, if it were retranslated into the language spoken by Christ in such a manner that the forms of expression used by the

^a In the Preface to the edition of 1557, p. 8. he says, *Non quia mihi populum cervicosum illum hujus in sua lingua publicatione Christum agniturum spes sit, cum illud semper habuerint quidem, impugnarint autem semper.*

^b See the quotation in the preceding Note (γ), where Münster uses the expression *in nativa sua, hoc est, Hebraica lingua.*

^c *Deinde, quod quædam ob sermonum idiomata, sic in alienam linguam, transfundi non possunt, ut vel eandem et nativam, paremve native gratiam claritatemque præferant. Quod huic linguæ peculiare maxime est. It is true that these words may be referred to the Hebrew Bible only: but they may relate also to the Hebrew Gospel, and Münster is not the only person, who has expected to derive from it so much critical assistance.*

ancient Rabbins were preserved, would receive very considerable light: but from the translation of this discourse in Münster's edition, we can derive little or no information. In many places we find a very good translation, but there are others again in which the translator might certainly have chosen better expressions. At Matt. xxvii. 62. *συνεχθησαν* ought to have been rendered by *נכנסו*^a instead of which we find the ill-chosen expression *נאסמו*^b. Ver. 65, 66. *καταδία* ought probably in Rabbinic to be written *קומטונדיא* agreeably to what we find in the Syriac version^c, because the subject related to a Roman guard; but in Münster's edition *καταδία* is given by *משמרת*. The difficult passage, ch. xxviii. 1. might have been rendered intelligible merely by the use of the word *נהר*^d: but the translator instead of adopting this word has rendered the passage thus *ובערב השבת שיאיר באחר השבת*. In short the translation is of no value.

I have already observed that the language of this translation is Rabbinic: and it appears to be the same kind of Rabbinic as was used by Jewish writers of the twelfth and following centuries. It is therefore not improbable that this translation was made by a Jewish convert, in the interval between the twelfth and sixteenth century, in order to furnish his brethren with a true history of Christ, and to confute the fabulous and absurd accounts, which were current among the Jews. If this be true, as it really appears to be, we may conclude that the translation was made, not from the Greek, but from the Vulgate, for we cannot expect a knowledge of the Greek language in a Jewish convert of the middle ages. That it was made from the Vul-

^a See the explanation of this passage in my History of the Resurrection.

^b See what is said on this subject, Vol. I. Ch. iv. Sect. 5. of this Introduction^c.

gate is confirmed also by an observation of Wetstein^f, that wherever the same Greek word is differently rendered in the Latin, different Hebrew words occur in this Gospel, and on the contrary, where different Greek words are rendered by the same Latin word, in each place of this Gospel likewise is used the same Hebrew word: moreover that there are many phrases, which betray a literal translation from the Latin. For instance at Matt. iii. 2. one of Wetstein's examples, which I have quoted in the note, every man, who translated from the Greek, would probably render μετανοείτε by שׁוּבוּ: but instead of this single word we find in Münster's edition עָשׂוּ חַשׁוּבָה, which literally corresponds to the phrase used in the Vulgate, *pœnitentiam agite*. Further, the translator has added בַּחַיִּים *in vivis*, which is not in the Vulgate, but on which Mr. Nahmmacher has a very happy conjecture. I have never compared this Hebrew Gospel, line for line, with the Greek and Latin texts; but even a cursory examination of it has furnished me with several examples, which confirm Wetstein's opinion, especially ch. v. 23. where no translation is given of ἀκαη, a word which had been banished from the Vulgate, but is retained in almost all the Greek manuscripts. A more complete examination of this Gospel would probably supply a great variety of instances, which might completely elucidate this subject.

But if it be true that the Hebrew Gospel published by Münster was translated from the Vulgate at a period later than the twelfth century, it follows, that, even if

^f Prol. p. 105. Quoties eadem vox Græca aliter in Latino redditur, etiam in Hebraico diversa occurrunt vocabula: contra ubi diversæ voces Græcæ eodem modo in Latino vertuntur, in Hebraico eadem vox recurrit: ut Matth. ii. 7, 8. *diligenter didicit*. iii. 2. *pœnitentiam agite*. xv. 32. *triduo*. xvii. 14. *sæpe et crebro*. xviii. 12. *conque erravit*. 24. *qui debebat ei*. xx. 13. *facio tibi injuriam*. xxii. 26. *usque ad septimum*. xxiv. 24. *ut in errorem inducantur, si fieri potest*. xxvii. 5. *laqueo et suspendit*. xxviii. 1. *primo mane, ad verbum*, Latinum sequens codicem, convertit.

Münster had printed accurately from his manuscript without any alterations, it could be of no value to a critic in determining the authenticity of the Greek readings, because the text of this Hebrew Gospel shews only what were the readings of that copy of the Vulgate, from which the translation was made. It might be used indeed by a collector of various readings to the Vulgate : but as the manuscripts of the Vulgate written in the twelfth and following centuries are so very numerous, it would be a useless labour to collect readings from a Hebrew translation of it.

Mr. Knoch is of opinion, that the translation was not made by a Jew, because it contains many expressions, which militate against the rules of grammar^s. But violations of this kind will not prove that the author was not a Jew, for the most learned Rabbins of the middle ages are frequently inattentive to the rules of grammar, and couple sometimes masculines with feminines. Rabbinic is of itself a corrupt dialect, and bears the same relation to pure Hebrew, as the Latin of the middle ages to the Latin of the Augustan age. Nay, these very solecisms would rather induce me to believe that a Jew was the author, because a Christian, who had been taught Hebrew by the rules of grammar, and was become sufficiently master of the language to be able to write it, would probably have written more correctly. Some have supposed that Münster himself was the author of this version : but this suspicion is certainly ungrounded, because Tilet's edition agrees in the main with that of Münster, and therefore neither of them can have been forged by the editors. Besides, if Münster's object had been to impose on the world, he would probably have exhibited a very different text,

^s In his Critical and Historical Accounts of the Brunswick collection of Bibles[†], page 555. he gives the following example, ספר התולדות ישוע, where He demonstrativum is used before the status constructus. I admit that this is contrary to a grammar rule ; but even in the Hebrew Bible we sometimes find exceptions to the rule.

and would have inserted a Hebrew translation of all those passages, which Jerom had quoted from the Gospel of the Nazarenes. This would have been a more effectual method of making his Gospel pass for St. Matthew's original: but since he has not acted in this manner, it is difficult to comprehend what advantage he could propose to himself in ascribing the work to another, if it was really his own.

The other edition of St. Matthew's Gospel in Hebrew was published by Jean de Tilet^a, Bishop of Brioux, who brought it in manuscript from Rome, and Jean Mercierⁱ, at Paris in 1555. Its Latin^k title is *Evangelium hebraicum Matthæi, recens e Judæorum penetralibus erutum, cum interpretatione Latina ad Vulgatam, quoad fieri potuit, accommodata. Cum privilegio, Parisiis apud Mart. Juvenem, M.D.L.V.* It appears to contain the same version, as that which was published by Münster, with this difference that the two manuscripts varied in many places from each other^l. In some passages there is certainly a material difference between the editions: but this arose probably from the circumstance that Münster's manuscripts had chasins, which were supplied by the editor, whereas Tilet printed those passages from his manuscript, which was not so defective. Of Tilet's edition, which is not only very scarce, but more valuable than that of Münster, Mr. Spaner has been sometime engaged in writing a critical description, which I hope he will communicate to the public^j.

^a In Latin, Tilius.

ⁱ Johannes Mercerus.

^k I do not quote the Hebrew title, because I am not in possession of the book itself, and I am not certain, whether the transcript, which has been given of the Hebrew title, be accurate.

^l They sometimes vary in the mode of writing proper names. For instance the word Jesus, is in Münster's edition ישו, but in Tilet's יש.

both were relations⁴, yet Christ was of the family of David and the tribe of Judah : but St. John was the son of a priest and consequently of the tribe of Levi.

SECTION II.

Historical Accounts relative to St. Mark's Gospel.

PAPIAS, bishop of Hierapolis at the beginning of the second century, has given the following account of St. Mark's Gospel, for which he appeals to the authority of John the presbyter⁵. *Μαρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτῆς Πέτρος γενομένος⁶, ὅσα ἐμνημονεύσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἐγράψεν· ὁ μὲν τοιαύται τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα, ὅτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ Κυρίου, ὅτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ· ὑστερον δὲ, ὡς ἐφην, Πέτρῳ, ὅς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' ἔχ' ὥσπερ συντάξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων. Ὡς δὲν ἤμαρτε Μαρκος ἑως ἐνία γραψας ὡς ἀπεμνημονεύσεν· ἐνός γὰρ ἐποίησατο πρόνοιαν, τὸ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλίπειν, ἢ ψευδᾶσθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς.* From the preceding account we learn that St. Mark committed to writing what he had heard delivered by St. Peter ; and in this point, all other ancient testimonies, however different they may be in other respects, agree with Papias and John the presbyter. But the latter part of the account, namely that St. Mark's object was to omit nothing which had been delivered

⁵ The following passage¹ from the writings of Papias is quoted in Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. 39.

⁶ When the Greek Fathers call St. Mark *ἑρμηνευτῆς Πέτρος*, or the Latin Fathers *Interpres Petri*, we must not understand 'an interpreter' in the common acceptation of the word, of which St. Peter stood less in need than St. Mark himself. It is similar to the phrase *Interpres Divum*, when applied to Mercury, which signifies 'Messenger of the Gods.' *Interpres Petri* therefore, when applied to St. Mark, signifies nothing more than, 'a person commissioned by St. Peter to execute his commands.'

by St. Peter appears to be somewhat exaggerated : for it is very improbable that St. Peter knew nothing more of the history of Christ, than is contained in St. Mark's Gospel. The clause *ε μεν τοι ταξει τα υπο το Χριστον η λεχθεντα η πραχθεντα*, is well worthy of notice : for it shews that John the presbyter and Papias were of opinion that St. Mark did not write according to the order of time, as many modern harmonists have imagined.

Clement of Alexandria in his *Υποτυπωσεις* relates ¹, *Τε Πετρος δημοσια εν Ρωμη κηρυξαντος τον λογον, και πνευματι το ευαγγελιον εξειποντος, τες παροντας πολλες οντας παρακαλειςαι τον Μαρκον, ως αν ακολουθησαντα αυτη πορωθεν και μεμνημενον των λεχθεντων αναγραφαι τα ειρημενα ποιησαντα δε το Ευαγγελιον μεταδεναι τοις δεομενοις αυτε οτερ επιγνοντα τον Πετρον προτρεπτικως μητε κωλυσαι μητε προτρεφασθαι* ². Clement therefore agrees with Papias in saying, that St. Mark committed to writing what he had learnt from St. Peter.

The same account is given by Origen, who, speaking of the four Gospels, says, *Δευτερον δε το κατα Μαρκον, ως Πετρος υφηγησατο αυτη, ποιησαντα* ³. Here we must take notice, that the two Alexandrine Fathers, Clement and Origen, who were the most learned men of their age, say nothing of St. Mark's having published his Gospel at Alexandria, as later writers assert.

¹ The following passage is quoted from the *Υποτυπωσεις* of Clement, by Eusebius. Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. 14. In this place, Eusebius has not mentioned in what book of the *Υποτυπωσεις* the passage stood : but it appears from what he says, Lib. II. cap. 15. that it was the *sixth* book ; for he there likewise refers to Clement on this subject, and says, *εκτη των υποτυπωσεων*.

² It may be observed both of this quotation and of that in the preceding paragraph, that neither Papias nor Clement of Alexandria considered St. Mark's Gospel as written by immediate inspiration. But this question has been already examined, Vol. I. ch. iii. sect. 3.

³ These words are likewise quoted by Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. 25.

Irenæus, in his treatise against Heresies, Lib. III. cap. 1. says: Μετα την (scil. Πέτρος και Παύλος) εξοδον, Μάρκος ο μαθητής και ερμηνευτής Πέτρος και αὐτός τα περὶ Πέτρος κηρυσσόμενα εγγράφως ἡμῶν παραδίδωκε. This account of Irenæus agrees with that of Papias, Clement and Origen, in the assertion that St. Mark derived his information from St. Peter. But Irenæus appears to differ from Clement in saying, that St. Mark did not publish his Gospel till after the death of St. Peter¹, whereas Clement relates that he wrote it during the life of St. Peter. Their accounts however may be reconciled on the supposition that, though St. Mark wrote his Gospel during the life of St. Peter, he did not make it publickly known till after St. Peter's death².

Tertullian, who distinguished St. Mark and St. Luke from St. Matthew and St. John, calling the latter Apostles, the former only apostolic men³, says in his treatise against Marcion, Lib. IV. cap. 5. Licet et Marcus quod edidit Petri affirmetur, cujus interpretes Marcus.

Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, Lib. II. cap. 15. has given the following account of St. Mark's Gospel. Τοσέτο ἐπελαμψε ταῖς τῶν ακροατῶν τῷ Πέτρῳ διανοιαῖς εὐσεβείας φεγγος, ὥς μὴ τῇ εἰσαπαῇ ἱκανῶς εἶχεν ἀρκεῖσθαι ἀκοῇ, μὴ δὲ τῇ ἀγραφῇ τῷ θεῷ κηρυγματος διδασκαλίᾳ· παρακλήσεσι δὲ παντοιαῖς Μάρκον, ὃ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον φέρεται, ἀκολουθῶν οὐκ ἄλλα Πέτρῳ λιπαρῆσαι, ὥς ἀν καὶ διαγραφῆς ὑπομνημα τῆς διαλογῆς παραδοθείσης αὐτοῖς καταλείψοι διδασκαλίᾳ· μὴ προτερον τε ἀνεῖναι, ἢ κατεργασασθαι τὸν ἀνδρα, καὶ ταυτὴ αἰτίας γενεσθαι τῆς τῷ λεγομένῳ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίᾳ γραφῆς. Thus far Eusebius relates in positive terms, and appeals, a few lines afterwards, to Clement of Alexandria and Papias, as vouchers for its truth. But immediately after the words just quoted, he adds

¹ Μετὰ τῇ τῶν τῶν ἐξοδῶν is literally 'after their exit,' that is, after their decease: not 'after their departure from Rome,' as some critics have supposed².

² Adv. Marcion, Lib. IV. cap. 5.

an account relative to St. Peter's conduct on this occasion, which he introduces with the word *φασι* (they say,) thereby implying that he reported only what others had said, without taking upon himself to warrant its authenticity. His words are; *γνοντα δε το πραχεν φασι τον Αποστολον, αποκαλυψαντος αυτω τε πνευματος^x, ισθηναι τη των ανδρων προθυμια, κυρωσαι τε την γραφην εις επιζηνταις εκκλησιαις*. This is an addition to the preceding account, and is a contradiction to that, which I have quoted in a preceding paragraph from Clement of Alexandria, according to which St. Peter neither prohibited nor promoted St. Mark's Gospel. Now it is true that an account introduced by Eusebius, merely with the expression *φασι* (they say,) is hardly of sufficient authority to overturn the direct assertion of Clement⁴. Yet on the other hand, it contains nothing incredible, whereas that of Clement is certainly a very extraordinary one, since it is difficult to comprehend how St. Peter could remain so very indifferent as Clement represents him. In his second Epistle, ch. i. 15. St. Peter says, 'I will endeavour that ye may be able after my decease to have these things always in remembrance:' and in the three following verses he gives an account, which he produces as a proof of Christ's divine mission. Instead therefore of St. Peter's being indifferent as to the composition of St. Mark's Gospel, we may infer from the preceding passage, that he actually promoted it⁵.

Among all the quotations, which I have hitherto made from the writings of the most ancient Fathers,

^x *Αποκαλυψαντος αυτω τε πνευματος* is commonly referred to the preceding words, by which construction St. Peter is made to derive his information from the Holy Ghost that St. Mark had written a Gospel, a fact which St. Peter might certainly have learnt without any supernatural interference. I will not assert that the clause in question does not admit of this construction: but I think it is capable of being applied to the words which follow, and then the meaning of the passage will be that of St. Peter's command to read St. Mark's Gospel in the churches was at the instigation of the Holy Ghost.

we find no mention made of St. Mark's having published his Gospel at Alexandria. This report however prevailed in the fourth century, as appears from what is related by Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Jerom. It is first mentioned by Eusebius, who, in his Ecclesiastical History, Lib. II. cap. 16. says, Τστον δε Μαρκον πρῶτον[†] φασιν ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγυπτῆς τεταλαμενον το εὐαγγελιον, ο δὴ καὶ συνεγραψατο, κηρυξαι, ἐκκλησιας τε πρῶτον ἐπ' αὐτῆς Αλεξανδρειας συνησασθαι. It appears from the word φασιν that Eusebius mentions this only as a report: and what is immediately added in the same place, that the persons, whose severity of life and manners is described by Philo, were the converts which St. Mark made at Alexandria, is evidently false. Epiphanius, in his fifty-first Heresy, eb. vi. gives the following account: Εὐθὺς δε μετὰ τον Ματθαιον, ἀκολουθος γενομενος ο Μαρκος τῷ ἀγίῳ Πέτρῳ ἐν Ρώμῃ ἐπιτρεπεται το εὐαγγελιον ἐκθεσθαι[‡] καὶ γραφας ἀποσέλ- λεται ὑπο τῶ ἀγίῳ Πέτρῳ εἰς τὴν των Αἰγυπτίων χώραν. According to Epiphanius then St. Mark wrote his Gospel in Rome, while St. Peter was teaching the Christian religion in that city; and after he had written it, he was sent by St. Peter into Egypt. A similar account is given by Jerom in his Treatise on Illustrious Men, ch. viii. Marcus discipulus et interpres Petri, juxta quod Petrum referentem audierat, rogatus Romæ a fratribus, breve scripsit Evangelium. Quod .quum Petrus audisset, probavit, et ecclesiis legendum sua auctoritate[‡] edidit, sicut Clemens in sexto υποτυπωσεων scribit.—Assumpto itaque Evangelio, quod ipse confecerat, perrexit ad Ægyptum, et primus Alexandriæ Christum annuntians con-

[†] The word πρῶτον is here somewhat ambiguous. If we translate it by 'first,' and understand the passage as implying that St. Mark first preached the Gospel at Alexandria, it will be difficult to reconcile this account with what Eusebius says elsewhere relative to the composition of St. Mark's Gospel in Rome.

[‡] In the passage quoted above from Eusebius was used the expression, ἀποκαλυψατος αὐτῷ τῷ πνεύματος: but Jerom says simply, sua auctoritate.

stituit ecclesiam tanta doctrinæ et vitæ continentia, ut omnes sectatores Christi ad exemplum sui cogeret.— Mortuus est autem octavo Neronis anno, et sepultus Alexandriæ, succedente sibi Aniano. Lastly, the Coptic Christians of the present age consider St. Mark as the founder and first bishop of their church^a; and their Patriarch styles himself, ‘Unworthy servant of Jesus Christ, called by the grace of God, and by his gracious will appointed to his service, and to the see of the holy Evangelist Mark^b.’

These accounts, though they agree in the main point that St. Mark went to Alexandria and preached there, are not perfectly consistent in respect to the time when he visited that city. There is likewise some ambiguity in respect to the word, ‘preaching,’ which may denote either preaching the Gospel, that is, teaching the Christian religion, or preaching a written Gospel, that is, openly reading and publishing it. In the latter sense, the word ‘preaching’ is used in the subscription to the Syriac version of St. Mark’s Gospel: and in this sense we ought probably to understand the word as used in these quotations. If the preceding statement be accurate, it follows, that St. Mark published his Gospel both at Rome, and at Alexandria^c: and therefore the account above-quoted from Irenæus, if it be not true of the publication of St. Mark’s Gospel at Rome, may be true of the publication of it at Alexandria. In thi

^a Vansleb (Wansleb) Relation d’un Voyage fait en Egypte, p. 132. The Copts pretend likewise that St. Mark was murdered by a band of robbers near the lake Menzale: but if this account be true, he was hardly buried at Alexandria, and his tomb in that city must be one of the forgeries of early superstition.

^b This title I have copied from p. 90, 91, of Wansleb’s Travels into Egypt, preserved in manuscript in the university library of Gottingen.

^c Chrysostom likewise, and other writers quoted by Lardner in the Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. I. p. 175, 176, say, that St. Mark published his Gospel at Alexandria^d.

manner the relation of Irenæus may be reconciled with that of other writers, and an ancient controversy relative to St. Mark's Gospel decided. However, I propose this mode of solution as a mere hypothesis: and I am far from considering it as an indisputable fact that St. Mark published his Gospel at Alexandria, because the two Alexandrine Fathers, Clement and Origen, have not mentioned it⁷.

If the hypothesis of a two-fold publication of St. Mark's Gospel, first at Rome and afterwards at Alexandria, were a true one, it might very conveniently be applied to explain a difficulty relative to the twelve last verses of this Gospel, namely chap. xvi. 9—20. Much may be said against the authenticity of this passage, as I have already shewn in my History of the Resurrection^d: and since I wrote this treatise still more evidence has been produced against the passage. It is wanting in the celebrated Codex Vaticanus, which is perhaps the most important Greek manuscript now extant, and it is probable that it was not acknowledged by Eusebius^e: further, a Greek manuscript in the Wolfenbüttel library has a Prologue to St. Mark's Gospel, in which no notice is taken of it^f. On the other hand, so much may be said in favour of this passage, that it would be difficult to reject it: for it is contained in almost all the Greek manuscripts now extant, there is nothing in its style which particularly distinguishes it from the rest of the Gospel, and we can hardly suppose that St. Mark ended at ver. 8. with ἐφοβήθητο γὰρ, in the middle of the narration. St. Mark had related, ch. xvi. 1—8, that the women, who went to visit the sepulchre, saw an angel who informed them that Jesus was risen, and commanded them to tell it to Peter and the other dis-

^d Pag. 179—188.

^e See Birch's account in the Orient. Bibl.^g Vol XXIII. p. 146—149.

^f See the New Orient. Bibl. Vol. II. p. 141.

ciples, but that they said nothing to any man because they were afraid. Now if St. Mark ended here, it may be asked by what means did he learn that which he had already related in respect to the sepulchre and the angel, since the women at that time did not report either to Peter, or to any one what they had seen and heard⁹. But this difficulty may be removed if we suppose that St. Mark wrote the twelve last verses as well as the rest of the Gospel: and the doubts which even in ancient times were entertained of their authenticity, may be explained on the supposition that St. Mark, when he composed his Gospel at Rome with the assistance of St. Peter, wrote as far as εφοβοντο γαρ, that his progress was then stopped either by the death or the imprisonment of St. Peter, but that he re-assumed and finished his narration on his arrival at Alexandria. It is true, that this explanation, though it ascribes these verses to St. Mark as their author, deprives them of that historical certainty, which they would have possessed, if written under the immediate inspection of St. Peter: and therefore, as I have already said, I propose it as a mere hypothesis. At any rate however, the twelve last verses of St. Mark's Gospel have the appearance of an addition, which does not tally with the preceding part of the discourse. According to ch. xiv. 28. Christ himself had said, 'After that I am risen I will go before you into Galilee,' and according to ch. xv. 7. the very same account was given by the angel at the sepulchre. From an author who had thus prepared his readers to expect a narrative of Christ's interview with his disciples in Galilee, it might be reasonably expected that he would not neglect to relate it: but in the conclusion of St. Mark's Gospel, no mention is made of an interview in Galilee, though it had been twice declared that Christ would appear there¹⁰.

SECTION III.

Agreement of the accounts given in the preceding section with the contents of St. Mark's Gospel.

THAT St. Mark wrote his Gospel in Rome, with the assistance and under the direction of St. Peter, agrees extremely well with the contents of the Gospel itself, and may serve likewise to explain several particulars, which at first sight appear extraordinary. For instance, where St. Peter is concerned in the narration, mention is sometimes made of circumstances, which are not related by the other Evangelists, as at ch. i. 29—33. ix. 34. xi. 21. xiv. 30. And on the contrary, the high commendations, which Christ bestowed on St. Peter, as appears from Matth. xvi. 17.—19. but which the Apostle, through modesty, would hardly have repeated, are wanting in St. Mark's Gospel*. At ch. xiv. 47. St. Mark mentions neither the name of the Apostle, who cut off the ear of the High Priest's servant, nor the circumstance of Christ's healing it. We know that this Apostle was St. Peter, for his name is expressly mentioned by St. John: but an Evangelist, who wrote his Gospel at Rome during the life of St. Peter, would have exposed him to the danger of being accused by his adversaries, if he had openly related the fact. Had St. Mark written after the death of St. Peter, there would have been no necessity for this caution¹.

Further, as St. Mark wrote for the immediate use of the Romans, he sometimes gives explanations which were necessary for foreigners, though not for the inhabitants of Palestine. For instance, ch. vii. 2. he explains the meaning of κοιναις χερσιν: and ver. 11. of

* This observation was made by Eusebius: but Jerom and Lardner have overrated it.

κορβαί. In the same chapter, ver. 3, 4. he gives a description of some Jewish customs: and ch. xv. 42. he explains the meaning of *παρασκευή*. At ch. xv. 21. he mentions that Simon was the father of Alexander and Rufus, a circumstance not mentioned by the other Evangelists: but to St. Mark's readers the circumstance was interesting, because Rufus was at that time in Rome, as appears from Rom. xvi. 13. See also Wetstein's Notes to ch. viii. 26. xi. 22.

That St. Mark wrote his Gospel in Rome, and for the use of the Romans, is likewise the reason why he has omitted many particulars in the life of Christ, which are related by St. Matthew and St. Luke. The genealogy, for instance, though interesting to the Jews, was not so to the Romans; and the same may be said of Christ's nativity at Bethlehem, a name well known to the Jews, but probably unknown to the Romans. His total omission of Christ's admirable sermon on the mount, which St. Matthew has given at full length, and St. Luke in short extracts, appears at first sight, to be rather extraordinary. But we must recollect that this sermon was in fact polemical, and immediately directed against the false morality of the Pharisees. To understand this sermon therefore, it is absolutely necessary to have a previous knowledge of the Pharisaic doctrines: but these doctrines were unknown to the Romans. The unlearned are not only incapable of comprehending this discourse, but are in danger, without the assistance of a learned interpreter, of totally perverting its meaning. It is a known fact, that very erroneous moral doctrines have been deduced from it, and that these doctrines have been applied as objections to the Christian religion. It has been asserted, that Christ totally prohibited the administration of an oath, the repulse of violence, an appeal to a magistrate, or self-defence. For these reasons, St. Peter himself would hardly have delivered this discourse to the Romans: and for these reasons, St. Mark passed it over in silence. The same motive induced him to give in only a few

words, ch. xii. 38—40. another discourse, which Christ directed to the Pharisees, and which St. Matthew has delivered at full length ².

SECTION IV.

St. Mark derived his information, not only from St. Peter, but likewise from written documents, which he used in the composition of his Gospel.

FROM the accounts of the ecclesiastical writers, which have been quoted in the second section of this chapter, it appears that St. Mark derived his knowledge of Christ's life and character from St. Peter: and if we judged from these accounts alone, we should conclude that he had no other source of information. But, notwithstanding the silence of the Fathers in respect to any written documents, which were used by St. Mark ¹, it is certain that he made use of other Gospels in the composition of his own. I have already shewn in the third chapter, that St. Mark agrees in his expressions both with St. Matthew and with St. Luke, in such a manner as he would hardly have done, unless the three first Gospels had been connected, either mediately or immediately, with each other. In the choice of his materials he agrees partly with St. Matthew, partly with St. Luke, and omits many material transactions recorded by St. John, but which are not mentioned either by St. Matthew or by St. Luke. And in the arrangement of his facts he sometimes agrees with St. Luke, where the order of time is not observed, and in opposition to St. Matthew, which can hardly be explained by mere accident ². Of the truth of this assertion the reader will be convinced by turning to the Table, which I have

given, ch. ii. sect. 7. and comparing the accounts of the three Evangelists.

These phænomena may be explained, either on the hypothesis that there was an immediate connection between the three first Gospels, or on the hypothesis, that there was only a mediate one. I have already observed in the third chapter, that the three first Evangelists do not appear to have seen each other's writings. If this be true, we can assume only a mediate connection, that is, we can assume only the hypothesis of a common source, from which they severally drew. St. Luke, in the preface to his Gospel, mentions that several written accounts were then in circulation; and I think it probable, not only that St. Luke, but likewise that St. Mark made use of these written accounts, correcting at the same time whatever was erroneous by the assistance of St. Peter.

On the contrary, they who assume an immediate connection between the three first Gospels, must adopt one of the four following suppositions: 1st that St. Mark made use of St. Matthew's Gospel, or 2^{dly} of St. Luke's Gospel, or 3^{dly} of both Gospels, or 4^{thly} that St. Mark's Gospel was used by St. Matthew and St. Luke. All these four suppositions have had their advocates. In some of them I find insurmountable difficulties, in others not: I will examine therefore each of them in order.

SECTION V.

Examination of the question, whether St. Mark made use of St. Matthew's Gospel.

THAT St. Mark made use of St. Matthew's Gospel has been hitherto a very common opinion, and in the former editions of this Introduction I adopted it as highly probable: but a recent and more minute examination of this subject has convinced me that the opinion is ungrounded. Dr. Lardner, in the Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. I. ch. 10. had shewn by several arguments, the principal of which was drawn from the apparent contradictions between St. Matthew and St. Mark, that the common opinion was at least doubtful: and in the year 1782, a small tract was published by Dr. Koppe, entitled *Marcus non Epitomator Matthæi*, in which the author has shewn that it is no longer tenable.

Though the notion that St. Mark epitomized St. Matthew has in modern times been very general, we find no mention made of it by any ecclesiastical writer before Augustin, who, in his treatise *De consensu Evangelistarum*, Lib. I. cap. 2. says, *Marcus Matthæum subsecutus tanquam pedisequus ejus et breviator videtur*. From these words it appears that Augustin advanced it only as a probable opinion: but the reputation of Augustin was so great that his opinion was very generally adopted, and thus a mere conjecture was converted into an indisputable fact. On the other hand, the circumstance that no ecclesiastical writer before Augustin has advanced this opinion, is no argument against it: for they are equally silent in respect to other written documents, and yet some written document was certainly used by St. Mark. That this however was not St.

Matthew's Gospel will appear from the following arguments^b.

1. St. Mark agrees with St. Luke, in an equal if not greater degree than with St. Matthew: and therefore we may as well say that he copied from St. Luke, as that he copied from St. Matthew. Whoever then does not admit that he copied from the former, must not conclude that he copied from the latter, for the inference in the one case would be as valid as in the other. On the other hand, if St. Mark's agreement with St. Matthew really proves that he copied from him, his agreement with St. Luke will prove that he copied likewise from this Evangelist, and then St. Mark's Gospel must be considered as an extract, not from St. Matthew's only, but from St. Matthew's and St. Luke's jointly.

2. But that St. Mark did not use St. Matthew's Gospel is probable from this circumstance, that he frequently deviates from St. Matthew in the order of time, or in the arrangement of his facts. As St. Matthew was an Apostle and eye-witness to the facts which he related, St. Mark could not have wished for better authority; and therefore if he had St. Matthew's Gospel before him, when he wrote his own, he would hardly have adopted a different arrangement. It might be said indeed that he made alterations on the authority of St. Peter: but this supposition is very improbable.

3. Though there are several parts of St. Matthew's Gospel, such as the genealogy, the sermon on the mount, some prophecies from the Old Testament, the account of the death of Judas Iscariot, and some few more passages, which an Evangelist, who wrote chiefly for the use of the Romans, might not improperly omit, yet on the other hand, there are several accounts in

^b They who contend that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel after St. Peter's arrival in Rome, may deduce another argument against the opinion that St. Mark copied from it. But on this argument I shall not insist.

St. Matthew's Gospel, of the omission of which in St. Mark's Gospel it is really difficult to assign a reason, and which therefore lead to the conclusion that St. Matthew's Gospel was not used by St. Mark. Examples of this kind the reader will find by turning to the Table of the Gospel History, ch. ii. sect. 7. and consulting N^o. 46, 100, 108, 109. A still more remarkable instance is the omission of what is related by St. Matthew, ch. xiv. 28—32. (N^o. 53.), a relation in which St. Peter was particularly concerned, and which St. Mark would hardly have omitted, if he had read it in St. Matthew¹. Again, the history recorded by St. Matthew, ch. xix. 16.—xx. 16. is delivered by St. Mark, ch. x. 17—31. (see N^o. 86), where some of the material parts of the narration are omitted: for instance, Peter's reply to Christ, 'What shall we have therefore?' Further, he has omitted the long parable related by St. Matthew, ch. xx. 1—16. which Christ delivered as a reproof of St. Peter: and what is still more extraordinary, he has (ch. x. 31.) the conclusion of the parable, 'Many, who are first, shall be last, and the last shall be first,' though he has not the parable itself. Surely then St. Mark had not access to St. Matthew's Gospel; for he would then have known the whole of the narration, and consequently would not have neglected to relate the most material parts of it. If it be objected that St. Mark, even though he knew the whole of what had been related by St. Matthew, ch. xix. 16—xx. 16. might purposely have omitted through motives of delicacy what appeared to be unfavourable to St. Peter, I answer, that this was not the usual practice of St. Mark, who has written as freely of St. Peter as of the other Apostles; and even if the contrary were true, there was no necessity for suppressing the narrative itself,

¹ It might be objected indeed that the whole passage Matth. xiv. 28—32, of which there are no traces in the other Evangelists, has the appearance of an interpolation, and therefore that this example is not decisive.

for his object might have been equally well attained by suppressing only the name, and saying in general terms, 'one of the disciples.' Besides, it is evident from what St. Mark has actually related, ch. x. 28—31, that he had no such object in view: for, if he had, he would have related still less, and would not have recorded Christ's answer, 'Many, who are first, shall be last,' which applied immediately to St. Peter. Want of information therefore was the cause, why St. Mark has not given the narrative complete, not a designed suppression of what he really knew. Lastly, St. Mark's imperfect description of Christ's transactions with the Apostles after he was risen from the dead affords the strongest proof that the contents of St. Matthew's Gospel were unknown to St. Mark. A very circumstantial description is given by St. Matthew of Christ's conversation with the Apostles, on a mountain in Galilee: yet St. Mark, though he had before related that Christ promised his disciples that he would go before them into Galilee, has, in the last chapter of his Gospel, no account whatever of Christ's appearance in Galilee. Now, if he had read St. Matthew's Gospel, this important event could not have been unknown to him, and consequently he would not have neglected to record it.

4. If St. Mark had had St. Matthew's Gospel before him, when he wrote his own, he would certainly have avoided every appearance of contradiction to the accounts given by an Apostle, and an eye-witness. His account of the call of Levi, under the very same circumstance as St. Matthew mentions his own call, whether Levi and Matthew be the same or different persons, is at least a variation from St. Matthew's description; and this very variation would have been avoided, if St. Mark had had access to St. Matthew's Gospel. The same may be observed of Mark x. 46. where only one blind man is mentioned, whereas St. Matthew in the parallel passage mentions two. In St. Mark's account of St. Peter's denial of Christ, the very same woman,

who addressed St. Peter the first time, addressed him likewise the second time, whereas, according to St. Matthew, he was addressed by a different person : for St. Mark, ch. xiv. 69. uses the expression *η παιδικη*, which, without a violation of grammar, can be construed only of the same maid, who had been mentioned immediately before, whereas St. Matthew, ch. xxvi. 71. has *αλλη*. Now let the harmonists reconcile these examples in whatever manner they please, there will always remain a difference between the two accounts, which would have been avoided, if St. Mark had copied from St. Matthew. But what shall we say of instances, in which, as far as I am able to judge, there is no mode of reconciliation? If we compare Mark iv. 35. and i. 35. with Matth. viii. 28—34. we shall find not only a difference in the arrangement of the facts, but such a determination of time as renders a reconciliation impracticable. For, according to St. Matthew, on the day after the sermon on the mount, Christ entered into a ship, and crossed the lake of Gennesareth, where he underwent a violent tempest : but according to St. Mark, this event took place on the day after the sermon in parables ; and on the day, which followed that, on which the sermon on the mount was delivered, Christ went, not to the sea side, but to a desert place, whence he passed through the towns and villages of Galilee^k. Another instance, in which we shall find it equally impracticable to reconcile the two Evangelists, is Mark xi. 28. compared with Matth. xxi. 23. In both places the Jewish priests propose this question to Christ, *εν ποια εξουια ταυτα ποιεις* ; alluding to his expulsion of the buyers and sellers from the temple. But according to what St. Mark had previously related in the same chapter, this question was proposed on the third day of Christ's entry into Jerusalem, but according to St. Matthew it was proposed on the second. If St. Mark had copied from St. Matthew, this difference in their accounts would hardly have taken place.

^k See above, Ch. II. Sect. 8.

SECTION VI.

Examination of the Question, whether St. Mark made use of St. Luke's Gospel.

IF St. Mark's Gospel was written whilst St. Peter was in Rome, St. Luke's Gospel must have been written before that of St. Mark, and therefore it is so far possible that the latter copied from the former. St. Luke came to Rome with St. Paul, long before the arrival of St. Mark, and both his Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles had been written before St. Mark arrived. When St. Paul wrote his Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon, they were both of them with St. Paul in Rome¹. When St. Paul wrote his second Epistle to Timothy, which was written during his second imprisonment in Rome, St. Luke alone was with St. Paul; but St. Mark, who was then absent, was requested to come to him². Now if St. Mark wrote his Gospel, after St. Peter's arrival in Rome, he must have written during this second visit, for before that time St. Peter does not appear to have been in Rome. And as there is a remarkable agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke, the supposition, that the former copied from the latter, appears at first sight to be very probable.

But probable as this supposition may appear, we shall find on a closer examination, that more may be said against it, than in its favour. For, in the first place, if St. Mark had made use of St. Luke's Gospel in the composition of his own, we should have hardly met with so frequent, and so remarkable variations in their accounts of the same transaction. For instance, according St. Mark, ch. x. 46. Christ restores a blind

¹ See Coloss. iv. 10. 14. Philem. 23, 24.

² See 2 Tim. iv. 11.

man to sight, after his entry into Jericho, and he was again quitting the town^a: but according to St. Luke, ch. xviii. 35. Christ performed this miracle, before he entered into Jericho^o. It may be said indeed that St. Mark, if he wrote under the direction of St. Peter, might tacitly correct the inaccuracies of his predecessor: and therefore that a deviation in his description of a fact from the relation of St. Luke will not absolutely prove that he made no use of St. Luke's Gospel. But if this answer be admitted in respect to the difference in their accounts, it will be difficult to find a satisfactory reason, why St. Mark totally omitted so many important facts recorded by St. Luke, if he really made use of St. Luke's Gospel. Examples of this kind may be seen in the Table of the Gospel history, ch. ii. sect. 7. N°. 29. 46, 48, 49, 69—83. 94, 95: and the facts here related by St. Luke are so very credible, that St. Peter could have entertained no doubt of their truth.

On the other side of the question it may be urged, that notwithstanding the above-mentioned variations and omissions, the relation in which St. Mark and St. Luke stood to each other, render it highly improbable that a Gospel written by the one should have remained unknown to the other: and that St. Mark's knowledge of St. Luke's Gospel does not necessarily imply that they should agree in every tittle, or that St. Mark should never omit what St. Luke has related. I have shewn in a preceding section, that the composition of St. Mark's Gospel was occasioned by the request of the Romans, who desired to have a written memorial of what St. Peter had verbally taught. It may be said therefore that St. Mark used the Gospel of St. Luke, but that he retained only what he had heard confirmed by St. Peter, and made such corrections and additions, as were warranted by the same authority. And the

^a St. Matthew says the same: but then he mentions two blind men.

^o Εἰς τὴν ἐγγίξαι αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἱερὶχὼ.

supposition, that St. Mark used the Gospel of St. Luke, accounts for the agreement of the two Evangelists in the arrangement of their facts².

SECTION VII.

Whether St. Mark's Gospel was written first, and used by St. Luke.

THIS hypothesis hath been lately adopted by Dr. Storr, in his Essay on the object of the Evangelical History, and the Epistles of St. John. In the 58th and following sections of this work, he endeavours to shew that St. Mark wrote not only before St. Luke, but soon after the foundation of the Christian church at Antioch, in support of which opinion he appeals to Acts xi. 17—50. His arguments however do not render his opinion even probable, for they are grounded merely on the supposed necessity of a Gospel for the Christians of that city, and therefore, as it is contrary to the accounts of ecclesiastical writers, the opinion has no foundation. On the supposition that St. Mark wrote at this early period, Dr. Storr endeavours to explain the agreement between the three first Evangelists by assuming that St. Mark's Gospel was used both by St. Matthew and St. Luke. But their agreement may be explained, without supposing an immediate connection between them: on which subject I shall say more in the fifth volume of the New Oriental and Exegetical Library¹.

SECTION VIII.

St. Mark wrote his Gospel in Greek.

THE Greek language was more common in Rome, in the age of the Apostles, than the French language is at present in Germany: as appears from the familiar Letters of Augustus, which are for the most part, either written in Greek, or are interspersed with Greek phrases. The Jews especially, who resided in Rome, understood Greek, for they came out of countries, where Greek was the current language; and they read the Old Testament, not in a Latin translation, which at that time did not exist, but in the Greek version. No language therefore was more suitable to the necessity of the times, and therefore St. Mark would probably have preferred it, even if he had been able to write both languages with equal ease. But we have no reason to suppose, that he was sufficiently master of the Latin to be able to write it.

Some modern critics however, especially Baronius, have asserted, that St. Mark really composed his Gospel in Latin, an assertion, which not only contradicts historical evidence, but is in itself almost incredible; for, as the Latin church from the earliest ages of Christianity was in a very flourishing state, and the Latin language spread itself throughout the whole Roman empire, the Latin original of St. Mark's Gospel, if such an original ever existed, could not have been neglected in such a manner, as that no copy of it should descend to posterity^p. It is true that in the subscription to St. Mark's Gospel in the Syriac version, it is said that St.

^p Whoever wishes to be acquainted with the history of this controversy, may consult Simon Hist. Crit. du Texte du N. T. ch. xi. Maii Examen historię criticę, cap. xi. Schroederi dissert. de lingua Marci authentica, and the Letter which Baumgarten annexed to his Vindicię textus Gręci N. T. contra Harduinum.

St. Luke and St. John is still preserved'. That this manuscript once contained likewise the Gospel of St. Mark is certain, because at the end of St. Matthew's Gospel is written, *Explicit Evangelium secundum Matthæum, incipit secundum Marcum*: and that the Venice manuscript of St. Mark's Gospel formerly made a part of the Friuli manuscript appears from the following circumstances. In the year 1534, the emperor Charles IV. brought with him from Aquileia, where the MS. was then preserved, the two last quaternions, or the sixteen last leaves of a Latin manuscript of St. Mark's Gospel. This fragment is now at Prague, and has been lately published by Dobrowsky, under the title *Fragmentum Pragense Evangelii S. Marci vulgo autographi*'. That the manuscript now in Friuli is no other than the MS. which in the time of Charles IV. was in Aquileia, appears from a comparison of it with the fragment in Prague, for they are written in the very same hand, on the same vellum, and in each page is precisely nineteen lines. And that the Venetian manuscript is the remaining part of St. Mark's Gospel which fails in the Friuli manuscript, appears first from its having been sent from Friuli to Venice in the year 1420, as a present to the doge Macenico, and secondly from its containing the first five quaternions of St. Mark's Gospel, of which the Prague fragment contains the two last'. The pretended autograph of St. Mark's Gospel therefore is nothing more than a fragment of the Friuli manuscript published by Blanchini, and consequently contains only a part of the Latin translation'.

' Blanchini has printed this MS. which is called *Codex For-Julianus*, letter for letter.

' Whoever wishes for more information on this subject must consult the above-quoted work of Debrowsky.

' Blanchini has given a copper plate representing the letters of this manuscript, from which we perceive the cause of Misson's mistake. A he mistook for Δ, and E for Σ: and the imaginary word KATA was nothing more than the second, third, fourth, and fifth letters of IBATAUTEM'.

No writer of the New Testament has neglected elegance of expression, and purity of language, more than St. Mark. The word *ευθως* occurs incessantly, and he abounds likewise with numerous and harsh Hebraisms. Yet his Gospel is very valuable, because it contains several important though short additions to the accounts given by St. Matthew. For instance, the answer of Christ, which St. Matthew has recorded, ch. xii. 48—50. would be thought very extraordinary, unless we knew what St. Mark has related, ch. iii. 21: but from this passage we clearly perceive the reason of Christ's answer. Sometimes he has additions, which more clearly ascertain the time, in which the events happened, as in ch. iv. 35. vi. 1, 2. It is therefore unjust to suppose that St. Mark neglected the order of time more than the other Evangelists, and still more so, to reject his arrangement for that of St. Matthew or St. Luke, in places where the time is positively determined by St. Mark.

CHAPTER VI.

OF ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL.

SECTION I.

Of the life and character of St. Luke.

THE Evangelist St. Luke^u appears from Coloss. iv. 10, 11, 14. to have been by birth a heathen^x: and therefore he was neither one of the seventy disciples,

^u Instead of *Lucas*, some old Latin MSS. have *Lucanus*.

^x St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Colossians, ch. iv. 10, 11, says, *ἀσπαζέται υμᾶς Ἀρισταρχὸς ὁ συναιχμαλωτὸς μου, καὶ Μάρκος ὁ ἀνιψιὸς Βαρνάβᾳ, οὗρι ὃ ἐλάβετε ἐπιστολὰς· καὶ ἦλθον πρὸς υμᾶς, διδάσκει αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰησοῦς, οἱ οὗτοι ἐκ περιτομῆς. Οὗτοι μοι συνεργοὶ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.* Ver. 12, 13. St. Paul makes mention of Epaphras, and ver. 14. adds *ἀσπαζέται υμᾶς Λουκᾶς ὁ ἰατρός ὁ ἀγαπῆτος, καὶ Δημάς.* Here then the Apostle distinguishes Aristarchus, Marcus, and Jesus the Just, from Epaphras, Lucas, and Demas, saying expressly of the three first, that they were of the circumcision: we may conclude therefore that the three last were not of the circumcision. Further, as St. Paul immediately after *οἱ οὗτοι ἐκ περιτομῆς* adds *ἐμοὶ μοι συνεργοὶ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, and it cannot be supposed that he meant to exclude St. Luke from the number of his fellow-labourers, the words *μοι συνεργοὶ* can have no other meaning than ‘my only fellow-labourers of the circumcision.’ Consequently St. Luke as well as Demas and Epaphras, were among St. Paul’s fellow-labourers, who were not of the circumcision. I admit however that this induction is not so decisive, as to lead to an absolute certainty; and therefore if stronger arguments can be produced in favour of the opinion, that St. Luke was by birth a Jew, the preceding inference will not be valid. Now that St. Luke was really a Jew, Dr. Lardner in the Supplement to his Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. I. p. 236. has endeavoured to shew by the two following arguments. 1. ‘That, as St. Luke constantly attended St. Paul, the Jews, especially at Jerusalem, would have reproached the Apostle, if his companion had been an uncircumcised Gentile, but that we nowhere find an account of any such reproaches having been made him. 2. That St. Luke follows the Jewish computation of time, and mentions the Jewish festivals, as in

nor an eye-witness of the actions of Christ, to which indeed he lays no claim, saying only that he would write according to the best information he could procure, *παρηκολυθηκως ανωθεν πασιν ακριβως*. From Col. iv. 14. we find that he was a physician, on which subject Clausewitz has written a short treatise entitled, *De Luca Evangelista medico*. Heumann was formerly of opinion that Luke the physician mentioned Col. iv. 14. was not Luke the Evangelist: but he afterwards revoked it; and in his Notes to Acts xiii. 1. and Col. iv. 14. has shewn that they were one and the same person.

The two circumstances, that St. Luke was not a Jew, at least not by birth and education, and that his profession was that of a physician, have had some influence on his mode of writing and the choice of his expressions. For instance, the word *δαιμονιον*, which the other Evangelists use, without any epithet, to denote an evil spirit, appears to have been understood by St. Luke, as it was understood by the pure Greek writers, namely as denoting either a good or an evil spirit: for at ch. iv. 33. where he uses *δαιμονιον* for the first time, he explains it by the epithet *ακαθαρτον*. The lake of Gennesareth, which the other Evangelists, according to the usual mode of expression among the

Acts xii. 3. x. 6. 16. xxvii. 9.' But the first argument, though specious, is not decisive, because it depends merely on the silence of our historian, who was so free from egotism, that he has very seldom related what concerned himself, even where the relation would be of some importance: for instance, his stay at Philippi, of which I shall take notice in the next section. Nor does the other argument prove that St. Luke was a Jew; for an heathen historian, who understood the Jewish customs, would accommodate his relation to the Jewish mode of reckoning, in describing St. Paul's transactions with the Jews.

Some writers have related that St. Luke was a native of Antioch; others that he was originally a slave, others again that he was by profession a painter. These reports, which are very uncertain, the reader will find examined by Lardner, whose opinion of them is perfectly just. Lastly, some authors may have supposed that St. Luke was one of the two disciples, whom Christ met on the road to Emmaus: a supposition, which Lardner thinks not improbable.

Jews and Syrians, called *θαλασσα*, is termed by St. Luke, ch. v. 1, 2. viii. 22, 23. very properly *λαμνη*. In ch. iv. 38. he terms the fever, with which St. Peter's mother-in-law was afflicted, *πυρετος μεγας*, on which expression Wetstein's Note may be consulted. The phrase *τριτην ημεραν αγω* used by St. Luke, ch. xxiv. 21. occurs particularly in the writings of Galen¹. In describing the blindness of Elymas, Acts xiii. 11. which was to last only for a time, he uses the proper word *αχλυσ*, on which Kypke may be consulted. In general, he wrote much better Greek, than the other Evangelists, especially in the Acts of the Apostles, of which I shall give examples in a following section.

That St. Luke accompanied St. Paul to Rome, and remained with him there during some time, we learn from Acts xxviii. 15—16. Col. iv. 14. and Philem. 24. From Rome he is said to have travelled into Africa, and to have preached the Gospel in Egypt, a subject which will be considered hereafter.

SECTION II.

Examination of the question, whether St. Luke's Gospel, though it contains upon the whole a very credible history, is perfectly free from inaccuracies.

ST. LUKE'S intercourse with the Apostles, and other eye-witnesses to the transactions of Christ, render him a very credible historian, as he assures us, that he has diligently¹ inquired into the whole history, and traced up the several facts to the fountain head². But the diligence with which he instituted his inquiries did not necessarily exempt him from the danger of making some few mistakes, unless he wrote under the

¹ *Ακριβως.*

² *Αναθεν.*

influence of divine inspiration. Now St. Luke himself not only lays no claim to supernatural assistance, but on the contrary grounds the fidelity of his history merely on the accuracy of his own researches. I have already shewn in the first volume of this Introduction^a, that instead of being losers we should be real gainers, if we considered St. Luke as a mere human historian, because the objections which have been made to the contradictions in the Gospels, affect St. Luke more than St. Matthew and St. John. He was neither an Apostle nor an eye-witness to the facts, which he has recorded in his Gospel, and therefore when he differs from an Apostle and eye-witness, we must conclude, since two accounts which vary from each other cannot both of them be accurate, that the inaccuracy is on the part of St. Luke.

In ch. xviii. 35. St. Luke relates that Christ restored a blind man to sight, as he was approaching toward Jericho : whereas both St. Matthew and St. Mark relate, that this miracle was performed after Christ's departure from Jericho. His account of the spices prepared by the women for the embalming of the body of Christ, ch. xxiii. 56. and their bringing these spices to the grave, ch. xxiv. 1. it is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile with what St. John has related on this occasion^b. In the short extract which St. Luke has given from the sermon on the mount, he has inverted one of the precepts delivered by Christ. According to Matth. v. 40. Christ gave the following command, Τῷ θελοντι σοι κριθηναι, και χιτωνα σε λαβειν, αφες αυτω και το ιματιον : but on the contrary in St. Luke's Gospel, ch. vi. 29, the command is given thus : Απο τῶ ἀιροντος σε το ιματιον και τον χιτωνα μη κωλυης. To those who are unacquainted with the Jewish laws, the form in which

^a Ch. III. sect. 3.

^b See what I have said on this subject in my History of the Resurrection^c.

St. Luke has recorded this precept, will appear to be the most natural, because an outward garment (*ἡμῶν*) must be taken off before the under garment (*χιτῶν*). But Christ alluded in this instance to a Jewish law, according to which a creditor could summon a debtor before a court of justice, and if he were unable to pay, could claim from him his under garment : but the outward garment was sacred, and could not be seized, even if the wearer had pledged it as surety for a debt*. The meaning therefore of the precept, as recorded by St. Matthew, is this : that if any one has a claim upon us, we should rather give up even more than the laws require, than dispute that, which can with justice be demanded. This is a very rational precept : but in the form in which St. Luke has delivered it, and in the connection in which he has related it, the precept implies that not even robbers ought to be resisted, and hence objections have been made to the Christian religion. But the objections will cease to be of weight, if we admit, that, St. Luke misunderstood the precept. According to the relation of St. Matthew, ch. xviii. 21, 22. when St. Peter demanded of Christ how often he should forgive his brother, who offended him, whether seven times, he received for answer 'seventy times seven :' by which Christ intended to say in general terms, that we should be ready at all times to be reconciled with those, who had offended us. But St. Luke, ch. xvii. 3, 4. has recorded the precept in the following manner : 'If he trespass against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn again to thee, saying, I repent; thou shalt forgive him.' Now seven, it is true, is much less than seventy times seven, but the addition of 'in a day,' increases the force of the expression in such a manner as to produce a very incomprehensible doctrine. For, if a man offend me seven times a day, and comes to me each time to say that he repents, how is it possible that his repentance should

* Mosaic Law, Vol. III. sect. 150. No. 1. and Exod. xxii. 25, 26.

be sincere, when he continually repeats the offence in the very same day? The addition therefore of *της ημερας* is certainly without authority, and St. Luke must have derived his information in this instance, not from the Apostles, but from one of those apocryphal Gospels, of which he speaks in his preface³. Again, the account which St. Luke has given, ch. xix. 13. of the sum of money, which a certain prince entrusted to ten of his subjects, to be employed on interest during his absence, appears to be not perfectly accurate. This sum, according to St. Luke, was ten Minas. Now the Attic Mina; according to Eisenschmidt, was fifteen ounces Cologne weight; in silver therefore it was two and twenty six-dollars, and in gold between an hundred and twenty-four and an hundred and twenty-five ducats. The whole treasure was at the utmost twelve hundred and fifty ducats. Even if we understood the Hebrew Mina, which, according to Eisenschmidt, was one pound thirteen ounces, and reckon the Mina in gold, the whole sum will not exceed two thousand four hundred and fifty ducats: which is really despicable, considered as a royal treasure in the East, and in the age of the wealthy Herods, from whose history the whole parable was borrowed. A similar parable is related by St. Matthew, ch. xxv. 14. not of a sovereign, but of a private man: and even this person delivers to one of his servants only not less than five talents. The word ~~μνα~~ therefore, used by St. Luke must be a mistake, which probably arose in the following manner. The Hebrew word מנה, if pointed מנה signifies 'a portion' or 'part,' but if pointed מנה, it signifies 'a Mina.' Christ probably used the word in the former sense, and meant to say, that the King delivered to ten of his subjects the ten portions of his treasure. It ought therefore to have been rendered by *μερος*: but in consequence of a wrong punctuation, it was improperly rendered by ~~μνα~~⁴.

SECTION III.

Whether St. Luke is the same Person as Lucius mentioned Acts xiii. 1. Rom. xvi. 21.

DR. HEUMANN in his Note to Acts xiii. 1. has endeavoured by several very probable arguments to shew that Lucius of Cyrene, who is called a prophet, Acts xiii. 1. and who is mentioned by St. Paul, Rom. xvi. 21. is no other than the Evangelist St. Luke. Lardner^d is inclined to adopt the same opinion, and Wetstein says in positive terms, that Lucas and Lucius are only different names of the same person. If this opinion were founded on fact, we should derive from it material advantages: for we should not only acquire a more complete knowledge of our Evangelist, but might ascribe to him, without scruple, divine inspiration, because Lucius of Cyrene is expressly called a prophet, and is said to have been selected, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, by the Apostle St. Paul to the ministry^e.

But there lie difficulties in the way of this opinion, which appear to me to be insurmountable. That Lucius was a Jew^f, but St. Luke an heathen by birth, is an argument on which I will not insist, because the deduction, by which St. Luke's heathen origin is shewn, is not absolutely decisive^g. The material objection is the following. St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Ro-

^d Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. I. p. 250: Lardner likewise observes that some entertained this opinion as long ago as the time of Origen.

^e Acts xiii. 1, 2.

^f Lucius was certainly a Jew, because St. Paul calls him *εβραῖος*, Rom. xvi. 21.

^g See the first section of this chapter, Note x.

mans from Corinth, and Lucius was with him at that time, for St. Paul sends a salutation from Lucius^b. Consequently if Lucas and Lucius are one and the same person, the author of the Acts of the Apostles must have been with St. Paul at Corinth, when the Epistle to the Romans was written. But, if we attend to the mode of writing in the Acts of the Apostles, we shall perceive that the author of this book was not at that time in Corinth. He begins to speak in the first person at ch. xvi. 10. '*We* endeavoured to go into Macedonia.' He was therefore at that time in company with St. Paul: and from ver. 12. where he likewise speaks in the first person, it appears that they arrived together at Philippi. In the last verse of the same chapter, he mentions St. Paul's departure from Philippi; and in this verse, and likewise in the following chapters, he speaks of St. Paul and his companions in the third person: 'Now when *they* had passed through Amphipolis^c, &c. Consequently he staid behind at Philippi, for if he had accompanied St. Paul to Corinth, he would not have altered his mode of writing. The third person continues as far as Acts xx. 56. where the first person is again used: 'These going before tarried for *us* at Troas, and *we* sailed away from Philippi, &c. Hence we perceive that the author of the Acts of the Apostles remained at Philippi (probably with a view of edifying the newly founded community), during the whole of St. Paul's travels, which are described in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth chapters, and that they again joined company in the same city. But it was in this interval that St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans from Corinth: and therefore the author of the Acts was not with St. Paul when he wrote that Epistle. Consequently he was not the same person with Lucius, who is mentioned Rom. xvi. 21. If, in order to evade this argument, it be objected, that the Lucius of Cyrene, whom we find at Antioch, Acts xiii. 1. may be a different person from the Lucius, who was

^b Rom. xvi. 21.^c Acts xvii. 1.

with St. Paul at Corinth, and therefore that the Evangelist St. Luke, though he cannot be the same with the latter, may yet be the same with the former, I answer that if Lucius of Cyrene, who was with St. Paul at Antioch, had been the author of the Acts, he would have spoken in the first person in describing the transaction at Antioch, ch. xiii. 1—3. and would have said, ver. 3. 'we sent them away,' not 'they sent them away.' Besides, the name of Lucius stands before that of St. Paul, Acts xiii. 1. an arrangement which is incompatible with St. Luke's modesty, if he himself were Lucius, for he would then have placed his own name before that of an Apostle.

SECTION IV.

Of the Person of Theophilus, to whom St. Luke addressed his writings:

THAT the word Θεοφιλος is not an appellative, but a proper name, appears from the addition of the title κρατισος. But who this person was, it is at present difficult to determine. That he was a man of rank appears from the title, which St. Luke has given him: for in the Acts of the Apostles, ch. xxiii. 26. xxiv. 3. xxvi. 26. this title is applied to the Roman Governors of Judæa, Felix and Festus. On the other hand it was not confined to men of this elevated station, but was applied in the East to persons in general, whose rank and office entitled them to respect. The word was adopted in the Palmyrene Syriac, for there are three Palmyrene inscriptions, in each of which a certain Epitropus and Ducenarius is entitled ܡܪܝܬܝܢܐ, that is, κρατισος. This title therefore determines no particular rank, and Oecumenius was certainly mistaken, in saying in his Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, that St. Luke's Theophilus was a Roman Gover-

nor, because Felix and Festus had the same title, for Theophilus is neither a Latin name, nor does it ever occur in the Roman history, as the name of the governor of a province.

That Theophilus was not a Christian, but either a Jew or an Heathen, when St. Luke addressed his Gospel to him, I think not improbable, because St. Luke in his preface uses the word *κατηχηθης*, from which it appears that Theophilus had then a very imperfect knowledge of the history of Christ*: and the expression used by St. Luke ver. 1. 'among us,' that is, 'among us Christians,' seems to imply that Theophilus was at that time not of the number¹.

It would be tedious and even useless to relate the various opinions of ancient writers, relative to the character and residence of Theophilus: for they are in general mere conjectures unsupported by historical evidence². And it is the less necessary in this Introduction, because whatever has been advanced on this subject, as well in ancient as in modern times, the reader will find examined at full length in the fourth volume of the Bibliotheca Bremensis. I will therefore content myself at present with stating the result of the inquiries instituted in that work. The first dissertation on Theophilus has Dr. Heumann for its author³, who contends that this person was an Heathen: but he argues chiefly from the word *καρτισος*, which as he supposes, not only implies a Roman governor, but one who had not embraced Christianity, because the Romans would not have entrusted the government of a province to a Christian. But this argument is wholly inconclusive: for the title *καρτισος*, as I have already shewn, was not confined to governors of provinces, and it might have been applied to men of rank among

* Some have supposed that he lived at Antioch, others that he lived at Alexandria; and Alexander Morus conjectured that he lived at Athens, because Tacitus (Annal. Lib. II. 55.) mentions a person of this name who was convicted at Athens of a forgery.

¹ Bibl. Bremens. Class IV. Fascic. III. Dissert. 3.

the Jews, for instance to such a person as Nicodemus. Nor is it by any means certain that a Roman governor would have been deprived of his office for embracing Christianity: for the Romans were *at that time* not inclined to persecution, but tolerated the Christian like every other religion, and Sergius Paulus, governor of Cyprus, made no scruple to embrace Christianity^m. The title *κρίσις* therefore determines no more in favour of Heathenism, than of Judaism, or of Christianity.

The second dissertation on this subject was written by Theodore Haseⁿ, who contends that Theophilus was formerly, though not when St. Luke addressed his Gospel to him, a Jewish High Priest. The arguments advanced in favour of this opinion are so strong, as to render it more probable than any other. That a person of the name of Theophilus once executed the office of High Priest, appears from the Antiquities of Josephus^o. He was son of Annas^p, who was High Priest in the year in which Christ was crucified: and was himself nominated High Priest by the Roman Governor Vitellius, in the place of his brother Jonathan, whom Vitellius deposed^q. This office Theophilus held till Agrippa was appointed King of Judæa, who deposed him and made Simon Cantheras High Priest. Agrippa soon after dispossessed Cantheras of the High Priesthood, and offered it again to Jonathan: but he refused it, and recommended his brother Matthias, who was accepted^r. After several changes in the Priesthood, which are of no importance in the present inquiry, another son of Annas, named Ananus, was appointed High Priest: so that Theophilus had not only himself presided over the Jewish church, but had

^m Acts xiii. 4. 7. 12.

ⁿ Bibl. Brem. Class. IV. Fascic. III. Dissert. 3.

^o Antiq. Lib. XVIII. XIX. XX.

^p Antiq. Lib. XIX. 6. 2.

^q Antiq. XVIII. 5. 3.

^r Antiq. XIX. 6. 4.

three brothers who had likewise executed that office. Lastly, his own son Matthias was nominated High Priest in the place of Jesus the son of Gamaliel: and it was during the Priesthood of Matthias, that the Jewish war commenced*. Theophilus therefore, though no longer High Priest, when St. Luke wrote his Gospel, yet, as he had formerly held that office, and moreover had brothers and a son for his successors, he was certainly of sufficient rank to be entitled to the appellation of *κραιστός*. It is therefore not impossible that this person is the Theophilus, to whom St. Luke addressed his Gospel, which must then be considered as an historical apology for the Christian religion, addressed to one of the heads of the Jewish nation. Further, Ananus, the brother of Theophilus, was in the Priesthood after the death of the Procurator Festus: consequently Theophilus himself might have been alive, not only when St. Luke wrote his Gospel, but likewise when he wrote the Acts of the Apostles. Lastly, when we take into consideration that this Theophilus is the only person of that name, whose history is recorded in the annals of the first-century; the possibility that he is the same with St. Luke's Theophilus becomes a probability.

That St. Luke addressed his Gospel to one of the heads of the Jewish church agrees likewise extremely well with the opinion, that he wrote it in Palestine during the time St. Paul was prisoner at Cæsarea. He had then the very best opportunity of tracing up the history of Christ to the fountain head, agreeably to what he himself says in his Preface: and, as the propagation of the new religion engaged at that time the particular attention of the leading men among the Jews†, there could not be a fitter opportunity for presenting to a person, who had once executed the important office of High Priest, an authentic narrative of the miracles and resurrection of Christ, in vindication

* Antiq. XX. 9. 1. 7.

† See Acts xxv. 13.—xxvi. 32.

of those, who had embraced his doctrines. Nor is it improbable that St. Luke's narrative should have produced such an effect on the mind of this person, as to induce him to request from the same author a further account of the Christians, especially of St. Paul, who was then prisoner in Cæsarea, which occasioned the composition of St. Luke's second work, the Acts of the Apostles. All these circumstances put together render the opinion highly probable, that St. Luke's Theophilus is no other than Theophilus the son of Annas, who is mentioned by Josephus. And if the opinion be true, as I really believe, it adds greatly to the credibility of St. Luke's Gospel; for the Evangelist would hardly have ventured to dedicate to the son of that very Annas, who was High Priest, when Christ was crucified, a narrative of facts performed in Palestine, unless he had been able to warrant their truth.

The third dissertation on St. Luke's Theophilus, in the *Bibliotheca Bremensis**, was written by James Hase, brother of Theodore. This writer supposes that St. Luke's Theophilus was a Jewish convert in Alexandria, and moreover the first who embraced Christianity in that city. In favour of this opinion he produces the authority of Bar Bahlul, a Syrian lexicographer of the tenth century, who is quoted in Castelli Lexicon Heptaglotton, pag. 3859, under the article *ٲٲٲٲٲٲ* Theophilus. The words of Bar Bahlul, in Castell's Latin translation are, "Theophilus, primus credentium et celeberrimus apud Alexandrienses, qui cum aliis Ægyptiis S. Lucam rogabat, ut eis Evangelium scriberet." But an assertion made by a writer of the tenth century relative to what happened in the first century cannot be considered as historical evidence, when his assertion is not supported by any preceding authority. And in the present instance I have no doubt that the assertion is nothing more than a conjecture of Bar Bahlul founded on the common belief of the Syrians relative to the place where St. Luke wrote his Gospel.

* Class. IV. Fasc. VI. Diss. 4.

In the superscription to St. Luke's Gospel in the Syriac version it is said that St. Luke wrote and preached his Gospel at Alexandria^a: hence Bar Bahlul concluded that the person to whom he addressed it must have been an inhabitant of Alexandria. Further, the author of the dissertation in question appears to be of opinion^b, though he has not positively advanced it, that St. Luke's Theophilus was no other than the celebrated Alexandrian Jew, Philo. But if Philo and Theophilus were one and the same person, which is in itself very improbable, the Alexandrine Fathers Clement and Origen must certainly have known it, and consequently would not have failed to relate it. Besides, as Philo, in the account of his embassy to the emperor Caius Caligula, calls himself at that time an old man^c, it is not very probable that he was alive, when the Acts of the Apostles were written, which extend as far as the end of the second year of St. Paul's imprisonment in Rome, under the emperor Nero, and therefore must have been written more than twenty years after the embassy of Philo.

SECTION V.

Of the Time when St. Luke wrote his Gospel.

THE time when, as well as the place where, St. Luke's Gospel was written, is wholly uncertain^d, Lardner, in the first volume of his Supplement^e to the Credi-

^a Ebed Jesu says the same. See Assemani Bib. Orient. Tom. III. P. 1. p. 9.

^b His own words, p. 1077. are, Equidem et ipse ille Philo inter suos gessit nomen יְדִידָאִי, seu Jedidæi, hoc est Θεοφιλου, quod ipse in Philonis Græcum ex more tum temporis solemniter commutavit. Hebræo enim hoc et nativo nomine Philonem citat Jedidæi Alexandrini R. Azarias in Meor Enajim, cap. 32.

^c In the beginning of his work entitled, De legatione ad Caium.

^d Chap. VIII. Sect. 4, 5, 6.

bility of the Gospel History, has examined the various opinions on this subject, and very clearly shewn the mistakes, which had been made by his predecessors: but, as it often happens in dubious cases, the opinion which he himself defends is equally liable to objection. All that we can affirm with certainty is, that St. Luke wrote his Gospel before the Acts of the Apostles, and that the Acts of the Apostles were not written before the end of the second year of St. Paul's imprisonment in Rome. But of the interval which elapsed, between the composition of the former and that of the latter, we have no knowledge; nor are there any internal marks, either in the Gospel or in the Acts, by which we can determine whether the interval was long or short. It is indeed the commonly received opinion, and Lardner has adopted it, that St. Luke wrote his Gospel not long before the Acts of the Apostles; but this is mere conjecture, for though it is very possible that the former was written so late as the very year in which the latter was written, yet it is equally possible that it was written ten years before. One of the reasons which Lardner assigns^b, namely, that St. Luke's Gospel contains a more complete view of the Gospel dispensation, than could have been expected from a person who wrote only a few years after the ascension, is wholly foreign to the purpose. If the question related to the work of an impostor, who invented stories and doctrines in order to deceive the world and introduce a false religion, the argument would be valid: for when a writer exhibits a fiction, and produces merely a work of his own invention, he cannot easily ascribe to his pretended prophet a set of doctrines, with which he himself was unacquainted. But it is wholly inapplicable to the Evangelists, who have recorded a series of doctrines, not of their own discovery, but which had been actually delivered by Christ: and therefore, whether they fully understood the Gospel dispensation or not, when they wrote their histories, it was surely

^b Chap. VIII. Sect. 5.

in their power to record, as true and faithful disciples, what had been taught by their Lord and Master. Lardner's other argument, namely, that several histories of Christ had been written before St. Luke wrote his Gospel, as the Evangelist himself says in the Preface, is more to the purpose, but equally indecisive. For we are wholly ignorant of the time in which the histories, to which St. Luke alludes were written, and therefore we cannot argue from them to the time, when St. Luke himself wrote. Lardner indeed says, 'It cannot be reasonably thought, that many should have written histories of Jesus Christ presently after his ascension, nor indeed till many years after it.' But if we argue from mere probability we may with equal reason suppose that some accounts at least were committed to writing soon after the ascension. In fact we cannot conclude either one way or the other with any certainty, and the probability or improbability, which we find in the case itself, depends chiefly on the opinion, which we have already embraced. If we argue from analogy, the inference will be equally uncertain; for some histories are written soon after the events, which are recorded, though other events of equal importance are not committed to writing, till long after they had happened. For instance, Charles XII. of Sweden had a biographer in Voltaire, within a few years after his death, whereas the life of Gustavus Adolphus has been described by no historian before the present age.

St. Luke's Gospel therefore, for aught we know, may have been written many years before the Acts of the Apostles: and consequently the opinion of Theodore Hase, which I noticed in the preceding section, that it was written in Palestine, before St. Paul was sent prisoner from Cæsarea to Rome, may very possibly be true*. Nay it is possible that St. Luke wrote before

* The subscription to St. Luke's Gospel in some Greek manuscripts quoted by Wetstein imports that it was written only fifteen years after the ascension.

St. Matthew; for though I would not undertake to prove that he did, I should find it difficult to prove that he did not. It is true that according to the common arrangement of the four Gospels, that of St. Luke is placed after that of St. Matthew: but we cannot argue from their position to the time in which they were written. Nor do all the manuscripts agree in the arrangement of the Gospels: for there are some, especially Latin manuscripts, in which St. John's Gospel is placed before that of St. Matthew, though it is certain that St. John's Gospel was written last^a. It is therefore not improbable that the *common* arrangement of the three first Gospels was grounded not on the time when they were written, but on the different degrees of dignity of their respective authors. St. Matthew had the first rank, because he was an Apostle, and St. Mark the second rank, because he had not only been a companion of St. Peter, but had likewise attended St. Paul, before St. Luke attended him. Yet St. Mark, if he wrote his Gospel after St. Peter was in Rome, wrote certainly later than St. Luke. The only Gospel of which we can positively affirm that its usual position corresponds to the time of its composition is that of St. John: but as in several manuscripts this Gospel has a different position, we see that the arrangement of the Gospels leads to no conclusion whatsoever.

That St. Luke's Gospel was really written before that of St. Matthew has been asserted by several commentators, in consequence of what St. Luke says in his preface^b. Macknight especially has devoted to this subject a great part of his seventh Preliminary Dissertation^c, and in addition to the argument deduced from St. Luke's preface, has drawn a conclusion in favour

^a Beza observes in a Note to Luke i. 1—4. *Forsitan ex hoc loco utcunque colligi posset, Lucam ante Matthæum quoque et Marcum hanc suam historiam edidisse.*

^b Prefixed to his Harmony of the Gospels. The edition which I quote is that of 1763.

of the early composition of this Gospel from a passage in St. Paul's second Epistle to the Corinthians¹, where St. Paul says, 'We have sent with him the brother whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the churches.' That this brother was St. Luke, Macknight thinks highly probable, and quotes in favour of this interpretation the authority of Origen, Jerome², and the interpolator of Ignatius, who explains the passage in the same manner. But if we admit that St. Luke was the brother whom St. Paul sent, yet the word 'Gospel' in this passage ought not to be explained of St. Luke's written Gospel: the word *εὐαγγέλιον* in the writings of the Apostles and Evangelists denotes 'the glad tidings of the Christian religion,' or 'the preaching of Christianity in general,' and it was not till after their time, that it acquired the sense of a 'written narrative of the life of Christ.'

Bishop Pearce has used another argument in favour of the early composition of St. Luke's Gospel, which he has deduced from ch. i. 5. where St. Luke, speaking of Herod the Great, calls him simply Herod the King of Judæa, without the addition of an epithet to distinguish him from the Herod, who is mentioned Acts xii. 1. and who was likewise King of Judæa. Hence Pearce concludes that, St. Luke wrote his Gospel before the second Herod King of Judæa had begun to reign. But this inference is not valid, for St. Luke in speaking of the second Herod Acts xii. 1. calls him simply Herod the King, as he had named his grandfather the first Herod, and therefore if Pearce's argument proved any thing it would prove too much. Besides, it was not the practice of the ancient historians to distinguish princes of the same name by the addition of 'the first,' 'the second,' and so on, as is customary in modern ages: they left the reader to

¹ Ch. VIII. 18.

² The words of Jerom are: Hoc de Luca intelligitur, qui laudem in Evangelio conscribendo videtur habere præ cæteris.

judge from the context, and in the case in question St. Luke could have no reason whatsoever for making an exception, since none of his readers could suppose that the Herod, under whose reign Christ was born, was any other than Herod the Great.

But whether St. Luke wrote before St. Matthew and St. Mark or not, it is evident that he had not seen their Gospels, when he wrote his own. For the 'many' of whom he speaks, ch. i. 1. cannot possibly be confined to St. Matthew and St. Mark alone: consequently, they must be either included among the many or not meant at all. But we cannot suppose that St. Luke would place the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark on a level with apocryphal Gospels, which stood in need of correction. Further, St. Luke speaks of the author of these Gospels, as if they themselves were not eye-witnesses of the facts which they had recorded, and therefore at any rate he could not have St. Matthew in view. Nor would he have neglected ver. 3. where he declares that he had traced up the history of Christ to the fountain head, to have quoted the authority of St. Matthew who was both Apostle and eye-witness, if the Gospel of St. Matthew had been known to him. Lastly, he would have avoided in that case every appearance of contradiction, and the variations which we find between the two Gospels, would hardly have taken place. For instance, if he had ever seen the Genealogy of Christ, which is given in the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, he would not have given another Genealogy, which appears so very different from the former, without giving some intimation of the manner, in which they may be reconciled. At ch. v. 12. St. Luke describing the cure of the leper, says, *Εγενετο εν τω ειναι αυτον εν μια των πολειων*; the name of the city therefore, in which the miracle was performed, was unknown to him, or he would not have expressed himself in so indeterminate a manner. But this could not have been unknown to him, if he had read St. Matthew's Gospel,

where we see from ch. viii. 1—5. that the name of the city was Capernaum. At ch. vi. 17. he would either have avoided the apparent contradiction to Matth. v. 1. or would have introduced an explanation, to shew that the accounts were consistent. Again, at ch. viii. 22. he would not have written *εγχετο εν μια των ημερων*, if he had read what St. Mark has written ch. iv. 32., where it appears that the fact in question happened on the *same* day, as that which he had before related. At ch. xxii. 58. describing St. Peter's denial of Christ, he says of the person who addressed St. Peter the second time, *ερεος ιδων αυτον*, whereas it appears from the relation both of St. Matthew and St. Mark, that St. Peter was addressed both times by a maid servant. Now, though it must be admitted that the word *ερεος* may be taken indefinitely to denote either a man or a maid servant, because we generally use the masculine gender when the sex is not particularly distinguished, yet on the other hand, as this last mode of speaking usually takes place in those cases only, where the sex is unknown to us, it follows that St. Luke was uncertain whether the person, who addressed St. Peter the second time, was a male or a female, and consequently that he had not read the accounts of St. Matthew and St. Mark.

So far then is certain that the Gospel of St. Matthew, as well as the Gospel of St. Mark, was unknown to St. Luke, when he wrote his own. Moreover it is certain on other accounts that St. Mark's Gospel did not exist at that time: but whether St. Luke's want of knowledge of St. Matthew's Gospel warrant the conclusion that he wrote likewise before St. Matthew will depend on the decision of the question, where St. Luke's Gospel was written. If it was written either in Asia Minor, or in Greece, before St. Luke accompanied St. Paul to Jerusalem, it is very possible that a Hebrew Gospel written in Palestine, might remain unknown to him; and therefore in that case we cannot argue from his want of knowledge of it

to its non-existence. But if it was written after the time that St. Luke had been with St. Paul in Jerusalem, whether in Palestine or in Rome we must conclude that when St. Luke embarked with St. Paul at Cæsarea to go to Rome, St. Matthew's Gospel had not been composed. For if it had, it could hardly have escaped the notice of St. Luke, who spent some time in Jerusalem, was two years either in Cæsarea or its neighbourhood, and made every where the most diligent inquiries relative to the history of Christ. The question therefore, whether St. Luke wrote before St. Matthew or not, depends entirely on the place where he wrote, which shall be the subject of inquiry in the next section.

SECTION VI.

Of the Various Opinions relative to the Place where St. Luke wrote his Gospel.

NOT less than nine different opinions have been advanced, either in ancient or in modern times, respecting the place where St. Luke wrote his Gospel. They are as follows. 1. That he wrote his Gospel at Antioch. 2. At Troas. 3. At Alexandria in Egypt, before he joined company with St. Paul. 4. In Bithynia. 5. In Macedonia. 6. In Achaia. 7. In Palestine. 8. At Alexandria in Egypt, after he had left St. Paul. 9. At Thebes in Egypt. According to the four first opinions, he must have written before he began to travel with St. Paul^a: according to the five

^a St. Luke in his account of Christ's Resurrection has omitted circumstances noted by St. Paul, for instance, that Christ appeared to five hundred brethren at once, 1 Cor. xv. 6. This favours the supposition that St. Luke wrote his Gospel before he was acquainted with St. Paul. On the other hand he sometimes uses peculiar expres-

last, at a later period. Each opinion shall be examined in order.

1. That St. Luke wrote his Gospel at Antioch, has not been asserted, as far as I recollect, in positive terms, but is only implied in the notion that Theophilus, to whom St. Luke addressed it, was bishop of that city. Now that this notion is erroneous every one at present will allowⁱ, and consequently the inference deduced from it falls of itself to the ground. If Lucas, and Lucius mentioned xiii. 1, were the same person, it would follow that St. Luke's Gospel might have been written at Antioch; but as the identity of Lucas and Lucius is incapable of proof, we have no ground even for a conjecture that it was written in that city.

2. The opinion that St. Luke wrote at Troas, in the Trojan district of Asia Minor, is grounded on the superscription to St. Luke's Gospel, which is found in the Syriac version, and the subscription to several Greek manuscripts^b. For the city of Troas was properly called Alexandria Troas, and in the superscription and subscription just mentioned, St. Luke's Gospel is said to have been written at Alexandria. It is true that the epithet there annexed to Alexandria, which in the Syriac is ܐܠܝܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ, and in the Greek *μεγαλη*, is unfavourable to the interpretation Alexandria Troas, because the title of 'the Great' was particularly applied to Alexandria in Egypt. If therefore this epithet is not an addition of later ages, but stood there from the very beginning, the author of it cannot have meant Alexandria Troas, and the interpretation in question

sions, which he appears to have learnt from St. Paul: for instance, *Acts* xviii. 1. See Vol. I. Ch. iv. Sect. 8. But neither of these arguments is decisive.

ⁱ The mistake probably arose from a confusion of St. Luke's Theophilus with the Theophilus who was Bishop of Antioch in the second century.

^b See the end of St. Luke's Gospel in Mill's and Wetstein's edition.

must be false. But it is really not improbable that the epithet is spurious¹. Alexandria Troas is the place where St. Paul first met with St. Luke¹, where they joined company, and whence they travelled together into Macedonia. When therefore it is said that St. Luke wrote at Alexandria, one might suppose that the Alexandria, where according to his own account he had actually been, and not the Egyptian Alexandria was meant by the author of the above subscription. Further the year assigned in the same subscription to the time when St. Luke's Gospel was written, favours this interpretation: for it is there said to have been written in the fifteenth year after Christ's ascension, and it was either at the end of the same, or at the beginning of the following year, that St. Paul arrived at Troas².

3. The third opinion that St. Luke wrote his Gospel at Alexandria in Egypt, but before he joined company with St. Paul, is grounded likewise on the subscription mentioned in the preceding article. According to this opinion, the word *μεγαλη*, is taken for genuine, and consequently the Egyptian Alexandria is supposed to have been meant. Further as according to the same subscription, St. Luke wrote his Gospel in the fifteenth year after the ascension, and the commencement of his travels with St. Paul took place shortly after that period, it is inferred that his visit to Alexandria in Egypt must have happened before the joining company with St. Paul³. But as we have no historical account whatsoever of any visit made by St. Luke in Egypt, the opinion rests on a very unstable foundation.

¹ This appears from St. Luke's mode of narration. For at Acts xvi. 8. he relates the arrival of St. Paul and his companions at Troas in the third person; *they* came to Troas. But the departure from Troas, ver. 10. is related in the first person: *we* endeavoured to go into Macedonia.

² Bar Bahlul, mentioned in the 4th Section of this Chapter, who makes Theophilus the first Christian in Alexandria, argued probably in this manner from the Syriac subscription.

4. That St. Luke wrote his Gospel in Bithynia has not been asserted by any modern writers; but the opinion is mentioned by Jerom in the Prologue to his Exposition of St. Matthew's Gospel, not indeed according to the reading of the common editions, but according to the reading of several manuscripts. The common printed text of the passage, to which I allude, is: *Tertius Lucas, medicus, natione Syrus, Antiochen-sis, cujus laus in evangelio, qui et ipse discipulus Apostoli Pauli, in Achaia Bæotiaque partibus volumen condidit*: but Martianay in a marginal note observes, that several manuscripts instead of *Bæotiaque* read *Bithyniaque*. Now as Bithynia was not only no part of the Roman province of Achaia, but lay at a considerable distance from it, Jerom could not possibly have related that St. Luke wrote his Gospel in Achaia and Bithynia: and therefore, if Bithyniæ is the genuine reading, *que* must be a mistake in the manuscripts for *ve*, and Jerom must have written *in Achaia Bithyniæve partibus*. According to this representation he will have reported two different opinions relative to the place where St. Luke wrote, without deciding in favour of either of them. That *Bithyniæve* was the original reading, that *Bithyniaque* arose from it through the mistake of a copyist, and that *Bæotiaque* was the result of a critical conjecture, founded partly on the obscurity of the reading *Bithyniaque*, and partly on the legend that the grave of St. Luke was discovered in Bæotia, I will not positively assert. But this at least is certain that Bithynia, a country not very far distant from Troas, is a much more probable place for the composition of St. Luke's Gospel than Bæotia, as I shall shew in the examination of the sixth opinion. If it be true that St. Luke wrote in Bithynia, before he joined company with St. Paul at Troas, Theophilus was probably a Bithynian, in which case all attempts to obtain further knowledge of him will be fruitless.

5. The fifth opinion, of which very little notice has hitherto been taken, but which appears to me to deserve particular attention, refers the composition of St. Luke's Gospel to a city in Macedonia. It is founded on the following subscription to the Arabic version of St. Luke's Gospel, which was published by Erpenius: 'He (St. Luke) wrote it in Greek, in a Macedonian city, two and twenty years after Christ's ascension, and in the fourteenth year of the Emperor Claudius. Now this account agrees extremely well with St. Luke's long stay at Philippi^a, not only in respect to the place, as Philippi is in Macedonia, but likewise in respect to the time; for it was in the latter part of the reign of the Emperor Claudius that St. Luke resided there. This appears from Acts xviii. 2. where we find that St. Paul, who had left St. Luke behind him at Philippi, met on his arrival at Corinth with Aquila and Priscilla, who had been obliged to leave Rome in consequence of an edict of the Emperor Claudius, that all the Jews should depart from that city. This edict was given toward the end of Claudius's reign: consequently, as St. Luke continued some time at Philippi, the account that he was in a city of Macedonia in the fourteenth, that is, in the last year of Claudius, has historical evidence in its favour. It is true, that we neither know the author of this Arabic subscription, nor the source from which he derived his information: but as it has strong internal marks of probability, or at least none of improbability, it is entitled to a high rank among the various opinions relative to the place where St. Luke's Gospel was composed. If St. Luke's object in remaining at Philippi, while St. Paul travelled into other countries, was to give further instructions to those whom the Apostle had converted to Christianity, and to form a community of Christians in that city, he could not have more completely effected his purpose, than by delivering them a written narrative of the birth, the miracles,

^a See the latter part of the third Section of this Chapter.

and the resurrection of Christ. The Greek name Theophilus agrees likewise with the opinion that he wrote in a Grecian city. The only objections which can be made to it, are : first, that St. Paul, in his second Epistle to the Corinthians ^o, represents the Macedonian Christians as being extremely poor, whereas Theophilus, as appears from the title which St. Luke has given him, was a man of rank : and secondly, that St. Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians has greeted no person of the name of Theophilus, nor in his second Epistle to the Corinthians, which he wrote in Macedonia, has mentioned Theophilus as greeting the Corinthians. But neither of these objections are of any weight. For we are not certain that Theophilus was a Christian ⁴ : and if he were, there is no necessity for supposing, either that he lived in the city of Philippi, or that he was acquainted with the members of the Corinthian community ⁵.

In the preceding paragraph I have interpreted the words of the Arabic subscription, 'a Macedonian city,' as denoting 'a city of Macedonia,' as it appears to me, that they admit of no other interpretation. But James Hase, in a dissertation inserted in the *Bibliotheca Bremensis* ⁶, has endeavoured to shew that the author of this Arabic subscription understood by 'Macedonian city,' the city of Alexandria in Egypt. In support of this position he has quoted several passages, but all of them from poetical works, in which the epithets, *Pelæus*, *Emathius*, *Macedonicus*, are applied to Egypt in general, or to the capital of that country, Alexandria, in particular. Now no one will deny that these epithets were often applied, especially by the poets, to the Egyptian Alexandria, in consequence of its having

• Ch. viii. 2, 3.

⁴ Class. IV. Fascic. 4. Dissert. 9. The title of the dissertation is, *Jacobi Hæssæi Observatio geographico-critica qua Macedonicam civitatem, et Alexandrian Magnam, in quarum altera Arabs, altera Syrus Græcique interpretes D. Lucam Evangelium consignasse produnt, eandem civitatem, et quidem Ægyptiacam Alexandriam, esse ostenditur.*

been founded and governed by Macedonian princes. But we must not interpret the plain language of a prose-writer, as we would interpret the figurative language of a poet. The impropriety of such an interpretation will appear more conspicuously, if we take an instance from the present period. A poet might call Lisbon, in consequence of the numerous English families, which are settled in that city, the English Lisbon: yet no bibliographer would say of a book, which was printed in Lisbon, that it was printed in an English city. In like manner, the author of the Arabic subscription, if he had meant to say that St. Luke wrote his Gospel at Alexandria, would not have said that he wrote it in a Macedonian city. That the author of the Syriac subscription referred the composition of St. Luke's Gospel to Alexandria, is no proof that the author of the Arabic subscription intended to do the same; especially as we know from the Acts that St. Luke staid some time in the country of Macedonia properly so called, but we nowhere read in the Acts of a journey into Egypt.

Before I proceed to examine the four other opinions, it will be necessary to make a few general observations on the five which have been already examined. If it were certain that St. Paul in his second Epistle to the Corinthians, ch. viii. 18. where he speaks of the brother, whose praise is in the Gospel, meant St. Luke and the Gospel written by that Evangelist, one of the five preceding opinions must be the true one: for the four last, which I have hereafter to examine, refer the composition of St. Luke's Gospel to a later period than the time of St. Paul's writing his second Epistle to the Corinthians¹. I have already observed in the preceding

¹ This is obvious of the three last of the nine opinions: and it is equally true of the sixth, which makes Achaia the country in which St. Luke wrote his Gospel. For I have shewn that St. Luke staid behind at Philippi, and did not accompany St. Paul to Corinth. But the second Epistle to the Corinthians was written on St. Paul's return to Macedonia. If therefore St. Luke ever was in Achaia, he must have been there at a later period.

section, that the word *εὐαγγέλιον*, as used by the Apostles and Evangelists, does not denote a written narrative of the life of Christ, and therefore that St. Paul can hardly be supposed in the passage in question to allude to the Gospel of St. Luke. It is moreover probable that by the expression, 'the brother whose praise is in the Gospel,' he meant a totally different person from St. Luke. For this 'brother,' as appears from the quoted passage, was sent by St. Paul to Corinth: yet though St. Paul himself went to Corinth⁶ soon after he had written this Epistle, St. Luke was not with him, when he again departed from that city, for, according to Acts xx. 3-6. St. Luke went from Philippi (where he had staid several years) to join company with St. Paul at Troas⁷. Besides, as this 'brother' was sent with Titus, in order to remove all suspicions of Paul's making an improper use of the contributions of the Corinthians⁸, St. Luke, who was his intimate friend and companion, was by no means qualified to answer that purpose. And if we may judge from what St. Paul says, 2 Cor. viii. 23, 24. both of the brethren, who are there opposed to Titus, whom St. Paul calls his partner and fellow-helper, were deputies from the churches in Macedonia⁹.

But many of the ancient Fathers have given a different interpretation of this passage, and understood St. Luke as the person meant by St. Paul: and the word Gospel several of them have explained as denoting the written Gospel of St. Luke. What Origen, Chrysostom, Jerom and Theophylact have said on this subject I will

⁶ See 2 Cor. viii. 20.

⁹ Who they were it is impossible to determine: but as Sopater, Aristarchus, and Secundus were Macedonians (see Acts xx. 4.,) it is not impossible that two out of these three persons were the brethren of whom St. Paul speaks, 2 Cor. viii. 18—23.

subjoin in a note', that the reader may be able to form a judgement, without the trouble of turning to the authors themselves. Now whether their explanations be right, or whether they be wrong, it necessarily follows that they who gave them could never have heard, or at least they could not have believed, that St. Luke wrote his Gospel, either in Palestine, or in Rome, or in Alexandria after he had left Rome. For in that case they could not even have conjectured that St. Paul alluded to St. Luke's Gospel in his second Epistle to the Corinthians, which was undoubtedly written before St. Luke accompanied St. Paul into Palestine. But their explanations do not necessarily imply that they had never heard of St. Luke's having written in Achaia. For, though it is certain from St. Luke's mode of writing in the Acts of the Apostles, that he staid behind at Philippi, that he did not go with St. Paul into Achaia, and consequently, if he ever was in that district, that he must have been there after St. Paul had written his second Epistle to the Corinthians: yet as the Fathers, through want of attention to St. Luke's

Origen, in his first homily to St. Luke's Gospel (Tom. III. p. 983, ed. Benedict.) speaking of Luke i. 3. says, according to the words of the Latin translation now extant, 'Inculcat ac replicat, quoniam ea quæ scripturus est, non rumore cognovit, sed ab initio ipse fuerit consecutus. Unde et ab Apostolo merito collaudatur dicente, cujus laus in Evangelio est per omnes ecclesias.' Chrysostom expresses himself still more decidedly: for at the beginning of his Commentary to the Acts of the Apostles (Tom. IX. p. 2. ed. Montfaucon) he says of St. Paul, 'In his Epistle to the Corinthians he writes of him, whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the churches. And when he mentions, that Christ appeared to Cephas, and then to the twelve, and adds, *according to the Gospel, which ye have received*, he means the Gospel of St. Luke.' Chrysostom delivers again the same opinion, p. 4, 5. But Theophylact appears to have been in doubt, whether St. Paul really alluded to St. Luke's Gospel at 2 Cor. viii. 18.; for in his Note to this passage he says only, 'Some apply these words to St. Luke, because he wrote a Gospel: others apply them to Barnabas, for the Apostles used the term Gospel to denote even a verbal preaching.' What Jerom says on this subject has been quoted in the preceding section.

mode of writing, might suppose that he attended St. Paul from Philippi to Corinth, a report, that St. Luke wrote his Gospel in Achaia, would appear to them perfectly consistent with the opinion that St. Paul alluded to it in his second Epistle to the Corinthians. Whether it be true that he wrote in Achaia or not, will be examined in the article which now follows.

6. When it is said that St. Luke's Gospel was written in Achaia, this word must not be taken in the confined sense, in which it was used by the ancient Greeks, but in the more extensive sense in which it was used by the Romans, who gave the name of Achaia to the whole southern part of Greece, in opposition to Macedonia, which was the northern province. Bœotia therefore was a part of the Roman province of Achaia, and consequently when it is said that St. Luke wrote in Bœotia in particular, it does not contradict the general assertion that he wrote in Achaia^a. Of the various countries which have been assigned for the composition of this Gospel, Lardner^b thinks Achaia the most probable. Beside the authority of Jerom, he quotes a verse, from the metrical catalogue of canonical books by Gregory of Nazianzum, where St. Luke is said to have written for Achaia^c. Further, he appeals to the story, that the bones of St. Luke were brought to Constantinople in the time of the emperor Constantius from Thebes in Bœotia, where, according to Nicephorus, St. Paul converted him to Christianity.

But that St. Luke wrote in Achaia appears to me much less probable than it did to Lardner. For in the first place, though it were true that St. Luke was buried in Achaia, yet this circumstance could not afford the smallest presumption that he wrote his Gospel there.

^a The passage in which Jerom says of St. Luke, *in Achaia Bœotiaque partibus volumen condidit*, has been already quoted in this section.

^b Supplement, P. II. Vol. i. p. 268. and following pages.

^c *Ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀχαΐας.*

If St. Luke died in Achaia, he must have gone thither from Rome after the second year of St. Paul's imprisonment was expired : and indeed later, for we find him with St. Paul in Rome, not only when the Apostle wrote his Epistle to the Colossians^y, and his Epistle to Philemon^z, but likewise when he wrote his second Epistle to Timothy^a. Hence it appears that the inference that St. Luke wrote his Gospel in Achaia, is not only unwarranted by the circumstance, that he died there, but is also improbable in itself. Further, the story of St. Luke's grave at Thebes in Bœotia gave rise to other inferences, which are undoubtedly false : for instance, that he was first converted to Christianity in that city, which can no more be true of Thebes in Bœotia, than of Thebes in Egypt, for he was become a fellow-traveller and fellow-labourer of St. Paul before he went into Greece^b. The former inference therefore, which is drawn from the same premises, is exposed at least to the suspicion of being equally false. Lastly, this very inference, instead of being supported by the opinion of the Fathers, who supposed that St. Paul alluded to St. Luke's Gospel in his second Epistle to the Corinthians, is directly contradicted by it. For if they believed that St. Luke wrote his Gospel in Achaia, they must have understood it of the time, when he visited Greece in company with St. Paul, and before St. Paul's imprisonment either in Cæsarea or Rome, as I have shewn in the preceding article. It is likewise contradicted by the Greek subscriptions to St. Luke's Gospel, which refer the composition of it either to the fifteenth or twenty-second year after the ascension : for if St. Luke went into Achaia after St. Paul's imprisonment in Rome, he must have gone thither above thirty years after the ascension. But that St. Luke wrote his Gospel at so late a period, is improbable, and supported by no authority.

^y Coloss. iv. 14.

^a 2 Tim. iv. 11.

^z Philem. 24.

^b See Acta xvi. 10.

7. The seventh opinion respecting the place, where St. Luke wrote his Gospel is that of Theodore Hase*, who contends that he wrote it by Palestine, while St. Paul was prisoner in Cæsarea. It is true that this opinion has no historical evidence in its favour: but no objection can be made to it on this ground, for the accounts in general, which ancient writers have delivered on this subject, are so very contradictory and inconsistent, that not one of them is entitled to the name of historical evidence. They are merely the result of private opinion, and therefore have no more authority, merely as such, than the opinion of a modern writer. The only question to be asked, is, which of the several hypotheses, whether advanced in early or in later ages, has the greater share of internal probability. Now in order to determine, whether the hypothesis, that St. Luke wrote his Gospel in Palestine, while St. Paul was prisoner in Cæsarea, is probable or not, we must ask this previous question, had St. Matthew written his Gospel at that time, or had he not?

If St. Matthew had already written his Gospel, when St. Luke came with St. Paul into Palestine, one might suppose that it would not have escaped the notice of a writer, who took all possible pains to collect accounts of the history of Christ. Yet we must conclude both from St. Luke's preface, and the variations between his Gospel and that of St. Matthew, that he had no knowledge of it. This objection however is not of so much weight as it appears to be. For we are not certain that St. Luke understood Hebrew[†], or if he did, that St. Matthew's Gospel was known at Cæsarea, a city inhabited chiefly by Greeks and Romans. If he did not understand Hebrew, he might have heard of St. Matthew's Gospel, and yet not have been able to use it, as it is very possible that no Greek translation of it then existed. I can produce a case in point in regard to

* Biblioth. Bremens. Class. IV. p. 516.

myself : for about forty years ago I read lectures on the Russian history, yet for want of knowledge of the Russian language, I took not the least notice of Nestor, though he is the principal historian of the Russians.

On the other hand if St. Matthew had not written his Gospel, when St. Paul was prisoner at Cæsarea, St. Luke, if he wrote at that time, wrote before St. Matthew. But if he wrote before St. Matthew, and not only wrote in Palestine, but dedicated his Gospel to a person, who in the opinion of Theodore Hase, had been High Priest at Jerusalem, it may be objected that such a Gospel could not have been overlooked by St. Matthew. Dr. Storr indeed asserts that St. Matthew not only read, but even copied from St. Luke's Gospel⁹. But this appears to me incredible, for an author, who was eye-witness to the facts, which he related, would hardly borrow his materials from a writer, who was not an eye-witness : nor do I believe that he had even read St. Luke's Gospel, for if he had, he would have avoided many apparent contradictions, which he might easily have removed by a short explanation, and sometimes by the addition of a single word. Since therefore St. Luke's Gospel was certainly unknown to St. Matthew, the question to be asked is, whether this circumstance is consistent with the supposition that St. Luke wrote in Palestine before St. Matthew? Now I think it is not absolutely inconsistent : for if St. Luke wrote his Gospel at Cæsarea, and sent it to a Jewish High Priest, it is at least possible that some years elapsed before copies of it were spread abroad among the Christians in Palestine. Besides, as the supposition that St. Matthew wrote so late, is improbable, the objections which are grounded on it, rest on a very unstable foundation. The opinion that St. Luke wrote his Gospel in Palestine, while St. Paul was prisoner in Cæsarea, implies neither that he wrote before, nor that he wrote after St. Matthew. On this last head, we may adopt whatever supposition appears to be the most consistent with it.—Whether the opinion be true or not, I will

not undertake to determine, but will leave it to the decision of the reader¹⁰.

8. The eighth opinion on this subject is, that St. Luke wrote his Gospel at Alexandria in Egypt, after he had been with St. Paul in Rome. In support of this opinion appeal has been made to the subscription to St. Luke's Gospel in several Greek manuscripts, in which, as well as in the Syriac version, St. Luke is said to have written at Alexandria the Great, by which is meant Alexandria in Egypt. But the same Greek subscription contradicts the latter part of this opinion, for it assigns the fifteenth year after the ascension for the time of its composition, which was long before St. Paul's Journey to Rome. However Grabe and Mill have argued very strenuously in support of this opinion; and their arguments are so plausible, that they induced me to subscribe to it in the first edition of this Introduction. But since I have read Lardner's objections^a, I have so far altered my sentiments, that, though I will not affirm it is absolutely false, I think it at least very uncertain. Simeon Metaphrastes, to whom Grabe appeals, lived so late as the tenth century; and is therefore on that account, as well as several others of no authority in determining a fact, which happened in the first century. Besides, as Lardner has rightly observed, he does not say that St. Luke wrote his Gospel at Alexandria, but only that he preached there. Nor has Oecumenius, to whom Mill appealed, but without quoting any particular passage, asserted that St. Luke wrote at Alexandria: for Lardner, who was perfectly well acquainted with the writings of the Fathers, declares that he could find no such assertion in Oecumenius. Further, the advocates for this opinion have appealed to the work, which goes by the name of the Apostolic Constitutions, of which the author is unknown, and to which we have no reason to give much credit. Beside the objections, which Lardner has made

^a Supplement, P. II. Vol. i. p. 270, 271.

to this work in general, a particular objection may be made to that very chapter*, in which St. Luke's supposed residence in Alexandria is mentioned. It is there said: 'The first bishop of Alexandria, Anianus, was ordained by the Evangelist St. Mark, and his successor Avilius by the Evangelist St. Luke.' Now if this were true, St. Luke must have been at Alexandria after St. Mark had been there, in which case St. Mark's Gospel would hardly have remained unknown to him. Further, as St. Mark wrote his Gospel in Rome while St. Peter was there, and St. Peter certainly did not go to Rome till some time after St. Paul, St. Mark's journey into Egypt must have taken place at so late a period, that St. Luke could hardly have written his Gospel at a still later time. Besides, he was with St. Paul at Rome in the year 66 or 67, when the second Epistle to Timothy was written, as appears from 2 Tim. iv. 11. 9. The ninth and last opinion is, that St. Luke wrote his Gospel at Thebes in Egypt. This opinion is grounded partly on the supposed journey of St. Luke into Egypt mentioned in the preceding article, and partly on the report mentioned in the fifth article that he wrote at Thebes in Bœotia, which, it is said, was confounded with Thebes in Egypt. But, since not only the inference is unwarranted, but the premises from which it is drawn, are themselves uncertain, this opinion falls of itself to the ground. But if any one should think it necessary to have a particular confutation of it, he may have recourse to Lardner's Supplement†.

* Ch. xlv.

† Vol. L p. 271—273.

SECTION VII.

Result of the Inquiries instituted in the preceding Section.

It appears from what has been said in the preceding section, that of the nine opinions respecting the place where St. Luke wrote his Gospel, there are only two of which it can be said, that they have historical accounts in their favour; namely, that which refers the composition of it to Troas in the fifteenth year after the ascension, and that which refers its composition to Macedonia in the twenty-second year after the ascension. But then these historical accounts are of such a nature that they hardly deserve the name of evidence: for they are contained in the subscriptions to St. Luke's Gospel, the authors of which are unknown, and who probably gave nothing more than their own conjectures. The most ancient Fathers appear not to have known either the time, or the place where St. Luke wrote: and therefore what later writers have asserted is hardly entitled to more credit, than what is asserted by an author of the eighteenth century. Eusebius, whose object was to collect whatever information could be procured respecting the four Evangelists, has not said a syllable either on the time or the place where St. Luke wrote: nor of the person and character of Theophilus. We must conclude therefore that Eusebius was not able to procure any intelligence on this subject, at least none on which he could depend. Origen is equally silent on the time and place where St. Luke's Gospel was written: and when he speaks of Theophilus, instead of communicating information of his person and character, he gives an explanation founded on the composition of the Greek word Θεοφιλος, which shews that he had no real information to communicate.

Under these circumstances we must be directed in our choice of the most eligible opinion, not by external,

but by internal evidence. Now in favour of Troas is the circumstance that this was the place, where St. Paul first met with St. Luke, and took him into his company: in favour of Macedonia, that he resided there for some time, while St. Paul was travelling in other countries: and in favour both of Troas and Macedonia is the circumstance, that either supposition will account for St. Luke's want of knowledge of St. Matthew's Gospel. On the other hand there are two circumstances against both of these opinions. For if he wrote either at Troas, or in a city of Macedonia, it is difficult to comprehend how the many apocryphal Gospels, to which he alludes in his preface, could have been propagated in Greece at so early a period: and secondly, he had no opportunity either in Troas or in Macedonia of tracing up the history of Christ to its source, and of consulting those who had been eye-witnesses to the several facts, which he has recorded. The latter objection may indeed be removed by the supposition that he had been at Jerusalem, before he went thither with St. Paul: but for this supposition we have no foundation whatsoever.

In favour of the opinion that he wrote his Gospel in Egypt, is the circumstance that St. Luke alluded to apocryphal Gospels, and that of all the apocryphal Gospels now extant, the Gospel according to the Egyptians, is supposed to be the most ancient. This argument however will be of no weight, if it be true that the Gospel according to the Egyptians was not written before the second century ^s. Another circumstance in favour of this opinion is, that there are several passages in St. Luke's Gospel, which, as I shall shew in the next section, are particularly applicable to the Essenes, who were very numerous in Egypt. But against this opinion may be alleged the following arguments. First, St. Luke has totally omitted the flight of Joseph and Mary with Jesus into Egypt, and omitted it in

^s Credibility of the Gospel History, P. II. Vol. II. p. 527-530.

such a manner as to produce a very strong apparent contradiction between what he has related, ch. ii. 22—39. and the relation of St. Matthew, ch. ii. 13—23. Now as this part of the history of Christ would have particularly interested the Egyptians, St. Luke would hardly have passed it over in silence, if he had written his Gospel in Egypt. Besides, the apparent contradiction between the accounts of St. Matthew and St. Luke would be considerably augmented, if it were true that St. Luke wrote his Gospel in Egypt: for his total silence of the flight of Joseph into that country might then be construed into a positive contradiction to St. Matthew's account. Secondly, if St. Luke had spent some time in Egypt, he would probably have communicated in the Acts of the Apostles some information relative to the propagation of Christianity in that country^a. But St. Luke, though he has very circumstantially described the propagation of the Christian religion in Syria, Cyprus, Asia minor, and Greece, has no where related its introduction into Egypt: nor has he mentioned any circumstance that could interest the Egyptians in particular, if we except the account which he has given Acts viii. 27. of the conversion of the eunuch who came from the court of Candace¹. Thirdly, the time assigned in the Greek subscriptions to the composition of St. Luke's Gospel in Egypt, is the fifteenth year after the ascension. But it appears from Acts xviii. 24—26. that Apollos, when he came from Alexandria, which according to St. Luke's narrative was certainly later than the fifteenth year after the ascension, had been instructed only in the baptism of John. Now as Apollos is said, ver. 24, to have been conversant in the Scriptures, St. Luke's Gospel,

^a The Christian religion soon spread itself into Egypt, though at first it was taught there in a very imperfect manner. See Acts xviii. 24—26.

¹ Queen of Meroe in Nubia. See the *Spicilegium geographiæ Hebræorum extæræ*, Tom. I. p. 176—188.

if it had been already written in the country, from which he came, would hardly have escaped his notice : but in that case his knowledge would not have been confined to the baptism of John. If therefore St. Luke wrote in Egypt he must have written at a later period : either during the three years that St. Paul remained in Ephesus¹, or after he had left St. Paul in Rome.

Lastly, the opinion that St. Luke wrote his Gospel in Palestine, while St. Paul was prisoner at Cæsarea, though not confirmed by historical evidence, is supported at least by its own internal probability. It is moreover an opinion to which, as far as I know, no material objections can be made : and therefore, though it is only conjecture, it is perhaps more eligible, than any one of the traditionary reports.

If St. Luke had given us a short account of his own history, we might have been enabled to form a decisive judgment on this subject. But since his peculiar modesty has prevented him from saying any thing of himself, it is impossible to determine either where, or when, he wrote his Gospel. I once thought that the decision was easy : but the more I have inquired, the more I have learnt to doubt.

¹ During these three years St. Luke was absent from St. Paul, as well as during his residence at Corinth, having as I have already observed parted company at Philippi. It is therefore possible that St. Luke, while St. Paul was at Ephesus, took a journey from Philippi into Egypt, and returned, before St. Paul came again into Macedonia. But it is mere possibility, for we nowhere find the smallest traces of any such journey.

SECTION VIII.

Of the Motive, which induced St. Luke to write a Gospel.

It has been supposed by several persons that St. Luke not only wrote his Gospel at the request of St. Paul, but that St. Paul even dictated what St. Luke wrote. This notion took its rise from a false interpretation of a passage in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans¹: and that St. Luke wrote of his own accord, and of his own authority, appears from the expression *εδοξε κἀμοι*, which he has used in the preface to his Gospel. He there assigns the motive which induced him to send to Theophilus an authentic narrative of the miracles and resurrection of Christ, which, to use his own words, was the following, *επειδηπερ πολλοι επεχειρησαν αναταξασθαι διηγησιν περι των πεπληροφορημενων εν ημιν πραγματος*. To the accounts of these 'many,' he must certainly have had some objections to make, for no man would argue thus: since several persons have delivered accounts of Christ, on which perfect reliance may be placed, I have likewise thought proper to write the history of Christ. We must conclude therefore, that his intention was to correct the inaccuracies of the accounts, which were then in circulation, and to deliver to Theophilus a true and genuine document, in order to silence several idle stories, which might have prejudiced Theophilus against the Christian religion¹.

Mill and Grabe have supposed, and perhaps not without some reason, that St. Luke had particularly in view the Gospel according to the Egyptians, of which the fragments that are now extant may be seen in Fabricii Codex Apocryphus^m. The Essenes were at that time in great repute in Egypt, and the fragments

¹ Ch. ij. 16.^m Vol. I. p. 335—337.

of the Egyptian Gospel shew that the author of it was an Essene, for they contain the tenets of this sect relative to the prohibition of matrimony. It is really to be lamented, that we have not the Egyptian Gospel complete, for we should then be enabled to determine with more precision whether Grabe's opinion be true or not. Lardner indeed contends, that the Gospel according to the Egyptians was not written before the second century, though other critics assert that it is the most ancient of the apocryphal Gospels. But whether the Egyptian Gospel existed, or not, at the time when St. Luke wrote, he appears in several passages of his Gospel to have had the Essenes in view*. The following may serve as examples.

St. Luke is the only Evangelist, who mentions Christ's particular command to his disciples to sell their lands in Palestine, (which however would have been taken from them in a time of persecution), and to give the money to the poor^p: a command which did not extend to every Christian, but was necessary for the Jewish converts in Palestine, since those lands might have proved a snare to them and have tempted them to return to Judaism^q. In the fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters of the Acts of the Apostles he describes at full length the constitution of the Christian church at Jerusalem: and relates that the members of this church sold their property and established a common fund, or rather a common depository of alms for the poor; for I much doubt whether they had a perfect community of goods, in the strict sense of the word. Now this account has no necessary connection with St. Luke's principal object in the Acts of the Apostles: but he seems to have related

* In writing a commentary on St. Luke, other apocryphal Gospels might be likewise applied to advantage: for they might enable us to explain several passages, where the Evangelist endeavoured to correct the false notions, which then prevailed.

^p Luke xii. 33, 34.

it for the sake of the Essenes, who likewise lived without property, and had every thing in common³.

St. Luke is the only Evangelist, who has related the conversation between Gabriel and Mary⁴: and he probably related it with a view of correcting a false account of the appearance of Gabriel; inserted in an apocryphal Gospel, of which I think some traces are still visible in the Koran. It is well known that Mohammed took most of his accounts concerning Christ from the false Gospels, which in his time still circulated in Arabia: and in the third chapter of the Koran he has given a long but inaccurate narrative of the birth of Christ and John the Baptist, of which we find the true account in St. Luke's Gospel. I believe therefore that Mohammed derived his intelligence from that very Gospel which St. Luke intended to correct: especially as, contrary to the usual practice of Mohammed, he has here a passage which favours perpetual virginity, an essential doctrine of the Essenes, and has here given to Christ the appellation of the Word of God, a title generally applied to him by those, who had been educated in the Egyptian or oriental philosophy. After having related, in the third chapter of the Koran, the birth of Mary, her education in the temple, the annunciation of the birth of John the Baptist, and the dumbness of Zacharias, Mohammed proceeds, ver. 40—43. as follows⁵: 'The angel said, 'O Mary, verily God sendeth thee good tidings, that thou shalt bear the Word proceeding from himself: his name shall be Christ Jesus' the son of Mary, honourable in this world and in the world to come, and one of those,

³ Ch. i. 26—38.

⁴ According to St. Luke, ch. i. 30, 31. the angel said to Mary: 'Fear not Mary, for thou hast found favour with God: and behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus.'

who approach near to the presence of God^{*}: and he shall speak unto men in the cradle, and when he is grown up, he shall be one of the righteous. She answered, Lord, how shall I have a son, since a man hath not touched me? The angel said, So God createth that which he pleaseth: when he decreeth a thing, he only saith unto it, Be, and it is.' In the nineteenth chapter of the Koran, Mohammed has given another extract from an apocryphal Gospel relative to the appearance of the angel Gabriel to Mary, which is as follows. 'She (namely Mary) retired from her family to a place toward the east, and took a veil to conceal herself. And we sent our Spirit Gabriel unto her, and he appeared unto her in the shape of a perfect man. She said, I fly for refuge unto the merciful God, that he may defend me from thee: if thou fearest him, thou wilt not approach me. He answered, verily I am the messenger of thy Lord, and am sent to give thee a holy Son.' Other passages, which Mohammed had taken from apocryphal Gospels, might be selected from the Koran, and added as a Supplement to Fabricii Codex Apocryphus.

What St. Luke has related ch. xvii. 20, 21. of the question proposed to Christ concerning the kingdom of heaven, and the answer which he gave, appears to be a correction of the following inaccurate account, which had been given of it in the Egyptian Gospel[†]. *Επερωτησας αυτος ο Κυριος υπο τινος, ποτε ηξει αυτε η βασιλεια, απεν' οταν τα της αισχυνης ενδυμα πατησητε, και οταν ηται τα δυο εν, και τα εξω ως τα εσω, και το αρσεν μετα της δηλίας ετε αρσεν στε δηλυ[‡].*

In this manner St. Luke improved and corrected the accounts, which were then in circulation, of the his-

^{*} Luke i. 32. 'He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest.'

[†] Fabricii Codex Apocryphus, Tom. I. p. 335.

tory of Christ. For this undertaking he is entitled to our warmest thanks: as in consequence of the accurate inquiries which he made, he was enabled to distinguish truth from falsehood, and to communicate a history, on which we can depend. It is true that the accounts contained in the histories, which it was St. Luke's object to correct, were not wholly fabulous, and the mere inventions of the authors who recorded them: but they contained so much falsehood intermixed with truth, that a correction of them was absolutely necessary. The same thing happened to these histories, as happens to our modern gazettes, when a battle or a siege is described. The main story is true, but in passing through different hands, it generally acquires an accession of circumstance, which are totally devoid of truth. Official intelligence alone is certain: and such certain intelligence we have received from St. Luke*.

* St. Luke's Gospel alone was admitted by Marcion, who made however many alterations in it, so as to render it more suitable to his own system. But not all the alterations in Marcion's copy are to be considered as wilful corruptions; for several of them are nothing more, than what modern critics call various readings*.

CHAPTER VII.

OF ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL *.

SECTION I.

Of the Life and Character of St. John.

THAT St. John the Evangelist was one of the twelve Apostles, son of Zebedee and Salome, and brother of the elder James, appears from Matth. iv. 21. xxvii. 55, 56. Mark xv. 40. xvi. 1. In the opinion of most ecclesiastical writers he was a relation of Christ[†]: and this opinion I adopted, when I published the first edition of this Introduction. The extraordinary request made by the mother of James and John, that her two sons should sit, the one on the right hand and the other on the left hand of Christ[‡], implied a claim, which might be thought to be founded on relationship. But at present I much doubt whether any such relationship subsisted: for in Gal. i. 19. James the less, who was not brother of John, is distinguished by the title of 'Brother of the Lord,' which implies that the other James, and consequently John, were not related to Christ.

It appears from Matth. xxvii. 55, 56. that St. John's mother attended Christ, not only to Jerusalem, but likewise to the place of his crucifixion. Of his father Zebedee, who was alive, when St. John was called to the Apostleship[§], no mention is made in the latter part

* On the subject of St. John's Gospel, I would recommend Lampe's Prolegomena prefixed to his Exposition of this Gospel, Oporini Clavis Evangelii Johannis, and Lardner's Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. I. ch. 9.

† See Lampe, Prol. Lib. I. cap. 1. sect. 4.

‡ Matth. xx. 20, 21.

§ See Matth. iv. 21, 22.

of Christ's life : and as Salome accompanied Christ on his travels, it is probable that he died soon after his sons were chosen Apostles. From Luke xxiv. 1. 10. compared with Mark xvi. 1, 2. one might conclude that Salome was one of the persons, who first saw Christ after his resurrection : but St. John, in the twentieth chapter of his Gospel, though he particularly relates the circumstances of the resurrection, makes no mention of his mother : nor does St. Matthew, though he had named her among the persons who were present at the crucifixion^a, make any mention of her among the persons, who on the day of the resurrection went to visit the sepulchre^b.

It is not improbable, though it cannot be affirmed with certainty, that St. John the Evangelist, before he became a disciple of Christ, had been a disciple of John the Baptist. At least, the circumstantial account, which he has given, ch. i. 37—41. of the two disciples of John the Baptist, who followed Christ, might induce us to suppose, that he was one of the two. St. John was the favourite disciple of Christ, and was called the disciple whom Jesus loved^c. This particular affection and regard arose from the softness and tenderness of St. John's character, which had a great resemblance to that of Christ himself. Hence we find him present at several scenes to which most of the other disciples were not admitted. He was eye-witness, in company with only Peter and James, to the resurrection of Jairus's daughter to life, to Christ's transfiguration on the mount, and to his agony in the garden. St. John repaid this attention by the most sincere attachment to his master : for he was the only Apostle who followed Christ to the place of his crucifixion. No writer whatsoever therefore was better enabled to give a circumstantial and authentic history of Christ.

^a Matth. xxxvii. 55, 56.

^b Matth. xxviii. 1.

^c John xiii. 23—26.

On the death of Christ, St. John took his mother Mary, whom Christ had recommended to his care, to his own home^d. His long intercourse therefore with the mother of Christ must have afforded him an opportunity of acquiring the best information, relative to the birth, education, and early history of Christ: and St. John's attachment to his master could not permit him to remain indifferent even to the minutest anecdote, which respected so remarkable a character. Yet he has related no circumstance whatsoever of Christ's life, prior to his thirtieth year: though he certainly had it in his power to make very numerous additions to the few accounts, which had been given by St. Matthew and St. Luke, of Christ's early history. From St. John's silence therefore we must conclude, that it was not his intention to write a complete history of all that had been said and done by Christ, but that he wrote his Gospel to answer a particular purpose, which required no more than what he has actually communicated. What this purpose was, will be examined in the next and following sections.

SECTION II.

Various Opinions respecting the Object, which St. John had in View, when he wrote his Gospel.

CLEMENT of Alexandria, and Eusebius^e, supposed that St. John wrote his Gospel as a supplement to the three first: but they are not agreed as to the matter, which St. John intended to supply. Accord-

^d John xix. 26, 27.

^e See Lardner's Supplement, Vol. I. p. 385—389. where the words of Clement and Eusebius are quoted, and also a passage from Jerom.

ing to Clement, St. John, observing that in the other Gospels those things were related which concern the humanity of Christ, wrote a spiritual Gospel, in order to explain at full length the divinity of Christ. Now this made a part of St. John's design, but not the whole of it: for his object was not to prove the divinity of Christ in general, but to prove it in opposition to the tenets of a particular sect. Eusebius on the contrary relates, that St. John's intention was to supply what his predecessors had omitted concerning the first part of Christ's ministry, their accounts having been chiefly confined to the last year. But this is not probable: for St. John in his account even of the latter part of Christ's ministry, especially of the celebration of the Lord's supper, has related facts and speeches of the utmost importance, which are not recorded by the three first Evangelists. In short, I cannot be persuaded that the materials contained in St. John's Gospel, in addition to those contained in the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, whether they respect the former or the latter part of Christ's ministry, were intended by St. John as a mere historical supplement. That it was not his design to record even all the miracles, which Christ had performed, is evident from what he himself says, ch. xx. 30. xxi. 25. and therefore, though his Gospel contains a considerable quantity of very important matter, of which no mention is made in the three first Gospels, yet this matter was introduced with a different view, from that of merely supplying the defects of his predecessors. If this had been his sole, or even his principal object, he would not have passed over in silence the whole history of Christ's early life, of which, as I observed in the preceding section, he had the best opportunity of procuring information: nor would he have neglected to confirm by his own testimony the account of Christ's transfiguration on the mount, his agony in the garden, and other important events, at which St. John was present, but St. Matthew was not. However it is far from my intentions to assert,

that St. John intended no part of his Gospel as a supplement to the preceding Gospels: I mean only that this was not his sole or his principal object.

A very different opinion from that of Clement and Eusebius has been advanced by Lampe^f, and defended by Lardner^g. According to this opinion, St. John's principal object was to convince the unbelieving Jews; and, in case they refused their assent, to prove to them the justice of the divine punishment which awaited them, on the ground that they had ample means of conviction. But it is very improbable that St. John's view was so confined: and therefore, as the Apostle himself has no where given the smallest intimation that this was his particular object, I can see no reason for supposing it. If his Gospel had been directed against the Jews in particular, he would hardly have omitted Christ's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, and his lamentation over the impending fate of that devoted city^h. It is true that St. John says, ch. xx. 31. 'These are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name.' But the purport expressed in this passage was the general purport of all the Evangelists, not that of St. John alone: nor does it appear from any thing which St. John had said, that in writing this sentence he had in view the Jews in particular. Many other extracts are made by Lardner from St. John's Gospel, which, I grant, are applicable to the Jews only: but extracts of the very same kind might be made from the three other Gospels, and therefore if they prove any thing, they will prove too much. Besides, if many other passages were contained in St. John's Gospel, which were applicable to the Jews, and to the Jews only, we could not argue from them to the main

^f In the Prolegomena to his Commentary.

^g Supplement, Vol. I. p. 393—419.

^h Luke xix. 41—44.

object of the Apostle in writing his Gospel. The passage quoted by Lardner from John xii. 37—43. appears especially to favour his opinion. But if in this particular passage St. John's attention was directed against the Jews, we must not therefore conclude the same of the whole Gospel. However, I much doubt whether St. John, even in this instance, intended to write against the Jews, in the sense which Lardner means : for it seems to be nothing more than an answer to an objection founded on the Jewish rejection of Christ's miracles. The Apostle had probably heard the following argument brought against the truth of the evangelical history : ' If so many miracles had been performed, as is pretended, and that too in so public a manner, it is inconceivable how the Jews could refuse to believe, after they had seen those miracles with their own eyes. If it were true that a person really dead was restored to life in the presence of many witnesses, and in a village, which was only a mile and an half from Jerusalem, it must have been known to the whole city ; and the necessary consequence would have been, that the Jews would have acknowledged the person, who could perform such miracles, to be the Messiah, whom they expected. But since the contrary is true, the wonders related by Christ's disciples are entitled to no credit.' An objection of this kind St. John probably intended to answer, when he wrote the passage in question. He admits that the incredulity of the Jews might afford just matter of surprize : but he denies that any inference can be deduced from it, prejudicial to the credibility of the Gospel history. For the prophets had foretold that their eyes would be blinded, and their hearts hardened : and therefore as they were incapable of conviction, their rejection of Jesus could afford no proof that he was not the Messiah. St. John however adds that many were really convinced in their hearts, and that only the fear of expulsion from the synagogue deterred them from an open confession.

SECTION III.

St. John wrote his Gospel to confute the Errors of Cerinthus.

IRENÆUS, the earliest writer, who has made any mention of St. John's design in writing his Gospel, has given the following account in his third book against Heresies, ch. xi. 'Hanc fidem annuntians Joannes Domini discipulus, volens per Evangelii annuntiationem auferre eum, qui a Cerintho insemminatus erat hominibus, errorem, et multo prius ab his qui dicuntur, Nicolaitæ, qui sunt vulsio ejus, quæ falso cognominatur scientia, et confunderet eos, et suaderet, quoniam unus Deus, qui omnia fecit per verbum suum; et non, quemadmodum illi dicunt, alterum quidem fabricatorem, alium autem Patrem Domini.' Jerom likewise in his treatise of illustrious men, asserts, that St. John wrote against Cerinthus. Now, setting aside the assertion of Jerom, which I will consider only as private opinion, I think the account given by Irenæus of sufficient weight to prove that St. John wrote against Cerinthus, notwithstanding the conjectures, which may be made to the contrary. For Irenæus is not only the most ancient writer on this subject, but was a disciple of Polycarp, who was personally acquainted with St. John. Consequently Irenæus had the very best means of information on this subject.

Lardner¹ has quoted another passage from the works of Irenæus, which appears to be at variance with the passage quoted in the preceding paragraph. Namely, in the sixteenth chapter of the third book against heresies Irenæus says, 'Quemadmodum Joannes Domini discipulus confirmat dicens, "Hæc autem scripta sunt ut credatis quoniam Jesus est filius Dei, et ut

¹ Supplement, Vol. I. p. 383.

credentes vitam æternam habeatis in nomine ejus:" *providens* has blasphemias regulas, quæ dividunt Dominum, quantum ex ipsis attinet, ex altera et altera substantia dicentes eum factum.' Now if Irenæus here meant to say, that St. John only *foresaw* the errors, which were propagated by Cerinthus and the Gnostics, it must appear very extraordinary that he should say in the passage quoted in the preceding paragraph, that St. John wrote against the errors, which had been propagated by Cerinthus. But the contradiction is only apparent: for *providens* signifies here, not 'foreseeing' but 'guarding against.' The latter passage therefore, when properly explained, does not confute but confirm the former. Besides, St. Paul in his first Epistle to Timothy speaks of Gnostic errors; and therefore they must have been propagated long before St. John wrote his Gospel.

But even if Irenæus had not asserted that St. John wrote his Gospel against the Gnostics, and particularly against Cerinthus, the contents of the Gospel itself would lead to this conclusion. The speeches of Christ, which St. John has recorded, are selected with a totally different view, from that of the three first Evangelists, who have given such as are of a moral nature, whereas those which are given by St. John, are chiefly dogmatical, and relate to Christ's divinity, the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, the supernatural assistance to be communicated to the Apostles, and other subjects of a like import. In the very choice of his expressions, such as Light, Life, &c. he had in view the philosophy of the Gnostics, who used, or rather abused these terms. That the fourteen first verses of St. John's Gospel are merely historical, and contain only a short account of Christ's history before his appearance on earth, is a supposition devoid of all probability. On the contrary, it is evident that they are purely doctrinal, and that they were introduced with a polemical view, in order to confute errors, which prevailed at that time respect-

ing the person of Jesus Christ. Unless St. John had had an adversary to combat, who made particular use of the words 'light,' and 'life,' he would not have thought it necessary, after having described the Creator of all things, to add, that in him was life, and the life was the light of men, or to assert that John the Baptist was not that light. The very meaning of the word 'light' would be extremely dubious, unless it were determined by its particular application in the oriental Gnosis. For without the supposition, that St. John had to combat with an adversary who used this word in a particular sense, it might be applied to any divine instructor, who by his doctrines enlightened mankind. Further, the positions contained in the fourteen first verses are antitheses to positions maintained by the Gnostics, who used the words *λογος*, *ζωη*, *φως*, *μονογενης*, *πληρωμα*, &c. as technical terms of their philosophy. Lastly, the speeches of Christ, which St. John has selected, are such as confirm the positions laid down in the first chapter of his Gospel : and therefore we must conclude that his principal object throughout the whole of his Gospel, was to confute the errors of the Gnostics.

If we except the writings of St. John, the word *λογος* is no where used either in the Old or New Testament, to denote a person. For in Psalm xxxiii. 6. and other places of the Old Testament, where *λογος* is used in the Septuagint, the figurative sense, in which some commentators have taken it, is much less suitable to the context, than its literal sense. St. John therefore did not derive this particular use of the term *λογος* from the Bible. Nor did he derive it from the writings of the Rabbins: for though they frequently used the expression "כִּימְרָא דִּי", that is, 'the Word of God,' especially in their Targums or paraphrases, they did not mean to express a separate and distinct Being from Jehova himself, or, as we should say, the second Person

of the Trinity^{*}. Besides, if the Chaldee word מִימְרָא were equivalent to λογος, as applied by St. John, we might conclude that Christ himself, who spake Chaldee, would also have used this expression: but though St. John has particularly selected those speeches of Christ, which tend to confirm the positions laid down in the first chapter, and in those speeches Christ frequently calls himself 'the Light,' 'the Life,' 'the Only-begotten,' &c. he has not applied to himself in a single instance the title of 'the Word.'

Nor can we suppose that St. John invented this term, or rather this particular use of it, in order to express the relation of the second to the first Person of the Trinity. The term λογος, when applied to a divine person, is capable of so many different explanations, that no writer could think of using it, without some explanation, unless its meaning was already fixed by actual usage. But St. John begins his Gospel with speaking of the Logos, and adds no explanation of the term: consequently he wrote for readers, who were already acquainted with its meaning. Now we know that the Gnostics in general, and Cerinthus in particular, applied the term λογος to denote a divine person. Since therefore St. John has adopted several other terms, which were used by the Gnostics, we must conclude that he derived also the term λογος from the same source. If it be further asked, whence did the Gnostics derive this use of the expression 'Word,' I answer that they derived it most probably from the Oriental or Zoroastrian philosophy, from which was borrowed a considerable part of the Manichæan doctrines. In the Zend Avesta, we meet with a Being called 'The Word,'

^{*} The word מִימְרָא is frequently used in the Chaldee paraphrases as equivalent to the Hebrew שֵׁם, that is, 'the Name,' a term by which the Jews, who out of superstitious reverence for the word Jehova avoided the uttering of it as much as possible, denoted the Supreme Being. See for instance, Isaiah xxvi. 4. in the Chaldee paraphrase.

who was not only prior in existence, but gave birth to Ormuzd the creator of good, and to Ahriman, the creator of evil¹. It is true that the work, which we have at present under the title of Zend Avesta is not the ancient and genuine Zend Avesta; yet it certainly contains many ancient and genuine Zoroastrian doctrines. It is said likewise that the Indian philosophers have their *λογος*, which, according to their doctrines, is the same as the *Μονογενης*.

Perhaps the opinion that St. John derived the term *Λογος* from the Gnostics will be thought by many to affect in some degree his character as a divine Apostle. But such persons should recollect, that there is nothing more in a mere name, than in a sign of algebra. It is the notion ascribed to the name, and not the name itself, to which we must attend. Otherwise, we must make the same objection to St. John's use of the word *Στοιχος*, which was likewise used by the heathen philosophers, and signified perhaps originally nothing more than a planet, from *Στεω curro*. If the Gnostics gave the name of *Λογος* to the Being, who came next in order to the Supreme Being, St. John might without the least impropriety retain this name in a work which was written against the Gnostics, and apply it to the second person of the Trinity. The laws of controversy require that we should retain, as much as possible, the terms which are used by our adversaries: for if each party has his own peculiar terminology, no position can have a clear and distinct counterposition. Consequently the dispute will be vague, and incapable of being brought to an issue.

St. John himself has really declared, though not in express terms, that he wrote with a view of confuting errors maintained by the Gnostics. He says, ch. xx. 31. 'These are written, that ye might believe that

¹ See the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, Tom. XXXVII. p. 618.

Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God.' To most readers this will appear to be nothing more than a declaration that he wrote with the same general view, as the other Evangelists, to shew that Jesus was the promised Messiah, and to convince the world of the truth of Christianity. But whoever compares this passage with his first Epistle, ch. v. 1-6. will find it to be a declaration, that he wrote in order to convince the Gnostics in particular. In his first Epistle, ch. v. 5, 6. he asserts that Jesus was the Son of God, and that he was the Christ, not by water only, but by water and blood. This assertion, which, without a knowledge of the Gnostic opinions, must appear unintelligible, was directed against the notions of Cerinthus, that Jesus and Christ were two distinct Beings, that Jesus was a mere man, and Christ a superior Spirit or Æon, which was united with Jesus at his baptism, but separated from him before his death on the cross. Now if we read ch. v. 5, 6. of St. John's first Epistle with this notion of Cerinthus in view, it becomes perfectly intelligible; for we then perceive that St. John meant to combat this notion, and to declare that Jesus was the Christ, not only at his baptism, or by water, but likewise during his sufferings and at his death, that is, by blood. After this explanation, the passage above-quoted from St. John's Gospel, ch. xx. 31. presents itself in a totally different light: and the declaration, that he wrote to shew that Jesus was the Christ the Son of God, appears to be a declaration, that he wrote to confute the notion of Cerinthus, that Jesus and Christ were two distinct Beings, united at the baptism of Jesus, but separated before his death. I admit however that, as the declaration of St. John is general, this passage alone, undecided by other arguments, would be of no great weight.

An objection to the opinion that St. John wrote against Cerinthus I found written in my father's copy of the first edition of this Introduction, and as it is a

material one, I cannot pass it over in silence. His objection was this: 'Cerinthus denied that Christ was born of a virgin, because the fact, he said, was impossible: and contended, that he was begotten in the natural way by Joseph. This is related by Irenæus. If therefore St. John's object had been to confute Cerinthus, he would have thought it indispensably necessary to assert the miraculous conception. But this subject, as well as the birth of Jesus, he has passed over in total silence.' To this objection I can make no other answer than the following: that the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, which were written before that of St. John, already contained an account of the miraculous conception; and therefore St. John might think it unnecessary, even in a work directed against Cerinthus, to say any thing further on the subject.

From what has been said in this section we may infer, that if any genuine works of the ancient Gnostics could be now discovered^m, they would furnish an excellent commentary on St. John's Gospel, especially on the fourteen first verses.

^m See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. IV. p. 211.

SECTION IV.

St. John wrote also to confute the errors of the Sabians, or the Sect which acknowledged John the Baptist for its Founder.

THE preceding section is the result of the inquiries, which had been instituted before the year 1777, when the third edition of this Introduction was published: but since that time a totally new light has been thrown on St. John's Gospel. That the Apostle had to combat with certain persons who ascribed to John the Baptist a greater authority, than to Jesus, appears from his declaration, ch. i. 8. that John the Baptist was not the Light itself, and that he only bore witness to the Light. For, unless this had been asserted of John the Baptist, it would have been unnecessary to assert the contrary. However as we knew little or nothing of the sect, which acknowledged John the Baptist for their chief, the thought did not occur that St. John the Evangelist had any such sect in view, when he wrote his Gospel. But in the year 1780, we became acquainted not only with the religion, but with the religious writings of this sect, for which we are indebted to professor Norberg. The members of this sect are called *طبيب صلب*, that is, Disciples of John, and sometimes *طبيب*, Disciples, alone: they have likewise the name of *صابي*, or Sabians, which signifies Baptists*. The first account, which professor Norberg communicated, was given in a Swedish Journal, of which I published a translation in the Orientalische Bibliothek, Vol. xv. No. 245. and 248, and made an application of it, though at that time with great caution, to St. John's Gospel. But a more complete account was soon afterwards communicated by professor Norberg in a Latin Dissertation, entitled, *De religione*

* They have been sometimes called *Ημεροβαστιται*.

et lingua Sabæorum, which, with a specimen of the religious writings of this sect, was printed in the *Commentationes societatis regię scientiarum Goettingensis* ad annum 1780, and of which I gave a review in the *Orient. Bib.* Vol. XVII. N° 261. As soon as this dissertation was published, the obscurity, in which St. John's Gospel had been involved, was at once dissipated : and I made therefore no scruple to assert in the *Orient. Bibl.* Vol. XVIII. p. 58. that St. John's Gospel was directed against the sect, which took its name from John the Baptist ; for the members of this sect not only made use of the word ' Light,' &c. but contended that John the Baptist was the Light, a doctrine combated by our Evangelist°. Nor am I singular at present in this opinion : for it has been adopted by Dr. Walch in his treatise on the Sabians printed in the *Comment. soc. reg. scient. Goettingensis* ad an. 1781, and defended by Dr. Storr, in his treatise on the Evangelical History and Epistles of St. John, published in 1786.

At the time, when St. John the Evangelist wrote his Gospel at Ephesus, it is not improbable that the Sabians or disciples of John the Baptist, had spread themselves in that city and its neighbourhood^p. For we learn from the Acts of the Apostles, ch. xviii. 24, 25. that when Apollos came to Ephesus, he knew only the baptism of John, till he was instructed in Christianity by Aquila and Priscilla : and ch. xix. 1—7. We find an account of twelve persons likewise at Ephesus, who had been baptized in the name of John the Baptist, but were afterwards converted to Christianity, and baptized by St. Paul in the name of Jesus Christ.

° In the Epistles of St. John, the doctrines of this sect are combated still more evidently.

^p Though it is not probable that the Sabians of the first century agreed in all respects with the Sabians of the present age, since every religious society must alter in some measure its opinions in a course of seventeen hundred years, yet they probably agreed in the principal and distinguishing doctrines.

If it be asked, whether the Sabians, or the sect which acknowledged John for their founder, agreed in their opinions with the Gnostics, I answer that they certainly did in many, though I cannot affirm that they did in all. The Sabians of the present age have still many terms in use, such as Light, Fire, &c. which they apply in the same manner as the Gnostics did: but it is not to be expected, after a lapse of seventeen hundred years, that the modern Sabians should retain all the terms, which were used in the first century, since many of them were mysterious, particularly the term 'Word.'

SECTION V.

Of the Tenets maintained by the Gnostics and the Sabians, and the manner in which they are confuted by St. John.

THE Gnostics, in order to account for the origin of evil in the world, which they supposed could not proceed from an all-wise and benevolent Being, adopted the notion that the world was created, not by the supreme Deity, but by a Being of inferior rank, which they called Demiurgus. In respect to the character of this Being they were not unanimous, for some considered him as an evil spirit, which was at perpetual enmity with the Supreme Being, while others ascribe to him, not a want of benevolence, but only a want of knowledge, which prevented him from seeing the evil consequences of the arrangement, which he adopted in the formation of the world. But they all agreed in representing the Demiurgus, as the God of the Jews. Between this Demiurgus and the supreme, invisible, incomprehensible Being, they placed an order of Æons, to which they assigned the names of Only-begotten, Word, Light, Life, &c. : but they were not unanimous

in regard to the rank, which was to be assigned to each. These Ænos dwelt with God in the highest and the purest heaven, which the Gnostics called Πληρωμα, a term which I will not attempt to translate, as I know not what notion the Gnostics affixed to it. One of these Ænos was Christ, who united himself with Jesus at his baptism, but departed from him before his death. The moral tenets of the Gnostics were different according to the different sects: some were of a gloomy and melancholy cast, while others are represented, but probably without reason, as favouring licentiousness. Most of the Gnostics were inimical to the law of Moses, because they believed that it was given not by the Supreme Being, but by the Demiurgus, and that Christ was sent into the world to redeem us from the God of the Jews. But Cerinthus is said to have been favourable to some parts of the Mosaic law, though we do not exactly know what they were¹.

The plan which St. John adopted to confute the tenets of the Gnostics and the Sabians, was, first to deliver a set of aphorisms, as counterpositions to these tenets, and then to relate such speeches and miracles of Christ, as confirmed the truth of what he had advanced. We must not suppose that the confutation of the Gnostic and Sabian errors is confined to the fourteen first verses of St. John's Gospel: for in the first place it is evident that many of Christ's speeches, which occur in the following part of the Gospel, were selected by the Evangelist with the view of proving the positions

¹ Whoever wishes to have a thorough knowledge of the tenets of the Gnostics must consult Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Beausobre's Histoire de Manichée et du Manichéisme, and especially Walch's History of Heretics, in which last work the Gnostic tenets are not only fully described, but supported by the necessary authorities. A position maintained by these three writers, that the Gnostic philosophy did not derive its origin from Christianity, but that it existed in the East long before the birth of Christ, I have endeavoured to confirm in the second volume of the Syntagma commentationem, by shewing that there are allusions to it in the Septuagint.

laid down in these fourteen verses : and secondly, the positions themselves are not proofs, but merely declarations made by the Evangelist. It is true, that for us Christians, who acknowledge the divine authority of St. John, his bare word is sufficient : but as the Apostle had to combat with adversaries, who made no such acknowledgement, the only method of convincing them was to support his assertion by the authority of Christ himself.

The term *Λογος*, as I have already observed, was taken by St. John from the system of the Gnostics. He has used it to denote the divine nature, which was united to the man Jesus, and, according to his own expression, became Flesh. Some of the Gnostics placed the 'Word' above all the other *Æons*, and next to the Supreme Being : but Cerinthus placed the 'Only begotten' first, and then the 'Word'. Now St. John lays down the following positions.

1. The Word, and the Only-begotten, are not different but the same person. Ch. i. 14. 'We beheld his glory, as of the only begotten of the Father.' This is a strong position against the Gnostics, who usually ascribed all the divine qualities to the Only-begotten.

The proofs of this position are, the testimony of John the Baptist, ch. i. 18. 34. iii. 35, 36. the conversation of Christ with Nicodemus, ch. iii. 16-18. in which Christ calls himself the only-begotten son, the speech delivered by Christ to the Jews, ch. v. 17-47. and other passages, in which he calls God his Father.

2. The Word was never made, but existed from the very beginning, ch. i. 1.

The Gnostics granted that the Word existed before the creation, but they did not admit that the Word existed from all eternity. The Supreme Being, ac-

• *Initium quidem esse monogenem: Logon autem verum filium Unigeniti. Iren. adv. Hæres. Lib. III. cap. 11.*

according to their tenets, and according to Cerinthus the Only-begotten Son likewise, as also the matter from which the world was formed, were prior in existence to the Word. This notion is contradicted by St. John, who asserts that the Word existed from all eternity*.

As a proof of this position may be alleged perhaps what Christ says, ch. viii. 58. though I confess that, unless a particular emphasis be laid on the expression 'I am,' and it be taken in the sense of the Hebrew **אני הוה**, though it proves the pre-existence of Christ, it does not prove his eternal existence. Ch. xvii. 5. appears to be of more weight. If Christ used the word **בראשית** where St. John has *την αρχην*, ch. viii. 25. this passage might likewise be produced, but both grammar and context are unfavourable.

3. The Word was in the beginning with God, ch. i. 1, 2.

The Gnostics must have maintained a contrary doctrine, or St. John in confuting their tenets would not have thought it necessary to advance this position, since God is omnipresent, and therefore all things are present with him. The Gnostics assigned what they called the Pleroma[†] for the residence of the Supreme Being and the Æons. Perhaps Cerinthus, or some other Gnostic, had excluded the Word from the Pleroma; or at least had asserted that the Word was not there from the very beginning.

* According to Anquetil, the doctrine of the Persian or Zoroastrian philosophy was, that the Word existed before Ormuzd, and Ahriman: and that Time by means of the Word produced Ormuzd and Ahriman. He contends likewise, that Time, or rather Eternity, denoted, in the Zoroastrian philosophy, the Supreme Being. Of this fact I am not fully convinced: but whether he is right in this point or not, it is probable that in the phrase *αρχη ην ο λογος*, the word *Αρχη* used by St. John has a reference to the unlimited Time of the Eastern philosophy. For when he says, the Word was in the beginning, he means, the Word was from eternity.

† What they meant by this expression it is difficult to determine.

The proofs of this position are, ch. i. 18. iii. 13. 31, 32. vi. 33. 35. 38. 41. 42. 62. vii. 28, 29. xviii. 5.

4. The Word was God, ch. i. 1.

The expression 'God' must here be taken in its highest sense, or this position will contain nothing contrary to the doctrine of the Gnostics. For they admitted that the Word was an *Æon*, and therefore a Deity in the lower sense of the word.

The proofs of this position are contained in the fifth, tenth, (ver. 30.), and fourteenth (ver. 7—11.) chapters.

5. The Word was the Creator of all things, ch. 1. 3. 10.

This is one of St. John's principal positions against the Gnostics, who asserted, that the world, as it contains evil mixed with good, was made by a malevolent, and, according to Cerinthus, by an inferior Being, who knew not the Supreme Being^a. The assertion, that the Word was the Creator of the world, is equivalent to the assertion, that he was God in the highest possible sense. In whatever form or manner we may think of God, the notion of Creator is inseparable from the notion of Supreme Being. We argue from the creation to the creator; and this very argument is our proof of the existence of God.

The only passage which can be produced as a proof of the position here laid down by St. John is ch. v. 17. where a conversation is related between Christ and the Jews, who accused him of having violated the sabbath, because he had performed miracles on that day. To this charge Christ might have answered that the performance of a miracle was no more a violation of the sabbath than the performance of religious ceremonies:

^a Virtus valde separata et distans ab ea principalitate, quæ est super universa, et ignorans eum qui est super omnia Deum. Irenæus adv. Hæres. Lib. I. c. 26.

but he answered in a different manner, and said, 'My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.' The word 'hitherto' refers to the time when God ceased to work, namely on the first sabbath, when God rested after he had finished the work of the creation. This rest, which Moses ascribes to the Creator, admits of no other explanation, than that he ceased to operate immediately on the world, and that he left nature to take the course, which he had originally directed. Hence every miracle, which is a deviation from the course of nature, may be considered as a departure from the rule, which God prescribed to himself, and as a kind of violation of the first sabbath, because a miracle implies God's interference. The meaning therefore of Christ's answer is the following. 'God himself sometimes breaketh the great Sabbath, of which your sabbath is only a type. After he had finished the work of the creation, he rested indeed on the seventh day: yet he still worketh, and I work with him.' Whoever speaks in this manner, and describes himself as breaking, with God, the great sabbath, which commenced when the creation was completed, represents himself as the Creator of heaven and earth, who rested on the seventh day.

6. In the Word was Life, ch. i. 4.

The Gnostics who considered the different attributes or operations of the Deity not only as so many separate energies, but as so many separate persons, considered Life as a distinct Æon from the Word. Without this Æon the world, they said, would be in a state of torpor: and hence they called it not only Life, but the Mother of the Living*. From this Æon therefore

* It is not improbable that this name was borrowed by the Gnostics from the following passage in the Septuagint, Gen. iii. 20. Καὶ ἐκαλεῖσιν Ἀδὰμ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτῆς, Ζωή, ὅτι μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ζῶντων. Here Ζωή is nothing more than a translation of the Hebrew name for Eve: but the Gnostics in reading this passage, thought on their Æon Ζωή, and hence perhaps gave it likewise the title of μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ζῶντων. The oriental name of this Æon was Barbelo, or

might be expected the resurrection of the dead, and eternal life. In the religious books of the Sabians we meet with **صاحب** **نور**, that is, the Disciple of Light, who is represented as a person of the greatest eminence. In opposition to these doctrines, St. John asserts that the Word, and not a Being, distinct from the Word, was the giver of life.

The proofs of this position are in ch. iii. 15—21. the whole of the sixth, and the greatest part of the eighth chapter, as also ch. xiv. 6. 9. 19. But no part of St. John's Gospel is a more complete proof of this position, than his full and circumstantial account of the resurrection of Lazarus, which the other Evangelists had omitted. Particular attention must be paid to ch. xi, 23, 24. which is a very decisive passage.

7. The Word was the Light of men, which lighteth every man, that cometh into the world, ch. i. 4. 9.

In the Gnostic system Light, as well as Life, was a separate Being, which gave intelligence to the mind, as Life gave vigour and motion to the body*. This is denied by St. John, who asserts that the Word was the Light, that is, the giver of light. By the expression, 'light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world,' he means the light of nature, or reason: for revelation is not universal, and of course does not light *every* man that cometh into the world.

The proofs of this position are the passages in the eighth and ninth chapters, where Christ calls himself the Light. It is true that these passages alone, and without reference to the Gnostic system, do not immediately prove, that Christ was the giver of reason.

Barbero, which Petavius derives from **בר בעל** (Son of the Lord). But this etymology conveys neither the notion of Life itself, nor of the Author of Life: and moreover makes this Æon masculine, whereas it is represented as feminine. Perhaps the name was originally Bartelo, and derived **בת** **אל** (Daughter of God).

* The Sabian doctrine of Light will be examined in the two next articles.

But, since the Gnostics believed, that they received their rational faculties from a particular Æon, which they called, Light, the proof that the Word was the Light, was sufficient to shew, that what they ascribed to this imaginary Æon, should be ascribed to the Word.

8. John the Baptist was not that Light, ch. i. 8.

The Sabians, or Disciples of John the Baptist, call the Baptism of John, at this very day, the Baptism of Light, and assert that John was invested with light and raised to the highest pitch of glory. It is difficult however fully to comprehend their meaning. In the first place they describe God as Light, and make use of expressions, which, if taken figuratively, are true, and are very similar to the expressions used by our Evangelist in his first Epistle. But they likewise speak of a Being called Light, as distinct from the Supreme Being, which united itself with John the Baptist, at the time when he baptized a celestial Being, which appeared to him in the form of a little child. I will not attempt to develope the obscure and confused system of the Sabians; but since several parts of it may be applied as an explanation of the fourteen first verses of St. John's Gospel, I will here quote from their religious books as much as is necessary for our present purpose.

‘ In the name of the great Life, the first and the last of the world, the glorious Light, more glorious than all works. I, Apostle of the Light’, (ܐܡܨܬܐ ܕܠܝܬܐ) am come, and glorified thee, thou King of Light*, and enlighten the hearts of darkness with my word.— I am the Apostle of the Light, whom the Lord sent into the world, the true Apostle, in whom there is no

* It will appear from what follows, that by the expression ‘Apostle of the Light’ is meant John the Baptist.

† In opposition to this, Christ says, *Εγώ εις το φάος ειμι τὸς ὕμνους* John xvii. 14.

deceit. Whoever receiveth the name of Light^a, will be filled with Light.—Praised be thou, O Lord, with sincere hearts, thou Lord of all the world, thou exalted King of Light, God of truth, pure Splendor, Forgiver, and merciful God.—His Light shineth over all the inhabitants of the world, who stand before him, and worship, and acknowledge him; who shine through his brightness, and through the great Light, which dwelleth over them, and stand in the clouds of the Light, and praise the Sovereign Lord^b.—He is the exalted King of Light, from whom five great rays proceed; the first is the Light^c, the second is the sweet Breath, the third is the sweet Voice, the fourth is the Word of the mouth^d, the fifth is Beauty. These opened their mouths, praised him and said, Thy Glory is from the Word, from the Word of Athor; he has set apart the Apostles, who stand before thee, and praise thee, and say, He is a Key of Light in his kingdom, no one is higher than he, no one is equal to him, there is no one, who can bear to behold his crown, which falleth not from the head of the King, who is from the beginning, and whose kingdom lasteth to eternity.'

That which now follows, relates more particularly to John the Baptist.

'In the name of the great Light! These are the laws of John the Baptist. When he baptized in the Jordan of living water with the baptism of Life, and pro-

^a That is, whosoever receives the Light, and is baptized in the name of the Light.

^b A great part of what has been quoted thus far, if we deduct some obscurities, contains nothing more, than what the Apostle St. John himself might have delivered, and really has delivered in his Epistles.

^c Here we find a Light, which is not God himself, but proceeds from him, and is a kind of Gnostic Æon, or emanation.

^d The expression used in the Syriac original is, ܠܡܢܐ ܕܠܝܬܐ. Whether this expression bears any analogy to the Λόγος, I must leave the reader to determine.

nounced the name of Life, the Disciple of Life (ܡܕܢܐ ܕܚܝܐ) came to him, and said, Arise, John, baptize me with thy baptism, and pronounce over me the name, which thou art accustomed to pronounce. John said to the Disciple of Life, I am sleepy, come to-morrow, and I will baptize thee. When the Disciple of Life stood at the place of all light and glory*, he said, I beseech thee, thou second, and thou third Life, may sleep come on the eyes of John twelve hours by day, and twelve hours by night, full four and twenty hours. He slept then day and night: but the Disciple of Life, laid his right hand on the eye of John, and removed the sleep, and said, Peace be with thee, John! John said to the Disciple of Life, Come in peace, my child! The Disciple of Life, said, Stretch out thy arms, take me, and baptize me with thy baptism of life, and pronounce over me the name, which thou art accustomed to pronounce. John answered to the Disciple of Life, That cannot be! But the scholars† of John earnestly requested him: he baptized therefore the Disciple of Life. As soon as the Jordan perceived the Disciple of Life, the river overflowed, and covered John himself, so that he could not stand. The lustre of the Disciple of Life shone over the Jordan, the Jordan returned within its banks, and John stood on dry ground.—John said to the Disciple of Life, Thou art he, in whose name I have baptized with the baptism of life: lay thy hand on me. The disciple of Life answered, If I lay my hand on thee, thou canst not remain in thy body. John said, I have seen thee: I will not

* Is this a Gnostic *πλῆρωμα*?

† I purposely use here the word 'scholar' instead of 'disciple,' in order to preserve the distinction, which is made in the religious documents of the Sabians. Where I have used the word 'disciple,' the Syriac word ܡܕܢܐ is used in the original: but in the present place ܡܕܢܐ ܕܚܝܐ is used, and therefore I thought it necessary to adopt another term in translating this nonsense, which is almost sufficient to make one's head giddy.

remain here: exclude me not from the place, whence thou camest, and whither thou goest. Then threw the Angel of Light the covering of the body (ܐܠܗܐ: ܐܠܗܐ) of John into the Jordan^s, wrapt him in a covering of glory, and put on him the beautiful turban of light. Upon this, the Disciple of Life went away from John. When Fetachil saw the Disciple of Life, he arose from his throne, and praised him. But John said to Fetachil, The return (ܐܠܗܐ) of Life is to thee and to thy father Utro (Wealth)^h, and it has given thee commands and sent thee hither. The Disciple came then to the outer court of Abatur the sublime: a thousand times a thousand lift up their eyes to himⁱ, and ten thousand times ten thousand stand before him. When Abatur saw the Disciple of Life, he arose from his throne^k: Four men of peace, the living Eye, the living Name, the living Glory, and the living Light, took John by the hand, led him to the place of Truth, and said; Let us see a man, who comes from the earth, a just and upright one. Abatur, the ancient clothed some of them with glory, others with light. But John stood at the place of all glory and of all light, and said, I beseech thee, thou first Life, thou second Life, and thou third Life, that to the place of Light, where I stand, may come all honest and upright men, who are written in the book of life, and are baptized with pure baptism, over whom the name of the great Life has been pronounced.'

^s Here then John is represented as deprived of his natural body, and invested with a glorious one, in short as becoming more than a human being.

^h Was ܐܠܗܐ ܬܗ ܡܠܗܡܐܬܐ ܐܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܡܠܗܡܐܬܐ, John i. 16. intended as an antithesis to this or some other similar dream of an imaginary being called *Wealth*?

ⁱ Behold him.

^k Even Abatur, therefore, who was much superior to the Demi-urgus Fetachil, is represented as doing homage to the Disciple of Life.

9. John the Baptist was a mere man. Ver. 6.

It appears from what has been said in the preceding article, that the Sabians considered John the Baptist as a being of a higher order, who laid aside the covering of humanity in the river Jordan, and was invested with a clothing of light.

10. John the Baptist was not the Light, but was sent to bear witness of the Light. Ver. 8.

The Sabians, or disciples of John the Baptist, are at present of different opinions with respect to the character of Jesus; for some passages in their religious writings condemn him as an impostor, and as a person who was guilty of ingratitude toward John the Baptist. But this opinion was not maintained by the Sabians of the first century, at least not by those against whom St. John the Evangelist wrote his Gospel: nor was it maintained by the members of this sect, of whom we find an Account in the Acts of the Apostles. According to Professor Norberg, when the Sabians of the present age are asked their opinion concerning Jesus Christ, they answer as follows. 'We neither believe in Christ, nor disbelieve in him: and those, who believe in him, we neither condemn, nor approve. But this we believe, that whoever believeth in the Light of the Lord, and the baptism of John, his soul will after death be partaker of the Light: but if he believeth not, his soul will be partaker of punishment¹.' They likewise say: Our doctrines are more ancient than the Christian: these were not known to John, and John is our master².

The proof of the position laid down in this article the Evangelist has given, ch. i. 15, 16. 19—52. iii. 25—36. v. 33—36. In the last mentioned passage, ver. 35. the Evangelist mentions an expression used by Christ concerning John the Baptist, *Εκεινος ην ο λυχνος ο καιομενος και φαινων*. Here it must be observed that

¹ See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XV. p. 148.

² Ibid. p. 149.

the word *λυχνος* is by no means equivalent to *φως*: for the latter signifies Light itself, but the former corresponds to the Hebrew word *נר*, and denotes only *a* light, in the sense in which we use the term wax-light. When therefore John the Baptist is called *a* light, or a luminary, it is evident that this luminary, which shone only for a time, and only to a single nation, is represented as infinitely inferior to Christ, who calls himself 'The Light of the World.'

11. The Light was in the world. Ver. 10.

This is a counterposition against the Gnostic or Oriental doctrine, which made matter the region of darkness, and the cause of evil; and placed the region of Light without the limits of the visible world. The Gnostics therefore maintained, that the Light was not in the world.

12. The world was made by him, and the world knew him not. Ver. 10.

This is directed against that tenet of the Gnostics, according to which the world was made, not by the Supreme, but by an inferior Being, which they called Fetachil, who, they say, rises from his seat, when the Disciple of Light approaches.

13. The fifth verse contains a position similar to the preceding; but I do not fully comprehend its tendency, because I neither know what tenet it was intended to confute, nor understand exactly the force of the word *κατελαβεν*. Did St. John mean to say, 'The Light shone in the dark world, and communicated to the human race inextinguishable sparks of reason: and the darkness could not prevent or impede it?' Or did he mean to combat a tenet similar to that of the Manichæans, according to which the particles of Light were absorbed by dark and sin-producing matter, and to say, 'The Light did not unite itself with darkness?'

14. He came to his own, and his own received him not. Ver. 11.

Here the Jews are called the chosen people of the Light, in opposition to the Gnostics, who asserted that the God of the Jews was an inferior and malevolent Being. As proofs of this position, we cannot produce any passages, in which the Jews are said in express terms to have been the chosen people of the Light: but there are many passages which prove that the God of the Jews, who sent Moses, was the true God, and father of Jesus Christ. See ch. iv. 22. v. 39. 46, 47. viii. 54.

15. This eminent person, hitherto called Word, Light, Life, did not merely accompany the man Jesus during a certain period, but really and truly became man. Ver. 14.

Here St. John combats that tenet of the Gnostics, according to which the Æon Christ associated itself with the man Jesus at his baptism, but left him before his death. The Gnostics denied that the eternal Son of God took man's nature, and became flesh, because they considered Matter as the origin of Evil, and incompatible with Good.

All the passages of St. John's Gospel, in which the man Jesus, speaking in the first person, asserts of himself what cannot be attributed to any human Being, for instance, that he was in Heaven, that he existed before Abraham, ch. viii. 58. are proofs of the position laid down in this article.

16. Christ was full of Grace and Truth, ch. i. 14.

In the Gnostic system, Grace and Truth were two Æons: but St. John asserts that they were only two qualities belonging to Christ. Further, as Christ is here said to be full of grace, and in ver. 17. the law of Moses is opposed to the grace of Christ, it follows that the former is superseded by the latter. Hence this position is likewise a counterposition against Cerinthus in particular, who wished to retain at least some parts of the Mosaic law.

The principal proofs are contained in ch. iv. 19—26. in ch. v. 8. (where Christ commanded a sick person, whom he had restored to health, to take away with him his bed, though it was on a sabbath day,) and in the sixth chapter. In the discourse delivered in this chapter, Christ says to the Jews, who were going up to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of the passover, that his flesh and blood was the food which giveth life: and as some took offence at this saying, because it seemed to imply the inefficacy of the Passover, he answered 'It is the spirit (that is, the spirit of the law) which quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing: the words, that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life^m.' The story of the adulteress, ch. viii. 1—11. seems likewise to be a proof of this article. By the law of Moses, a woman taken in adultery was to be put to death: but in this instance Christ interfered, and the sentence was not executed.

17. Through faith, and not through birth or parentage, we become the sons of God. Ver. 12, 13.

To what tenet of the Gnostics this doctrine was opposed I am unable to say, as our accounts of their system are very imperfect. But, since we know that Cerinthus, who in many respects differed from other Gnostics, was attached to some parts of the Mosaic law, it is not improbable that he considered the Jews as having, in consequence of their birth, a prior claim to the favour of God.—The proofs of the position laid down in this article are contained in that part of Christ's discourse with Nicodemus, which relates to regeneration, and in the account of the conversion of the Samaritans.

These are the positions which St. John has laid down in express terms. But whoever is acquainted with the doctrine of the Gnostics will perceive, that there are

^m See the explanation, which I have given of this passage, in the first section of my Typical Theology, and the passage there quoted from Philo.

other parts of St. John's Gospel, in which the Evangelist had the Gnostics in view; especially the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters, which contain the promises of Christ respecting the assistance, which the Apostles were to receive from the Holy Ghost. The Gnostics accused the Apostles of having misunderstood the meaning of Christ, and of having forgotten many of his doctrines: moreover they asserted, that the words of Christ alone were authority, and that the doctrines delivered by the Apostles were no more exempt from the danger of error, than the theological opinions of other writers. The notion of the Gnostics could not be better confuted, than by a relation of those speeches of Christ, in which he promised them, that the Holy Ghost would remind them of what they had already heard, and reveal to them truths, which he himself could not communicate, on account of their present inability to comprehend them. Further, as the Gnostics admitted the personality of the Holy Ghost, and considered him as an *Æon* distinct from Christ, it is evident that St. John, who nowhere says that the word was the Holy Ghost, but on the contrary has recorded speeches of Christ, in which he is represented as a distinct person, intended to support the doctrine relative to the personality of the Holy Ghost.

Lastly, the passages which occur in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters relative to the union of the Christian Church, and the command of love and charity, were directed against those, who endeavoured to introduce divisions in the church, and to promote the persecution of the faithful.

SECTION VI.

St. John had read the three first Gospels before he wrote his own .

I HAVE already mentioned in the second section of this chapter, that according to a passage in the Ecclesiastical history of Eusebius, St. John had read the three first Gospels, and supplied what his predecessors had omitted. Eusebius however has not mentioned it as an indisputable historical fact, but introduces it with the word *φασι* (they say), and consequently has only given it as a report. The passage is as follows, Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. 24. *Ἡδὴ δὲ Μάρκος καὶ Λουκᾶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς εὐαγγελίων τὴν ἐκδοσὶν πεποιημένων, Ἰωάννης φασὶ, τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀγραφῷ κεχρημένον κηρυγματι, τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἐλθεῖν, τοιασδε χάριν αἰτίας. Τῶν προαναγραφέντων τριῶν εἰς πάντας ἤδη καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν διαδεδομένων, ἀποδεξασθαι μὲν φασιν, ἀληθείας αὐτοῖς ἐπιμαρτυρήσαντα, μὴν δὲ ἀρὰ λείπεσθαι τῇ γραφῇ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἐν πρώτοις καὶ κατ' ἀρχὴν τῆς κηρυγματος ἀπο τοῦ Χριστοῦ πεπραγμένων διηγήσειν.* But though Eusebius delivers this account only as a report, and that part of it which relates to the motive, by which St. John was induced to write his Gospel, is not quite accurate, we must not therefore conclude that the whole was devoid of foundation. Clement of Alexandria, an author of great importance on the present question, since he wrote only a hundred years after St. John, has likewise asserted that our Evangelist had seen the three first Gospels: but here again, the motive which Clement assigns for the composition of St. John's Gospel, is liable to objection. His words are^o, *τοῦ*

^o Of St. Matthew's Gospel Eusebius had spoken immediately before.

[•] This passage from the works of Clement is quoted by Eusebius. Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. 14.

μεντοι Ιωαννην εσχατον συνιδοντα οτι τα σωματικα εν τοις ευαγγελιοις δεδηλωται, προτραπεντα υπο των γνωριμων, πνευματι θεοφορηθεντα πνευματικον ποιησαι ευαγγελιον. Now that St. John's object was to write an ευαγγελιον πνευματικον, because his predecessors had written only ευαγγελια σωματικα, I think not very probable, because there are many parts of St. John's Gospel, which likewise come under the latter description; for instance, his accounts of the cure of diseases, and of the restoration of a dead person. If Clement had said that the three first Gospels contained chiefly points of morality, but that of St. John articles of faith, his assertion would have been more credible.

It appears then that we have no indisputable historical evidence in favour of the opinion, that the three first Gospels were known to St. John. But on the other hand, as it is incredible that three Gospels written before that of St. John should have remained unknown to him; we may safely conclude that the fact is true, notwithstanding the weakness of our historical evidence. Besides there are internal marks in St. John's Gospel, which imply that the author was not only acquainted with the contents of the three first Gospels, but that he presupposed the same of his readers. Dr. Semler indeed has endeavoured to shew, and likewise from internal marks, that St. John was not acquainted with the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke. For this purpose he has quoted ch. xx. 30. where St. John says, 'And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written *in this book*.' Hence Dr. Semler argues, that, as St. John speaks only of his own Gospel, and is totally silent with respect to any other, the other Gospels were unknown to him. But the inference is without foundation; for a writer may be well acquainted with the works of his predecessors, and yet not mention them. In the Preface to my Dogmatical Theology, though it consists of not less than ten pages, I have not mentioned the name of a single writer on this subject, my principal

object having been to explain to the reader the purport of my own book : yet I hope that no reader would conclude from this silence that I have never seen the systems of Quenstedt and Baumgarten.

Whoever turns to the Table of Contents to the four Gospels, which I have given above, in ch. ii. sect. 7. and observes the many important accounts, which are given by the three first Evangelists, but are wholly omitted by St. John, will perceive that such omissions are inexplicable on any other supposition, than that St. John was well assured, that his readers had already a knowledge of those accounts from the three first Evangelists. As the subject is of some importance, I will mention a few examples^p. In the above-mentioned Table, N°. 42. the restoration of Jairus's daughter, to which St. John was eye-witness, in company with St. Peter and St. James, and to the exclusion of all the other Apostles. The relation of this miracle might very properly have accompanied that of the resurrection of Lazarus. N°. 26. the election of the twelve Apostles; though St. John has afterwards devoted almost four chapters, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth inclusively, to the description of the privileges of the Apostles, and the promises made to them. N°. 46. the question proposed to Jesus by John the Baptist, whether he was the Messias, with the answer to John's question : though the answer would have been very suitable to the purport of St. John's Gospel. N°. 51. the beheading of John the Baptist; though our Evangelist was once his disciple, and has introduced into his Gospel many parts of John's history, which promoted the object, for which he wrote. N°. 63. the transfiguration of Jesus, though St. John was eye-witness to it, and no other Apostle, except St. Peter and St.

^p I do not quote St. John's omission of the sermon on the mount, as an instance, because he might have omitted it, on account of its being unintelligible to readers, who were not acquainted with the Pharisaic doctrines.

James. Further, the very important discourses delivered by Christ, N°. 98—107. Nor has he mentioned the institution of the Lord's supper, in which every Christian is particularly interested, though he had related, in ch. xiii. the less important ceremony of Christ's washing the feet of his disciples. The ascension likewise he has passed over in total silence, though he had mentioned, ch. vi. 62. xx. 17. two declarations made by Christ at different times, that he should ascend into heaven, and consequently had prepared the reader to expect an account of the event's taking place.

Other examples may be produced, which are still more decisive than the preceding; for they relate not only to material facts, which St. John has omitted, but to facts, which must necessarily be known before his Gospel can be intelligible. Such facts St. John would certainly not have omitted, unless he had known that his readers were already acquainted with them: for he is more plain and perspicuous in his narrative, than any other writer either of the Old or of the New Testament. Of this kind the following are examples.

Ch. i. 15. 'This is he of whom I spake, he that cometh after me is preferred before me, for he was before me,' presupposes a reader, who had already learnt from the other Evangelists, that John the Baptist, the history of whose ministry is entirely omitted by our Evangelist, had made this declaration.

He has nowhere related that Christ was baptized by John, or that at Christ's baptism the Holy Ghost descended upon him in the shape of a dove. Yet, ch. i. 32—34. he introduces John the Baptist, as saying some time after Christ's baptism, 'I knew him not, but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost: and I saw and bare record that this is the Son of God.' Our Evangelist therefore must have known that his readers were already acquainted with the circumstances of Christ's baptism, or

he would not have alluded to them, without having first related them.

Ch. iii. 24. 'For John was not yet cast into prison,' evidently implies that the reader was already acquainted with this fact. Yet our Evangelist has not related the history of John's imprisonment, and therefore he must have known that the fact had been already related by his predecessors. The example is the more remarkable, as St. John wrote his Gospel, not in Judæa, where the circumstances of the Baptist's imprisonment were known by report, but in Asia Minor, where they could not have been generally known, except from written accounts. In ch. iv. 1—4. the place, to which the history of John's imprisonment properly belongs, our Evangelist, though he is silent in regard to this subject, relates Christ's journey into Galilee, which according to the accounts of the other Evangelists must have taken place soon after John's imprisonment, and he is moreover very circumstantial in relating that Christ travelled at that time through Samaria, a route not usually taken by the Jews, but which Christ probably chose, in order to avoid going through Peræa, because Herod the tetrarch, who had commanded John to be imprisoned, was then in that country.

Ch. iv. 43, 44, 45. 'Now after two days he departed thence and went into Galilee, for Jesus himself testified that a prophet hath no honour in his own country. Then, when he was come into Galilee, the Galileans received him, &c.' would be unintelligible, unless we knew from the other Evangelists, that Nazareth in Galilee was the place where Christ was educated, and was therefore called his country: that when he returned to this city as a prophet and worker of miracles, - the inhabitants not only rejected him, but attempted to cast him down from the brow of the hill, on which the city was built: that on this occasion Christ observed, that a prophet hath no honour in his own country, that he therefore avoided all future connection with Nazareth, and confined himself to the

other cities of Galilee. Whoever has acquired a knowledge of these facts from the three first Evangelists will find that St. John's relation is perfectly intelligible, and will perceive that he has done nothing more than interweave a well known saying of Christ with the account of his journey through Samaria into Galilee. But without a knowledge of these facts, our Evangelist, though remarkable for perspicuity, must appear to be enigmatical.

Ch. v. 35. 'He was a burning and a shining light, and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in his light,' is a sentence which being delivered in the past time, implies that John the Baptist, to whom the subject relates, was no longer alive. But our Evangelist has nowhere given an account of his death: consequently he presupposed that this fact was already known.

The whole of the fifth chapter of St. John's Gospel is employed in describing what Christ did in Jerusalem: yet at the very beginning of the next chapter, the scene is suddenly and unexpectedly changed to Galilee and the sea of Tiberias. 'After these things Jesus went over the sea of Galilee, which is the sea of Tiberias.' Now such a sudden transition from Jerusalem to the sea of Tiberias is inexplicable on any other supposition, than that St. John knew, that his readers were already acquainted with Christ's return to Galilee, and consequently that he had left Jerusalem.

Ch. xii. 16. 'These things (namely, that Christ rode into Jerusalem on an ass, &c.) understood not his disciples at the first: but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of him, *and that they had done these things unto him.*' But what the Apostles had done St. John had not related: consequently he presupposed the knowledge of it from the other Evangelists; namely, that the Apostles, at the command of Christ, had brought to him an ass, which they found tied by the road side.

Ch. xv. 20. 'Remember the word that I said unto you, the servant is not greater than his lord, &c.' im-

plies that the reader had been already informed of what Christ had said : but this is recorded only by the other Evangelists, and not by St. John.

The preceding examples are confined to the compass of only fifteen chapters : and if we examine St. John's account of the sufferings and death of Christ, we shall find the inference deduced from these premises very strongly confirmed. No part of Christ's history is more circumstantially described by St. John, than the last week of his life, probably because the Evangelist himself was present at every transaction of it. Yet on the other hand he has omitted many material circumstances, which are recorded by the other Evangelists. In his account of Peter's denial of Christ he mentions ch. xviii. 15, 16. that Peter followed Christ into the house of the high priest, and ver. 26, 27. relates, that a kinsman of the servant, whose ear Peter had cut off, asked him if he were not with Jesus in the garden, to which Peter answered in the negative, and that then the cock crew. Here St. John closes his account of Peter's denial of Christ, and leaves it therefore unfinished, though he certainly knew all the other circumstances, and most probably better than Peter himself, who was during the whole time in a state of anxiety. We must conclude then, that St. John thought it unnecessary to relate the other circumstances, as they had been already related by the other Evangelists.

Of all that Christ said and did, when he stood before Caiaphas, who, according to St. John himself, was properly the high priest for that year, the Evangelist has not related a single syllable. He mentions merely, ch. xviii. 24. that Christ was conducted to Caiaphas, and ver. 28. that he was thence conducted to Pilate, but says nothing either of accusation, or sentence. He has even omitted the account of the false witnesses, though in ch. ii. 20, 21. he had prepared his readers to expect it. All these facts therefore he concluded were already known to his readers.

From the twentieth and twenty-first chapters I quote no examples, because I have already given them in my History of the Resurrection. I will only observe that he has not related the command, which Christ gave to his disciples after his resurrection, to go into Galilee; but as in ch. xxi. 1. the scene is suddenly changed from Jerusalem to the sea of Tiberias, he must have supposed that his readers were already acquainted with this command. Lastly, Christ's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem is no where related by St. John yet in ch. xxi. 22. it is implied.

SECTION VII.

Of St. John's Mode of Narration.

AFTER what has been said in the foregoing section, it will not be difficult to assign the reason, why St. John has sometimes more, and sometimes less than the other Evangelists. He has omitted the greatest part of what his predecessors had already related, and for no other reason, than because he thought it unnecessary, except where he was influenced by particular motives, to repeat what was already on record. His silence therefore in respect to the numerous facts, which are found in the other Gospels, cannot be used as an argument to weaken the credibility of those facts: or we must deny that Christ was ever born, and that John the Baptist was beheaded. On the contrary St. John's silence may rather be considered as a proof, that the facts, which the other Evangelists have recorded, and he has left unnoticed, are really true: for if their accounts had been inaccurate, he would probably have corrected them.

However, there is an omission of a certain kind in St. John's Gospel, which deserves particular attention, namely, the omission of the demoniacs. In not a single

instance has St. John related the casting out of a devil, either where accounts of this kind have been given in the other Gospels, or where they have not^a. Yet at Ephesus, where St. John wrote his Gospel, we find from Acts xix. 12—17. not only that evil spirits were expelled by St. Paul, but that Jewish exorcists in that city attempted to do the same, though the event by no means answered their expectations. The question therefore is: Did St. John omit all such histories by mere accident, or did he omit them by design? Perhaps he believed that persons said to be possessed with devils had in reality no concern with evil spirits, but were merely afflicted with some natural disorder; and mentioned them therefore, neither under the name of *demoniacs*, lest the term should be literally understood, nor under any name expressive of a natural disorder, because he was unwilling, in a matter, which had no essential influence on the Christian doctrine, to contradict a commonly received opinion. The only place, where I could wish that he had said something on this subject, is that, in which the other Evangelists have related the expulsion of a devil, who called himself *Legion*^b, because it is almost the only instance on which the reality of diabolical possession can be grounded^c.

Where St. John has related facts, which are likewise related by the other Evangelists, of which the examples may be seen in the above-mentioned Table to the four Gospels, it is generally in one of the three following cases.

1. Either the fact was necessary as an introduction to something important, which he was going to relate, as for instance his account of the five thousand men

^a See Timmermann de *Dæmoniis*.

^b See No. 39. of the Table to the four Gospels.

^c See my Dogmatic Theology, sect. 98, or rather the New Orient. Bibl. Vol. III. p. 177—180.

ch. vi. whom Christ fed with five barley loaves, a fact, which was absolutely necessary to be known, or the very important discourses of Christ, which were delivered after the performance of that miracle, could not have been fully understood. St. John therefore has related the fact, though it had been already recorded by the other Evangelists, and has moreover augmented and apparently improved their narration.

2. Or at other times he was induced to repeat facts already contained in the other Gospels, because several circumstances, which he thought necessary to be known, had been omitted. The supper at Bethany, the unction[†] of Christ by Mary, and Christ's entry into Jerusalem, related by St. John in the twelfth chapter, had been already related by the other Evangelists : but then St. John has added the following very important circumstances. First, Lazarus, on whose restoration to life the other Evangelists had been purposely silent, sits at table with Christ, and by bearing witness in person to the truth of his restoration, contributed in a great degree to the glory of Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem[‡]. Secondly, Judas Iscariot was the first who censured the unction of Christ, and it was he who occasioned the other disciples to do the same[¶]. Hence we see the reason, why Christ's answer affected him in particular, and what confirmed him in his resolution to betray his master. The other Evangelists make mention of the treachery of Judas, at the same time that they give an account of the supper in Bethany. But they have not shewn the connection, or explained, how the one was the immediate effect of the other : whereas, we clearly perceive from St. John's account

[†] St. John after *ἠγάπησεν* has used the epithet *ἡρώδης*, which had been used by St. Mark. This is an additional argument in favour of the opinion that St. John had read St. Mark's Gospel in particular, for this very unusual word occurs in no other part of the New Testament.

[‡] See ver. 1, 2. 17, 18.

[¶] Ver. 4, 5.

the chain of thought and the springs of action in this unhappy man, who, though a traitor to Christ, is a strong witness to the truth of Christianity. In ch. xx. 1—18. which has been said to be contradictory to the accounts given by the other Evangelists, St. John takes for granted, that what they had related in general terms of the women, who went to visit the sepulchre, was already known, and adds a special account of what was seen in particular by Mary Magdalene, who went alone very early to the sepulchre. A full and distinct explanation of this matter would be too prolix for the present place: I refer therefore the reader to my History of the Resurrection.

I have observed several other examples, in which St. John has explained the accounts of the other Evangelists. Whoever reads what St. Matthew has related, ch. iv. 12. 'When Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison, he departed into Galilee,' without any further knowledge of the situation of affairs at that time, will think it perhaps extraordinary, that the imprisonment of John the Baptist should have induced Christ to return to Galilee, when the very person at whose command John had been imprisoned, was tetrarch of Galilee. But St. John, ch. i. 1—4. has explained this matter; for after having related that Christ could not tarry in Judæa on account of the Pharisees, he adds, that Christ was obliged to go through Samaria, (*εδει δε αυτον διερχεσθαι δια της Σαμαρειας*). It is true that he has not assigned the reason why Christ was obliged to go through Samaria: but this we learn from Josephus, who relates that when John was cast into prison Herod was at Machærus in Peræa. St. John's account therefore, though not fully explanatory of the relation of the other Evangelists, is instructive at least for those who are acquainted with the history of those times. St. Matthew, ch. xxviii. 46—49. and St. Mark, ch. xv. 34—36. relate that after Christ had exclaimed, *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani*, vinegar was brought him to drink. Now between

Christ's exclamation and the offering of vinegar to him, we see no immediate connection: but St. John has explained this matter by adding, ch. xix. 28. that Christ said, 'I thirst.'

3. St. John appears to have corrected, though in a very delicate manner, the accounts given by his predecessors. If the reading *ηθελον αυ λαβειν αυτον*, ch. vi. 21, is the genuine reading, and the conjectural emendation, which I proposed, Vol. II. ch. x, sect. 4. of this Introduction, be not admissible, St. John has tacitly corrected the relation of St. Matthew and St. Mark. For, according both to St. Matthew and to St. Mark, Christ actually entered the ship, in which the disciples were^{*}: but St. John says only, that they intended to take Christ into the ship, but that the ship was suddenly at the place of its destination, so that they had not time to put their design in execution. Further, the account given in St. Matthew's Gospel[†] (whether it proceeded from St. Matthew himself, or was a very early addition, I will not determine) of St. Peter's leaping into the sea, to meet Christ before he arrived at the ship, of his danger of sinking, of his being rescued by Christ, and of their entering together into the ship, appears by the different relation of St. John to have been delicately set aside. St. Mark likewise, though he derived information from St. Peter himself, says nothing of this transaction.—Ch. xix. 39, 40. where St. John relates that Nicodemus and Joseph embalmed the body of Jesus on the Friday evening, before it was deposited in the sepulchre, does not harmonize with the account of St. Mark, ch. xvi. 1. and of St. Luke, ch. xxiii. 56. xxiv. 1. that the women after Christ's interment purchased spices in order to embalm his body on the Sunday morning. I have attempted indeed in my History of the Resurrection[‡] to reconcile the contradiction: but I have not

^{*} See No. 53. in the Table to the four Gospels.

[†] Ch. xiv. 28—32.

[‡] P. 99—101.

been able to do it in a manner satisfactory either to myself, or to any other impartial inquirer into truth. I consider it therefore as a tacit correction of the account given by the two Evangelists, who were not eye-witnesses, and that St. John intended to say, though he has expressed himself in a more delicate manner, what the following words imply. 'Other historians had been informed of the embalming of Jesus, but the account which they have given is not perfectly exact. The women went early on Sunday morning, not to embalm Jesus, but merely to visit the sepulchre: for he had been already embalmed by Joseph and Nicodemus.'

If it be true that there are passages in St. John's Gospel, which are at variance with the accounts given by the other Evangelists, we cannot hesitate to give the preference to St. John, who, of the sacred historians, wrote last, who was eye-witness to almost all the facts which he has recorded, who appears to have had an excellent memory, and paid attention to the most minute circumstances. Perhaps some persons will think that this mode of reasoning is an infringement on the inspiration, not only of St. Mark and St. Luke, who were not Apostles, but even on that of St. Matthew. Let however this matter be as it will, the truth of the Christian religion itself will not in the least be affected. The case is exactly parallel to the following. An historian of the present age, of whose general accuracy and fidelity we have no reason to doubt, gives in his narrative the description of an engagement: and an officer, who was present in the engagement, revises this description, and communicates additions and corrections.

SECTION VIII.

Of the Peculiarities of St. John's Greek Style.

ST. JOHN'S style is better and more fluent than that of the other Evangelists: and it seems as if he had acquired a facility and taste in the Greek language from his long residence at Ephesus. His narrative is very perspicuous; and in order to promote perspicuity, the same word is sometimes repeated, though perhaps the advanced age in which St. John wrote, had some influence, since he is always inclined to repetitions.

He never speaks of himself in the first person, but uses a periphrasis, such as, 'the disciple whom Jesus loved,' or 'the disciple who leaned on the breast of Jesus.' This again is to be attributed to his long connection with the Greeks, to whom the egotism of the first person was offensive. To the same cause must be ascribed likewise the variation of his expressions, and the use of synonyms, where he has occasion in the same place to speak more than once of the same thing. Thus in ch. xxi. 15, 16, 17. he uses *αγαπᾶν* and *φιλεῖν*, *βοσκεῖν* and *ποιμαίνειν*, *προβάτα* and *ἀρνία*. In ch. viii. 46. *ἁμαρτία* is equivalent to *ψευδος*, and cannot denote 'sin' in general, as is evident from the context: this word was used by St. John to avoid the repetition of *ψευδος* which occurs in the 44th verse. In the same chapter, ver. 51. the thought 'he shall never die' is expressed by *θανάτον οὐ μὴ θεωρήσῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*: but in the next verse it is expressed in a different manner by *οὐ μὴ γενέσθαι θανάτου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*. Some commentators have thought this too artificial, while others have imagined that the expressions were not synonymous, and have endeavoured to point out a peculiar emphasis: but in fact they are nothing more than various modes of expressing the same thing, according to the practice of good Greek writers. With a view to a similar variation

St. John has used ΕΙΜΙ, ch. vii. 34. in the sense of *eo*, which in the common printed editions is accented, not εἶμι but εἰμί, and thus absurdly converted into the sense of *sum*. That St. John by ΟΠΟΥ ΕΙΜΙ ΕΓΩ, ch. vii. 34. intended to signify 'Whither I go,' and not 'Where I am,' is evident not only from the context, which requires a verb of motion, because υμεις ε δυνασθε ελθειν immediately follows, but likewise from the parallel passage, ch. viii. 21. where Christ says the very same thing, only in different words, οτις εγω υπαγω, υμεις ε δυνασθε ελθειν. If it be asked, why St. John did not use the verb υπαγω in ch. vii. 34. as well as in ch. viii. 21. I answer, because in the former instance he had already used υπαγω in the preceding verse, and for that reason he exchanged it for the less usual word εἰμι in the sense *eo*.

A peculiarity in St. John's mode of writing is the commencement of a clause with the word which had been used in the preceding: for instance, ch. i. 1. ο λογος, και ο λογος—ην προς τον Θεον, και ο Θεος. A similar repetition may be seen in ver. 3, 4. 7, 8. 10, 11. of the same chapter. In ch. xx. 11. is κλαισα εξω· ως εν εκλαιεν: and in ch. xxi. 1—17. are repetitions of the same kind. This mode of writing is sometimes censured by grammarians, but as St. John has applied it, the effect is by no means disagreeable. We meet with another instance in his first Epistle, ch. iii. 1. according to the reading of many good authorities, ινα τεκνα Θεου κληθωμεν (και εσμεν). Ver. 2. αγαπητοι, νυν τεκνα Θεου εσμεν. Another peculiarity in St. John's style is the frequent use of the pronoun εγω, where there is no emphasis, and therefore where it was unnecessary in the Greek language: for instance in the above-mentioned example, εγω υπαγω, 'I go,' as in the modern European languages. Whoever turns to Schmid's concordance will find a sufficient number of examples to prove the truth of this assertion. In some cases indeed, as in ch. i. 20. one might suppose that he meant to lay

a particular stress on the pronoun *ego*, but it really occurs too often, to admit this supposition.

In St. John's Epistles we meet with many examples of a similar kind to those, which I have quoted from his Gospel: but the style of the latter is better and more perspicuous, than that of the former. The conjunction *kai*, for instance, occurs so frequently in his Epistles, that it is sometimes difficult to translate it: but in his Gospel he has used it more sparingly. Hence it is not unreasonable to suppose, that he wrote his Gospel much later than his Epistles, and after he had improved his Greek style by his long residence in Ephesus. Of the Apocalypse, which is written in a totally different style both from the Gospel and the Epistles of St. John, I shall treat at large in a subsequent chapter.

SECTION IX.

Of the last Chapter of St. John's Gospel.

THE last chapter of St. John's Gospel may be considered as a supplement, which was added principally with the view of giving the reader some account of the author. Some of the early Christians had imbibed the notion, that St. John the Evangelist would live till the day of judgement, a notion to which a false interpretation of a saying of Christ, and the great age which the Evangelist actually attained, had given rise*. For this reason St. John has related at full length, in the last chapter, the conversation which took place between Christ, St. Peter and himself after the

* See Fabricii Cod. Apocryph. Tom. I. p. 533. Not. x.

resurrection : and has shewn in what connection, and in what sense Christ said of St. John, ' If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee ?'

Grotius, and several other critics, have contended that the last chapter was added, not by St. John himself, but by some other person or persons, and probably by the elders at Ephesus, after St. John's decease. Their principal argument is founded on ver. 24. ' This is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things : and we know that his testimony is true.' But, as this inference is not supported by the testimony of the ancients, I do not think it admissible. The style of the whole of the twenty-first chapter is exactly the same, as that of the rest of the Gospel^b. And as to the 24th verse in particular, I can see no reason for supposing that even that alone is an addition : for the phrase, ' We know that his testimony is true, is nothing more than a figure of rhetoric, called *Communicatio*, and expresses the same as, ' Every Christian knows, that his testimony is true.' Besides, if this addition had been made by the Ephesian elders, they would probably have inserted their names : for the testimony of ' We know,' made by unknown persons, could add no authority to St. John's Gospel.

^b See my History of the Resurrection, p. 295, 296.

SECTION X.

Of the Time when, and the Place where, St. John's Gospel was written.

THAT the latter part of St. John's life was spent principally at Ephesus, appears from what is related by Eusebius in the third book of his Ecclesiastical History, ch. 23. It is likewise the generally received opinion that he wrote his Gospel there: and though, strictly speaking, we can produce no historical evidence in its favour (for neither the subscription to St. John's Gospel in the Syriac version, nor any other subscription of the same kind is entitled to the name of evidence), yet the fact is highly probable in itself, since it is reasonable to suppose, that he wrote where he resided. And as the Greek language was spoken in great purity at Ephesus, and the doctrines which he has combated, prevailed in that city, the opinion that St. John wrote his Gospel at Ephesus agrees both with its style and its contents.

That he wrote later than the three other Evangelists is also the general opinion: and I have endeavoured in a preceding section to confirm it by internal arguments. Dr. Semler however contends, that St. John wrote before the other three Evangelists, and argues in support of this opinion from the three following passages, ch. i. 6. vi. 7. 37. But I am wholly unable to discover in these places any marks whatsoever of an early composition: and the reader perhaps on examining them will suppose, that I have made a mistake in the quotations. I must refer him therefore to Dr. Semler's own notes to these passages, in his Paraphrasis in Evangelium Johannis.

To the arguments, which I produced in the sixth section of this chapter, to shew that St. John wrote later than the other three Evangelists, may be added

the following ; which, I think, renders it highly probable that St. John wrote his Gospel only a short time before the destruction of Jerusalem, if not after that event; that is, either shortly before, or after the year 70. None of the three first Evangelists has mentioned the name of the Apostle, who cut off the ear of the High Priest's servant, when Christ was betrayed by Judas: but St. John has openly related that this Apostle was St. Peter. Now the three first Evangelists acted with great propriety in not mentioning St. Peter's name, because it would have afforded the Jews an opportunity of accusing him. Unless therefore we suppose that St. John acted with less prudence than the other Evangelists, we must conclude that St. Peter was dead, when St. John wrote his Gospel, and therefore that there was no further danger to be apprehended from an open avowal of the fact. Besides, in ch. xxi. 18, 19; St. John having mentioned the following prophecy of Christ respecting St. Peter, 'When thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hand, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not,' explains this prophecy by adding, 'This spake he, signifying by what death he (namely Peter) should glorify God.' St. Peter therefore must have already suffered martyrdom, or St. John would not have been able to make the application. Now the death of St. Peter is referred to the year 67: consequently St. John's Gospel was written later than that period.

Another argument for the late composition of St. John's Gospel may be derived from the fluency of the language in which it is written. St. John remained in Jerusalem long after the death of Christ, as appears from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Galatians. Nor was he arrived at Ephesus when St. Paul took leave of the elders of that city for the last time*, or his name would not have been passed over in silence. Further, he was not arrived at Ephesus, when

* Acts xx. 17—38.

St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Ephesians, during his imprisonment, or St. John's name would have been mentioned in that Epistle. St. John's residence in Ephesus therefore cannot have commenced long before the death of St. Peter and St. Paul; and it is not improbable that the hostilities, which began about that period between the Jews and the Romans, induced him to leave his native country, agreeably to the command of Christ, when he foretold the destruction of Jerusalem. But if St. John arrived so late at Ephesus, his Gospel must have been written many years later: for as he was born and educated in Palestine, he could not have acquired that fluency of language, which is displayed in his Gospel, except by a long residence in a Greek city. According to the preceding statement, St. John must have been nearly sixty years old, when he came to Ephesus: and therefore we must admire his ability in forming so good a style at so great an age. It is true that his language is not that of a native Greek: yet it is perfectly free from the stiffness and formality of a school exercise.

There is a single passage in St. John's Gospel, from which several critics have inferred, that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem. In ch. v. 2. St. John says, 'There is at Jerusalem by the sheep-gate a pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, having five porches.' Hence it is inferred that Jerusalem was still standing, when he wrote this passage; for if Jerusalem had lain at that time in ruins, it is argued, that St. John would not have said, 'There is at Jerusalem, &c,' but 'There *was* at Jerusalem, &c.' And this argument is corroborated by the circumstance, that though this passage has many various readings, the Greek MSS. are unanimous in respect to the reading *Esti δε*, not one having been hitherto discovered which reads *Ην δε*. But this argument appears to me at present to be less decisive, than I once thought it. It is founded wholly on the single word *εστι*; but authors do not always weigh their words with so much exact-

ness, as that *en* alone should warrant the inference. Besides, as the subject of discourse was the pool Bethesda, which could not have been destroyed in the conflagration of Jerusalem, St. John, even after the destruction of that city, might speak in the present tense, with equal, and perhaps still greater propriety, than in the past. It will be objected perhaps that St. John adds 'having five porches' (*πεντε ποας εχουσα*), and that if the pool existed after Jerusalem was destroyed, still these porches could not have remained. Now I grant that *πεντε ποας παλαι εχουσα*, with the addition of *παλαι*, would be a more suitable expression in a work written after those porches had ceased to exist: but even the most correct writers are sometimes deficient in precision. I am still therefore of opinion that St. John wrote his Gospel after the destruction of Jerusalem, though not in so very advanced an age as some have supposed, because the fluency of language then ceases. But as his Gospel abounds with repetitions introduced for the sake of perspicuity, and repetitions of this kind are peculiar to men in years, St. John appears, when he wrote his Gospel, to have arrived at that stage of life, which precedes the infirmities of old age.

Lardner, in his Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. I. ch. ix. § 7, 8. has stated the various opinions both of ancient and modern writers relative to the time when St. John's Gospel was written; to whom I refer the reader for further information on this subject. Lardner's own opinion, which he delivers § 9. is, that it was written about the year 68, and consequently before the destruction of Jerusalem. His first argument in favour of this early date is grounded on the occasion of St. John's writing his Gospel mentioned by the ancients, namely, the bringing the other three Gospels to him, and his observing their deficiency: Hence Lardner argues, 'Their Gospels were soon brought to him: and if he thought fit to confirm them, or to write any thing by way of supplement, he would do it in a short time. The first three Gospels

very probably were written and published before the end of the year 64, or in 65 at the furthest. If they were brought to St. John in 65, or 66, he would not defer more, or much more, than a year, or two, to publish the history of Jesus, and make the account complete.' But this argument rests on a very unstable foundation: for I have already shewn, that though St. John has completed the accounts of his predecessors, his object was, not merely to add a supplement to the other three Gospels, but to confute the tenets of the Gnostics and the Sabians. And even if St. John's only motive had been to supply the deficiencies of the three first Gospels, still I can see no necessity for supposing, that he would therefore have written his Gospel within a year or two after he had seen those of his predecessors. Lardner's other arguments have not convinced me more than the preceding: I shall therefore not quote them, but request the reader to examine them for himself. Yet, though I think not Lardner's arguments satisfactory, and the year in which St. John wrote his Gospel, still appears to me uncertain, yet I will not assert that Lardner's conclusion is false.

SECTION XI.

Of the Heretics, who rejected St. John's Gospel.

LAMPE, in his learned Prolegomena to St. John's Gospel^d, has treated at full length of the heretics who rejected it: though I fear, that he has acquitted several of this charge, to whom it may be justly laid. However, their opinions are of very little importance, especially as most of them allowed that St. John was

^d Lib. II. cap. 1.

the author, and rejected it on no other ground, than that the Evangelist had delivered in it erroneous doctrines. But in this respect they were inconsistent with themselves: for to admit, that St. John had the gift of miracles, and that he had received full powers, as an Apostle of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, whose miracles they likewise admitted, and yet to assert that St. John delivered erroneous doctrines, is a direct contradiction. The Alogi went a step further, and denied that St. John was the author of the Gospel ascribed to him. This assertion they grounded, not on external evidence, nor on historical testimony, but merely on the contents of the Gospel, which, they said, contradicted the three other Gospels, and therefore could not have been written by a divine Apostle. They particularly objected to the term *λογος*, which no man, they said, would have used to denote a person, except one who had imbibed the philosophy, which was adopted by Cerinthus. Hence they argued that the Gospel, which bore the name of St. John, ought rather to be ascribed to Cerinthus, than to one of the Apostles. But this argument proves nothing: for, whoever undertook to confute the errors of Cerinthus, was under the necessity of retaining the terminology of his adversary.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

SECTION I.

Of the Author of the Acts of the Apostles, and the time when this Book was written.

As this book belongs to the historical writings of the New Testament, I treat of it immediately after the Gospels, agreeably to the order in which it is placed in our common editions of the Greek Testament, though in ancient manuscripts and ancient versions it is very frequently placed after the Epistles of St. Paul, because it is necessary to a right understanding of them. It appears from the very first sentence in the Acts of the Apostles, that it was a continuation of St. Luke's Gospel, and that it was written by the same author. This is likewise asserted by the most ancient ecclesiastical writers, whose testimony I think it unnecessary to quote, as the question admits of no doubt, and Lardner has already given a sufficient number of quotations on this subject. Whether the interval which elapsed between the composition of St. Luke's Gospel, and his second work the Acts of the Apostles, was considerable or not, it is at present impossible to determine. Nor are we able to decide, whether both books were written in the same or different places: for though each of them was dedicated to Theophilus, we cannot assert that either of them was written in the same place, in which Theophilus resided. That the Acts of the Apostles were written at Alexandria is still less probable, than that St. Luke's Gospel was written there: and if it be allowable to substitute conjecture, where we are forsaken by historical evidence, I would rather suppose that the

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Acts were written in Rome, at which place St. Luke mentions his arrival, in company with St. Paul, shortly before the close of the book*. Further, as it is continued to the end of the second year of St. Paul's imprisonment, it could not have been written before the year 63: nor do I think it probable that it was written after that year, for St. Luke would then have related some further particulars relative to St. Paul, or would at least have mentioned the event of his imprisonment, in which the Christian reader was highly interested. St. Luke's long attendance on St. Paul, and his having been himself eye-witness to so many of the facts which he has recorded, render him a most respectable and credible historian. His medical knowledge enabled him, both to form a proper judgment of the miraculous cures, which were performed by St. Paul, and to give an accurate and authentic detail of them. But he himself does not appear to have possessed the power of healing by supernatural means: at least, we have no instances of it on record, and when the father of Publius and other sick persons (Acts xxviii. 8, 9.) were suddenly cured, they were restored to health, not by St. Luke, but by the prayers of St. Paul.

SECTION II.

Of the object which St. Luke had in view, in writing the Acts of the Apostles.

It is obvious, that St. Luke did not intend to write a general history of the Christian church, during the first thirty years after Christ's ascension: for he has almost wholly omitted what passed among the Christians

* Acts xxviii. 16.

in Jerusalem after the conversion of St. Paul, though the other Apostles continued for some time in Palestine. Before St. Luke wrote the Acts, the younger James had been stoned to death by the Jews, and the Jewish converts to Christianity had suffered so severe a persecution, that they began to waver in their faith, on which occasion St. Paul judged it necessary to write his Epistle to the Hebrews. These were facts, which an historian, who designed to write a general account of the Christian church, could not have passed over in silence. Further, St. Luke has not described the propagation of Christianity either in Egypt, or in the countries which bordered on the Euphrates and the Tigris, though at Edessa the king himself had become an early convert to the Christian religion. Nor has he mentioned St. Paul's journey into Arabia, or the state of Christianity in Babylon, though it appears from the first Epistle of St. Peter^f, that a Christian community existed in that city. Here the question occurs: Were the Christians in these countries converts from the Jewish religion^g, and was St. Luke's principal attention directed to the conversion of the Gentiles? Or was he silent on the propagation of Christianity in the East, and in Egypt, because he had no opportunity of what was transacted there? He is equally silent on the foundation of the Christian community in Rome, though it was in a very flourishing state before St. Paul's arrival in that city, and had already received an Epistle from the Apostle. There are other omissions in the Acts of the Apostles, which we can hardly ascribe to a want of knowledge in the author: for, as St. Luke was many years the constant companion of St. Paul, he was certainly well acquainted with St. Paul's general history. Yet he has omitted many material transactions in the life of the Apostle, of which Lardner has selected several remark-

Ch. v. 13.

^g This however cannot be said of the king, who resided at Edessa: for he was an Armenian.

able instances^a. In one respect however Lardner is mistaken : for he supposes that St. Luke accompanied St. Paul to Corinth, whereas, I have shewn in a preceding section, that St. Luke staid behind at Philippi. But St. Luke was probably informed by St. Paul of what was done in his absence : and since he has related many things performed by St. Paul before they again joined company, and has even recorded the speech delivered at Athens¹, at which he was no more present, than at St. Paul's transactions in Corinth, we must conclude, that his silence did not always proceed from a want of knowledge of the facts, which he has omitted. He has nowhere alluded to any one of St. Paul's Epistles : he has passed over several persecutions, which the Apostle underwent^b : he has taken no notice of several voyages made by St. Paul, in which he thrice suffered shipwreck, long before the shipwreck, which happened on the voyage to Italy : nor has he given an account of the great danger, from which the Apostle had been delivered by Aquila and Priscilla, whose generous conduct entitled them to the thanks of every Christian community¹. It is true that these facts appear to have taken place during that period which belongs to Acts xvii. 1.—xx. 5, 6. when St. Luke was absent from St. Paul^m : yet as we cannot suppose that they remained totally unknown to him, we may at least deduce this inference, that it was not St. Luke's intention to write a complete narrative of St. Paul's transactions. Of his own history he has said very little : and of what he did at Philippi during the absence of St. Paul he has said nothing. This silence we may ascribe to his modesty, which never suffered him to appear as a principal person. Of the controversies, which took place relative to the question, whe-

^a Supplement, Vol. I. ch. viii. sect. 9.

¹ Acts xvii.

^b See 2 Cor. xi.

¹ Rom. xvi. 3, 4.

^m See above, Ch. vi. sect. 3.

ther the Levitical law ought to be retained, or not, he has mentioned some, but not all : for instance, he has omitted the controversy on this subject, which created so much confusion among the Galatians. Of the heretical opinions, which distracted the Christian Church, and to which St. Paul alludes in his Epistle, he has given no account : nor has he mentioned even the Gnostics, though they were not unknown to St. Paul, when he wrote his first Epistle to Timothy.

It appears from the preceding paragraph, that St. Luke's object in writing the book, which is called the Acts of the Apostles, was to deliver neither a general history of the propagation of Christianity, nor a complete history of St. Paul in particular. He seems to have had a two-fold object in view, namely :

1. To relate in what manner the gifts of the Holy Spirit were communicated on the day of Pentecost, and the subsequent miracles performed by the Apostles, by which the truth of Christianity was confirmed. An authentic account of this matter was absolutely necessary, because Christ had so often assured his disciples, that they should receive the Holy Spirit. Unbelievers therefore, whether Jews or Heathens, might have made objections to our religion, if it had not been shewn, that Christ's declaration was really fulfilled.

2. To deliver such accounts, as proved the claim of the Gentiles to admission into the church of Christ, a claim disputed by the Jews, especially at the time, when St. Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles. And it was this very circumstance, which excited the hatred of the Jews against St. Paul, and occasioned his imprisonment in Rome, with which St. Luke closes his history. Hence we see the reason, why he relates, ch. viii. the conversion of the Samaritans, and ch. x. xi. the story of Cornelius, whom St. Peter (to whose authority the adversaries of St. Paul had appealed in favour of circumcision^a) baptized, though he was not

^a See Galat. ii. 6—21.

of the circumcision. Hence also St. Luke relates the determination of the first council in Jerusalem relative to the Levitical law: and for the same reason he is more diffuse in his account of St. Paul's conversion, and St. Paul's preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles, than on any other subject. It is true that the whole relation, which St. Luke has given, ch. xii. has no connection with the conversion of the Gentiles: but during the period, to which that chapter relates, St. Paul himself was present at Jerusalem^o, and it is probable for that reason, that St. Luke has introduced it.

Before I conclude this section, I must mention another opinion, which occurs to me, relative to St. Luke's plan in writing the Acts of the Apostles. Perhaps his intention was to record only those facts, which he had either seen himself, or heard from eye-witnesses. When I consider his total silence in respect to the early propagation of Christianity at Edessa, I think this opinion not improbable.

SECTION III.

Of St. Luke's Style, and his Mode of Narration.

THOUGH St. Luke has omitted many material parts of ecclesiastical history, in the first thirty years after the ascension, yet he is very circumstantial and perspicuous in those parts, which he has related. At the same time, he has no where exhausted his subject: for wherever he has occasion to introduce what he had related before, the relation is always accompanied with some new circumstances. Examples of this kind are the conversion of St. Paul, and the baptism of Cornelius, which he himself relates first as an historian, and afterwards introduces in the speeches of St. Peter and

^o See Acts xi. 30. xii. 25.

St. Paul. This variation is so far from being a blemish, that it may rather be considered as an ornament: for a repetition of the same story, with the very same circumstances, is neither entertaining nor instructive. But several transcribers and editors have supposed, that wherever they observed a circumstance less in one place than in the other, there was in that place a real defect, and have accordingly interpolated out of the latter into the former. Thus, in ch. ix. where St. Luke gives his own account of St. Paul's conversion, an interpolation has been made from ch. xxvi. where St. Paul himself describes his conversion^p: and hence the three relations of this fact in the Acts of the Apostles resemble each other in our modern printed editions, much more than in the ancient manuscripts.

In describing St. Paul's shipwreck, he appears to have used the Greek technical terms of navigation; some of which we find it difficult to understand, through want of sufficient knowledge of this subject.

In general St. Luke's style in the Acts of the Apostles is much purer than that of most other books of the New Testament, especially in the speeches delivered by St. Paul at Athens and before the Roman governors, which contain passages superior to any thing even in the Epistle to the Hebrews, though the language of this Epistle is preferable in other respects to that of any other book in the New Testament. But the Acts of the Apostles are by no means free from Hebraisms: and even in the purest parts, which are the speeches of St. Paul, we still find the language of a native Jew.

It deserves particularly to be remarked that St. Luke has well supported the character of each person, whom he has introduced as delivering a public harangue, and has very faithfully and happily preserved the manner

^p See what was said on this example in the second volume of this Introduction, ch. xii. sect. 3.

of speaking, which was peculiar to each of his orators. The speeches of St. Peter are recorded by St. Luke with the same simplicity as that in which they were delivered, and they are devoid of all those ornaments, which we usually find in the orations of the Greeks and Romans¹. The speeches of St. Paul, which were delivered before a Jewish assembly, are not very different in their manner from those of St. Peter: and they are wholly dissimilar to those, which the same Apostle delivered before an heathen audience, especially in Acts xiii. 16—41. where St. Paul introduces the principal subject of his discourse by a long periphrasis, which would have been neither instructive nor entertaining in any other place, than a Jewish synagogue. The speech delivered by the martyr Stephen, in the seventh chapter of the Acts is again of a different description. It is a learned discourse, pronounced by a speaker, who was totally unacquainted with the art of oratory. Stephen spake without any preparation, and though he had certainly a particular object in view, to which the several parts of his discourse were directed, yet it is difficult to discover this object, because his materials are not regularly disposed. It is true, that he was interrupted, and was prevented from finishing his harangue: but an orator, who is accustomed to speak in public, and has learnt methodical arrangement, will discover even at the commencement of his oration the purport of his discourse. In Stephen's speech we meet with numerous digressions, and literary remarks, of which we cannot perceive the tendency. For instance, he has a remark, which is at variance

¹ In the first volume of this Introduction, ch. v. sect. 3. I have observed, that St. Luke, in the relation of public speeches, has frequently departed from the words of the Septuagint, where the speaker had quoted passages from the Old Testament. To the examples, which I there quoted, may be added Acts ii. 17. 19. In these instances St. Luke has shewn his judgement, in not transcribing literally from the Septuagint passages, which the speaker could have quoted only from memory.

with the Hebrew text, and favours another reading, or if not, it favours a mystical exposition of the common reading, that Abraham did not depart from Haran, till after his father's death: and he differs from the Seventy in interpreting קשׁיטָה not by 'lambs,' but by 'a silver coin.' The same character appears throughout the whole of Stephen's discourse: but a more minute examination of it would be foreign to the present purpose.

Since then the various speakers, who are introduced in the Acts of the Apostles, uniformly preserve their proper characters, St. Luke must have received very accurate information. Yet many of these speeches were delivered, not in the Greek language, as they are recorded by St. Luke, but in Chaldee, the language of Palestine. Nor is it probable, that any of the persons, who were present at the time, when they were delivered, committed them to writing, if we except the speech of Stephen. My reason for thinking it probable that St. Luke had a copy of Stephen's speech, is, that it contains some mistakes of memory, and some inaccurate expositions, which St. Luke himself must have known to be such, but which he retained, because he found them in his copy. Perhaps this copy was delivered to him by St. Paul, who was not only present at Stephen's speech, but was at that time a zealous adversary of the Christians; and being at the same time learned in the law, was able as well as willing to detect whatever mistakes might be made by the speaker.

Lastly, the speeches delivered by St. Paul before assemblies, which were accustomed to Grecian oratory, are of a totally different description from any of the preceding. It is true, that they are neither adorned with the flowers of rhetoric, nor are even exempt from such expressions as betray a native Jew: but the language is pointed and energetic, and the materials are not only well selected, but judiciously arranged. The speech which St. Paul delivered at Athens, and the two which he held before the Roman governors of Judæa,

are proofs of this assertion. Yet St. Luke appears to have given only an abstract, and not the whole of St. Paul's speeches: for the Apostle in the defence, which he made before Felix, must certainly have said more than is recorded by St. Luke, ch. xxiv. 12, 13. unless we suppose that he merely denied the charge, which had been laid to him, without confuting it. However he has certainly shewn great judgment in these abstracts: for, if he has not always retained the very words of St. Paul, he has adopted such as well suited the polished audience, before which the Apostle spake.

SECTION IV.

Chronology of the Acts of the Apostles.

It is evident that St. Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles with a tolerable strict attention to chronological order: but he has not annexed a date to any one of his facts, though in one instance he had done it in his Gospel*. Ancient writers in general were less attentive to this subject, than modern authors: and in some cases perhaps St. Luke did not exactly know in what year the events happened. However there are several parts of the Acts of the Apostles, in which ecclesiastical history is combined with political facts, of which we know the dates: and therefore I will endeavour to determine such as can be settled with any precision, because an acquaintance with the chronology of the Acts of the Apostles will not only contribute to the understanding of the book itself, but will assist us in fixing the year, in which many of St. Paul's Epistles were written.

* Ch. iii. 1, 2.

I take for granted that the Acts of the Apostles
 33 commence with the year 33 of the Christian era *.
 In the calculation of this era I follow Usher,
 and do not enter at present into any minute in-
 quiries on this subject.

1. *The first Epoch*, after the commencement of
 the book, is at ch. xi. 29, 30 : for what happened
 between the first Pentecost after Christ's ascension
 and this period, is without any marks of chrono-
 44 logy. But at ch. xi. 29, 30. we have a date : for
 the famine which took place in the time of Clau-
 dius Cæsar, and which induced the disciples at
 Antioch to send relief to their brethren in Judæa,
 happened in the fourth year of Claudius's reign,
 that is, in the year 44 of the Christian era †.

44. 2. *Second Epoch*. Herod Agrippa dies soon
 after he had put to death the Apostle St. James :
 and about that time St. Paul and St. Barnabas re-
 turn from Jerusalem to Antioch. Ch. xii. 21—
 25. This is still in the year 44.

3. *Third Epoch*. Ch. xviii. 2. Shortly after
 the banishment of the Jews from Italy by Claudius
 Cæsar, St. Paul arrives at Corinth. Commentators
 affix the date 54 to this event : but it is uncertain,
 for Suetonius, the only historian who has noticed
 this banishment of the Jews, mentions it without
 date. For that reason I place no date in the
 margin.

* For the convenience of the reader I place this as well as the
 following dates in the margin.

† I have already observed that I follow Usher, without entering
 into any minute inquiries in respect to the Christian era. If this is
 calculated wrong, the following dates must be altered accordingly.
 Whoever has sufficient ability and leisure for the undertaking would
 contribute to the explanation of the Acts of the Apostles by calcu-
 lating these Epochs with still greater precision. But conjecture
 must be discarded, and facts only admitted as proofs.

4. *Fourth Epoch.* St. Paul comes to Jerusalem, where he is imprisoned by the Jews, not long after the disturbances which were excited by the Egyptian. Ch. xxi. 37—39. This imprisonment of St. Paul happened in the year 60, for it was two years before Felix quitted his government of Judæa. Ch. xxiii. 26. xxiv. 27. 60.

5. *Fifth Epoch.* Two years after the commencement of St. Paul's imprisonment, Festus is appointed governor of Judæa. Ch. xxiv. 27. xxv. 1. 62.

From this period the chronology of the Acts of the Apostles is clear. St. Paul is sent prisoner to Rome in the autumn of the same year in which Festus arrived in Judæa: he suffers shipwreck, passes the winter in Malta, and arrives in Rome in the following year, that is, in 63. Ch. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii.

The Acts of the Apostles close with the end of the second year of St. Paul's imprisonment in Rome: consequently, in the year 65. Ch. xxviii. 30.

To the events which happened between the epochs 33 and 34, and between 44 and 60, it is difficult to assign any determinate year: and all that we can positively say of these events, is that they happened in those intervals. It is true that chronologers have made the attempt: but none of them has met with success, not even the truly eminent Usher. Unfortunately, the two most important years, that of St. Paul's conversion, and that of the first council in Jerusalem, are the most difficult to be determined: for neither St. Paul's conversion, nor the council in Jerusalem, is combined with any political fact, by means of which the date might be discovered. Usher places St. Paul's conversion in the year 35, others in 38: but we cannot positively assert either the one or the other.

But though we cannot arrive at absolute certainty we can form in some cases a probable conjecture. For instance, St. Stephen hardly suffered martyrdom before Pilate was recalled from the government of Judea, for

under Pilate the Jews had not the power of inflicting capital punishments. Now, according to Usher, the year, in which Pilate was recalled, was the 36th of the Christian era. St. Stephen's martyrdom therefore probably happened after 36. If this be true, St. Paul's conversion must have happened likewise after 36, and therefore 35 is too early a date. But how long after 36, whether in 38, as some say, I cannot determine. Neither date agrees with the Epistle to the Galatians*.

In what manner the chapters iii. iv. v. vi. are to be arranged between 33 and 36, I cannot determine: for what chronologers have said is mere conjecture, and not calculation. The same uncertainty prevails in respect to ch. viii. and x.: for we can affirm nothing more, than that the one must be placed before, the other after 36. We are likewise in the dark with respect to ch. xiii. xiv. and several other chapters. Of ch. xvi. we may assert, that it belongs to a period at least six years prior to the fourth epoch or the year 60.: for a year and an half at Corinth, three years at Ephesus, and the time spent on several journies, can hardly be pressed into a smaller compass, than that of six years. To ch. xvi. therefore the latest date, which can be assigned, is 54: and it is not impossible that a still earlier date should be assigned to it.

Wherever I shall have occasion to speak, in the following chapters of this Introduction, of the dates to be annexed to St. Paul's Epistles, I must beg to be understood as delivering not my own opinion, except where I explain myself more fully, but the opinion of others. The most proper dates for St. Paul's Epistles are references to the respective parts of the Acts of the Apostles.

* See Ch. XI, sect. 1.

CHAPTER IX.

THE STUDY OF JOSEPHUS RECOMMENDED AS THE BEST MEANS OF UNDERSTANDING THE HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BEFORE I conclude my account of the historical books of the New Testament, I must particularly recommend a diligent study of the works of Josephus, from the beginning of Herod's reign to the end of the Jewish Antiquities. Otius and Krebs, men of real learning, have set a very laudable example, in selecting passages from Josephus, with a view of illustrating the New Testament: yet, what is very extraordinary, this author is in general neglected, though he really furnishes the very best commentary on the Gospels and the Acts. I will select only one example in proof of this assertion; but this example is of great importance, because not only a perplexed passage in the New Testament will be explained, but a difficulty relative to a point of morality will be removed.

In the third chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, where the baptism of John is described, the Evangelist says, ver. 14. *Επηρωτων δε αυτον οι στρατευομενοι, λεγοντες και ημεις τι ποιησομεν;* to which question John the Baptist answered, *Μηδεν διακρινετε, μηδε σφοδραντησθε: καὶ ἀρκεσθε τοις ὀφειλοις ὑμῶν.* In this passage, the word *στρατευομενοι* is usually rendered 'soldiers,' as if there were no difference between the participle *στρατευομενοι* and the noun *στρατιωται*. Grotius supposes that St. Luke meant soldiers, who spent the greatest part of their lives in garrison, and did not take the field, except on the greatest emergencies. But *στρατευομενοι* evidently denotes 'soldiers actually or service,' or 'soldiers actually engaged in war.' Now it appears from the relation of Josephus (Antiq. xviii. 5.) that Herod the tetrarch of Galilee was engaged in a war with his father-in-law Aretas, a petty king in Arabia Petraea, at the very time, in which

John was preaching in the wilderness. Machærus, a fortress situated on a hill, not far from the eastern shore of the Dead sea, on the confines of the two countries, was the place, in which John was imprisoned, and afterwards beheaded. The army of Herod, then on its march from Galilee, passed through the country, in which John baptized: and hence we discover that these *σπαρτομυνοί* were soldiers of Herod the tetrarch, who were marching to battle against Aretas. Further it is highly probable, that they were not native Jews, but foreigners taken into Herod's pay. As early as the time of John Hyrcanus, the Jews had foreigners in their service^v, who gradually increased to such a degree as to supersede the natives of the country. At least, if we may judge from the account given by Josephus, of the funeral procession of Herod the Great, the army of this Jewish sovereign consisted wholly of foreigners. For at the funeral of Herod the Great, according to Josephus^z, the whole army was drawn up in military parade, and consisted, 1st of the life-guard^y, 2^{dly} of Thracians, 3^{dly} of Germans, 4^{thly} of Galatians. If we may argue from Herod the Great to his son Herod Antipas, the army of the latter consisted likewise of foreigners.

So far in regard to the question, who these *σπαρτομυνοί* were. With respect to John's answer it must be observed, that though Herod Antipas was engaged in an unjust war, the Baptist who had sufficient courage to reprove Herod himself, did not say to the soldiers that it was *their* duty to examine the justice of a war, before they marched to battle, but cautioned them only in general terms against rapine and violence, adding that they should be content with their wages.

^v Joseph Antiq. Lib. XIII. cap. 8. sect. 4. cap. 13. sect. 5. cap. 16. sect. 2.

^z Antiq. XVII. 8. 3.

^y The life-guard certainly consisted of foreigners: for Herod the Great would not have intrusted the protection of his person to troops of Jewish origin.

Many other examples might be produced, of a similar description with the preceding, and for that reason every man who would understand the Gospels and the Acts, should study the works of Josephus, especially those books, which I have mentioned above. I am persuaded, that if they were made the subject of public lectures in our universities, the theological student would reap much greater benefit, than from all the lectures on polemical divinity, of which the greatest part of the clergy can make little or no use. It were likewise to be wished, that some one, who has abilities for the undertaking, would make a good and fluent translation of them, for the benefit of those, who are unable to read the original, and accompany the translation with such notes, as are necessary to make it intelligible to the unlearned.

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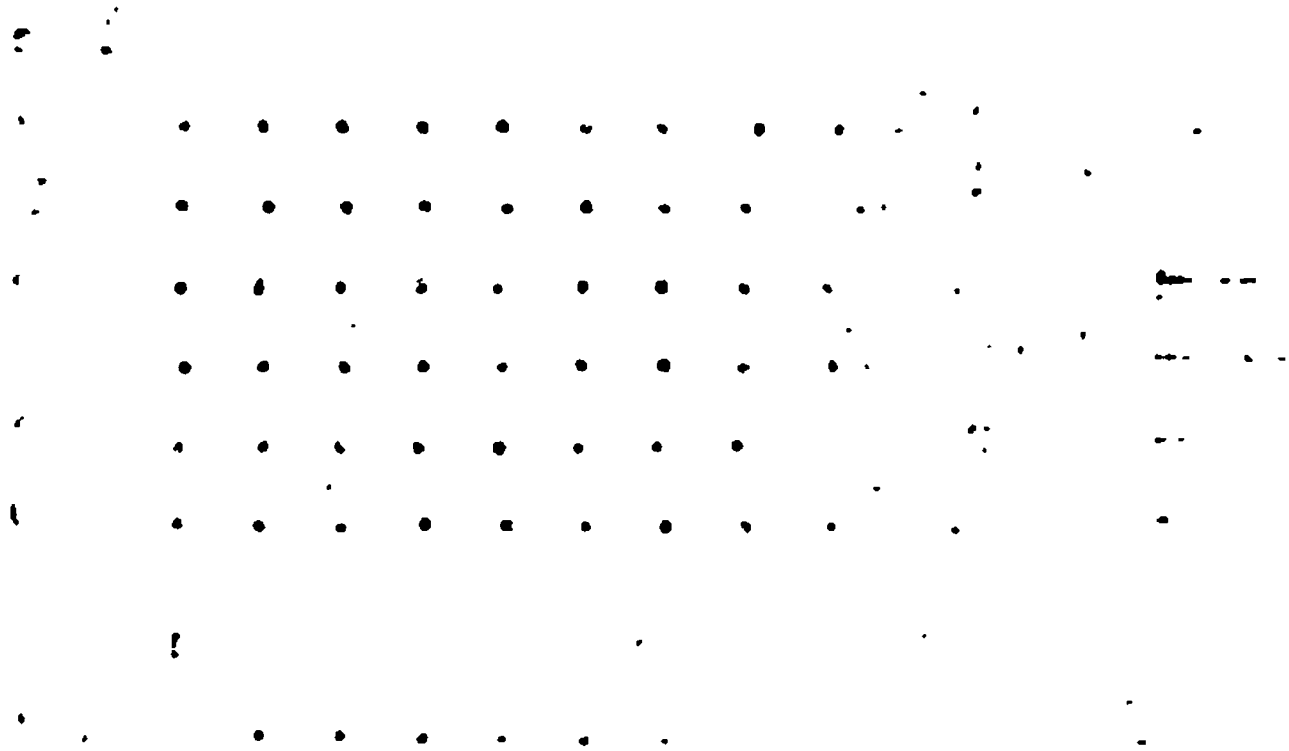
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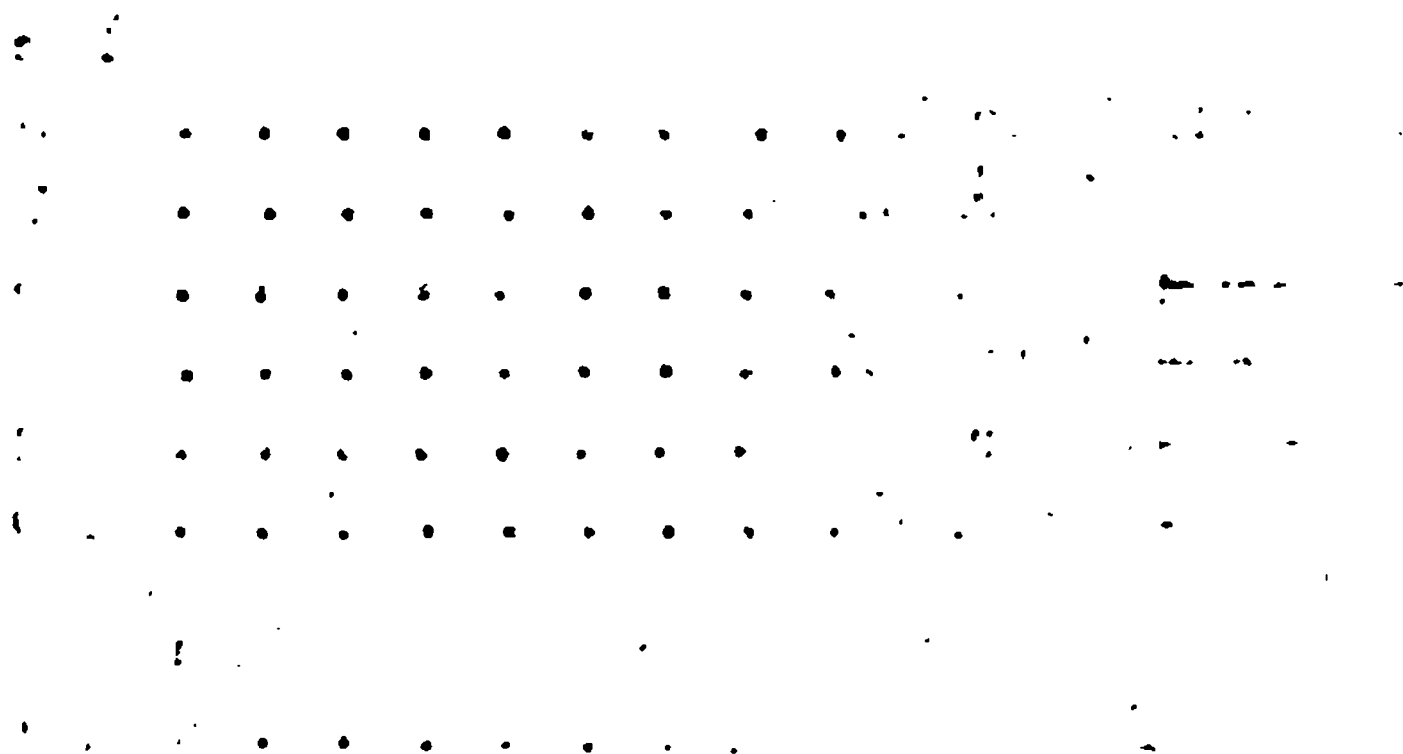
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TRANSLATOR'S
NOTES

TO

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N O T E S

TO

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CHAPTER I.

**OF THE NAME, AND NUMBER OF THE CANONICAL
GOSPELS.**

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1. FEW Greek manuscripts contain the whole of the New Testament : for to one, which contains the whole, among those which are now extant, there are at least thirty, which contain only parts of it, namely, either the four Gospels alone, or the four Gospels with the Acts of the Apostles, or the Acts of the Apostles alone, or St. Paul's Epistles alone, or the Catholic Epistles alone, or the Catholic Epistles with the Acts of the Apostles, &c. But those, which do contain the whole of the New Testament, as the Codex Alexandrinus, the Codex Vaticanus, and the Codex Ephrem (the only three of the MSS. written in uncial letters, and these three contain likewise the Septuagint) have the four Gospels at the beginning, and therefore our author is so far right in saying that the four Gospels, according to the arrangement in the manuscripts, make the first book of the New Testament. However as the four Gospels are in these manuscripts as much distinguished from each other, as they are from the Acts and the Epistles, we may rather consider them as one book in consequence of the circumstance, that so many

Greek manuscripts contain the four Gospels alone. With respect to the arrangement of the Gospels in reference to each other, the Greek manuscripts in general have them in the order, in which they are placed in our canon, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. But the Latin church arranged them thus, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark: and this arrangement is observed, not only in the old Latin manuscripts, but likewise in the Codex Bezae.

2. This expression *κατα το εὐαγγέλιον μου* in Rom. ii. 16. was understood by several of the ancient Fathers as having reference to St. Luke's Gospel, which they imagined was dictated by St. Paul, and was therefore called by the Apostle 'my Gospel.' Thus Origen, as quoted by Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. 25.) calls St. Luke's Gospel *το υπο Παυλου επαινουμενον εὐαγγέλιον*. But Eusebius, though he relates the opinion of others, does not vouch for the truth of it: for he says only (Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. 4.) *φασι δε, ως αρα ις κατα αυτου εὐαγγελις μνημονευειν ο Παυλος εωθεν, οπηνικα ως περι ιδις τινος εὐαγγελις γραφων ελεγε κατα το εὐαγγέλιον μου*. Jerom likewise in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, under the article 'Luke' (Tom. IV. P. ii. p. 103. ed. Benedict.) says only "*Quidam suspicantur, quotiescunque in epistolis suis dicit Paulus, 'juxta Evangelium meum,' de Lucæ significare volumine.*" And that it was a mere conjecture, and that too a very ungrounded one, is certain: for in Rom. xiv. 25, where St. Paul has again used the expression *κατα το εὐαγγέλιον μου*, he has himself explained it by adding *και το κηρυγμα Ιησου Χριστου*. Nor has St. Paul any where used the word *εὐαγγέλιον* in the sense of 'a written narrative of Christ's life,' a sense, which it probably did not acquire before the second century. Besides, there are the strongest reasons for believing, that St. Luke's Gospel was not written till some years after the Epistle to the Romans, as will be shown hereafter.

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3. Our author in his German translation of the New Testament interprets Mark i. 1—4. in the following manner. ‘The beginning of the glad tidings of Jesus Christ the Son of God, was made by John, who baptized in the wilderness, and preached the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins; as it is written, &c.’ And the interpretation is just: for if ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου had been used by St. Mark, to signify, that he there began his narrative of Christ’s life, and to denote nothing more than, Incipit Evangelium Jesu Christi, in the same manner as we find in the Latin manuscripts at the head of each Gospel, Incipit Evangelium secundum Matthæum, Incipit Evangelium secundum Marcum, &c. St. Mark’s Gospel would in fact begin with *ὡς γεγραπται*, which would be a very unsuitable commencement of any narrative.

4. On the superscriptions, *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαίον*, *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον*, &c. which were not prefixed by the Evangelists themselves, see Simon Hist. Crit. du N. T. ch. ii.

5. In the Greek Testament, as *εὐαγγέλιον* signifies ‘the glad tidings of the advent of the Messiah,’ so *εὐαγγελιστὴς* denotes ‘a person who delivers those glad tidings,’ or ‘a propagator of the Christian religion.’ On this, as well as every other point of sacred Greek philology, the reader will do well to consult Schleusneri Lexicon Græco-Latinum in Novum Testamentum, Lipsiæ, 1792, 2 Tom. 8vo. This work contains a treasure of knowledge, with which no student in theology can dispense: it unites the most valuable observations, which Lightfoot, Schoettgen, and Meuschen have made from the works of Hebrew and Rabbinical writers, those which Carpzov and Krebs have made from Philo and Josephus, those which Raphel, Bos, Alberti, Elsner, Kypke, Palaiet, and Münthe have made from the Greek classics, together with an immense number, which the author’s own profound erudition supplied. The different senses of the words are investigated with the

utmost philological precision: they are illustrated by the principal passages of the Greek Testament; and the whole is arranged in the most perspicuous manner. I mention particularly this work at present, as no notice either was or could be taken of it in the notes to the first volume of this Introduction.

5. This analogy was observed by Irenæus (adv. Hæres. Lib. III. cap. 11. sect. 8.) Many other equally fanciful analogies were observed by the Fathers, as that of the four cardinal virtues, the four elements, &c. which the reader will find in Suiceri Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus, Tom. I. p. 1222, 1223. But the most celebrated analogy is that of the four animals described in Ezekiel i. 5—10. which was observed by Jerom (Tom. IV. p. 3. ed. Benedict.), and gave rise to the well known paintings of the four Evangelists.

6. Among the numerous Greek Gospels, which circulated in the second century, four only have descended entire to the present age, because four only were admitted into the Greek canon: and those four only were admitted into the Greek canon, because they were the only four Greek Gospels, which were universally acknowledged to have been written by the persons whose names they bore; *α μονα αναντιροητα εστιν εν τη υπο των σρανον εκκλησιας τς Θεις*, as Origen says in a passage quoted by Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. 25. For the Gospels ascribed to Peter, Thomas, Matthias, and others, of which Eusebius says (Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. 25.), *εδεν εδαμως εν συγγραμμασι των κατα διαδοχας εκκλησιαστικων τις ανηρ εις μνημην αγαγειν ηξιωσι*, were without doubt falsely ascribed to them. To ask further, why the number of authentic Greek Gospels was precisely four, and not either three or five, is as absurd, as it would be to ask, why Cicero wrote precisely nine Epistles to Lentulus, and not either eight or ten.

Beside the Gospels, which bore the names of their real or pretended authors, there were others, which bore the names of the persons who used them, as the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and the Gospel ac-

according to the Egyptians. But, as the former was written in Hebrew, it could not be admitted into the Greek canon: and that the latter was not, will be thought extraordinary by no one, who has seen the fragments, which are now extant of it.

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7. The fragments of the apocryphal Gospels have been collected by Grabe in his *Spicilegium Patrum ut et Hæreticorum sæculi post Christum natum I. II. et III.* Oxoniæ, 1718, 1719, 2 Tom. 8vo.: by Fabricius, in his *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, Hamburgi, 1719, 1743, ed. 2^a. 2 Tom. 8vo.: and still more completely by Jones, in his new and full method of setting the canonical authority of the New Testament, London, 1726, 1727, 3 Vol. 8vo.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS.

SECTION I.

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1. Between 1773 and 1781, Lessing published at Brunswick a periodical work, entitled *Beyträge zur Geschichte und Literatur, aus den Schätzen der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, that is Contributions to history and literature, from the treasures of the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel. In this work, especially in the fourth volume, were inserted the celebrated fragments, of which our author here speaks.

2. The German title of this answer of Michaelis is, *Erklärung der Begräbniss und Auferstehungs Geschichte Christi nach den vier Evangelisten*. Of English works on this subject, beside the well known writings of Sherlock, West, and Ditton, may be recommended an Essay on the resurrection of Christ inserted in ch. xii. of Benson's *Life of Christ*, London, 1764, 4to. and the following short but excellent treatise, *A Review of the chief difficulties in the Gospel History relating to our Lord's resurrection*, by W. Newcome, D.D. bishop of Waterford (afterwards archbishop of Armagh), Dublin, 1791, 4to.

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3. When we have certain knowledge of the existence of a fact, as that of an engagement between two armies, no contradictions in the accounts of that fact can disprove the existence of the fact itself. But when the question is in agitation, whether an alleged fact be true, or not, our *conviction* of the truth of it will certainly be affected by the concurrence or contradiction of the testimonies in its favour. And if the contradictions are such as to be wholly incapable of a reconciliation, the proof of the fact will certainly not be so satisfactory, as it would, if the witnesses agreed. But since not every deviation is a contradiction, and the same fact, as viewed by different persons in different lights, not only may, but must be reported by them in different ways, we must examine, whether the deviations are such, as may be explained on this principle. If they are, and the witnesses are in other respects credible, we can have no reason for refusing our assent. Further, we must distinguish variations in respect to concomitant circumstances from variations in respect to the main fact: for the former are of much less importance than the latter.

SECTION II.

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1. That the facts, which are related in common by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, are not arranged by *all three* Evangelists in chronological order, is certain: for the order of those facts is not the same in all three Gospels. But we must not therefore conclude that *not one of them* wrote in chronological order: for one of them may have observed chronological order, while the other two did not, or two of them may have observed chronological order, while the third did not. Now St. Mark and St. Luke have generally placed the facts, which they have in common, in the same order, (the reason of which will be explained hereafter): but St. Matthew, in the former half of his Gospel, has placed a great number of the facts, which he has in common with St. Mark and St. Luke, in a very different order. It is therefore reasonable to suppose, that all such facts happened in the order, in which St. Matthew has placed them, and not in the order in which they are placed by St. Mark and St. Luke: for St. Matthew, as being an Apostle and eye-witness to the facts, which he has recorded, must in general have known the time, in which each of them happened, but which St. Mark and St. Luke, who were not eye-witnesses, could not always know. Not to mention Bengel, Bertling, and other harmonists, who make the facts, which are common to these three Evangelists, subordinate to St. Matthew's arrangement, I will quote only the opinion of Eichhorn, who says in his *Universal Library of Biblical Literature*, Vol. V. p. 783. that 'the facts recorded in the former part of St. Matthew's Gospel, were re-arranged by St. Matthew, according to the exact order of time, as it would be easy to shew by an analysis of the several sections of which that part is composed.' Sir Isaac Newton was

of the same opinion : for he says in his *Observations on Daniel*, p. 152. of the edition printed in London in 1732, 4to. ' that St. Matthew was an eye-witness of what he relates, and so tells all things in due order of time, which St. Mark and St. Luke do not.' And bishop Pearce has adopted the same opinion. See Vol. I. p. 207. of his ' *Commentary, with Notes on the four Evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles*,' London, 1777, 2 Vols. 4to. However, as there is hardly any rule without an exception, I would not assert that St. Matthew has in no instance whatsoever deviated from chronological order.

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2. The fact, that all our Evangelists have not always written in chronological order, is very properly asserted by our author, in opposition to several harmonists, who, in order to make good their position, have been frequently reduced to the necessity of representing the same event, as having happened more than once, merely in consequence of its having different positions in different Gospels. But our author certainly goes too far, when, with the view of apologizing for a violation of chronological order, he describes this violation as an excellence in an historian. He says, that an annalist, who barely records a string of events, in the order in which they happened, is the most unpleasant kind of historian. This is true, but the annalist fails to give delight, not because his facts are arranged in chronological order, but because he simply reports, without reasoning on what he relates, and delivers his information in a style not suited to captivate the imagination. Chronological order is so far from being the reason, why annalists are less agreeable than other historians, that this very order is the principal qualification, which makes the annalist of any value : for if this order be destroyed, a regular series of historical events will be converted into a rude mass of unconnected anecdotes. Our author further observes, that an historian, who

would both instruct and delight, must compare events with their consequences, and endeavour to combine effects with their causes. But cause and effect follow in the succession of time, and therefore if we arrange a set of facts in a contrary order, the relation between cause and effect will not be preserved, but destroyed. It will be objected perhaps, that an effect may take place long after its cause, that in the mean time many other events, which it is necessary to record, may have happened, and therefore, unless the account of these intermediate events be postponed, the cause and the effect in question will be so far separated from each other, that the reader will not perceive the connexion. But if a cause produces an effect at a distant period, that cause may in the mean time continue to operate, and of course the events, which take place in the series between the first cause and the last effect may in some measure be influenced by the one, and have influence on the other. Thus, if Julius Cæsar had not crossed the Rubicon with his army, it is probable that he would not have been assassinated in the capitol: and therefore the former event may be considered as the original cause of the latter. Yet no good historian would relate the conspiracy of Brutus and Cassius immediately after Cæsar's passage over the Rubicon, and then proceed to relate what happened in Macedonia and Egypt: for all these intermediate events were likewise effects of that cause, and were likewise causes which produced each its subsequent effect in one continued series, till the grand final effect, the conspiracy of Brutus and Cassius, was produced. Though we admit therefore the propriety of joining effects with their causes, yet this must be understood only of immediate effects, since a mediate effect must be separated from the cause by the interposition of all those intermediate events, which as well as the first cause operated in its production. But a series of facts so disposed, that each cause shall be followed by its immediate consequence, will hardly admit of any other arrange-

ment, than the order of time. On the other hand, if a cause, which produces an effect at a distant period, be supposed to have lain in the mean time totally dormant, and to have produced no effect whatsoever, till the effect in question was produced, still it would be inconsistent with the strict rules of historical composition to relate that effect before a number of other events, which preceded it. For in every history the arrangement of the facts in the narrative itself is the criterion, by which the reader judges of their real succession, and therefore whenever the order of time is neglected, he will be exposed to the danger of deducing a false inference. It is true that the danger, to which the reader is exposed will be obviated, if the historian, whenever he departs from the order of time, has the precaution to note the dates of the events: but then if the reader knows, that the events did not happen in the order, in which he reads them, he is reduced to the necessity of going backwards and forwards in his own mind, and is deprived of the pleasure, which results from the contemplation of a regular succession. The entertainment of the reader therefore as well as the perspicuity of the narrative, will be promoted by an arrangement of the facts according to the order, in which they happened.

Lastly, our author observes, that it is not unusual, especially in biography, to disregard the order of time, and Dr. Priestley, in his *Observations on the Harmony of the Evangelists*, sect. xi. p. 71. says the same. Now, if a person, whose life a biographer has to record, was distinguished in various ways; if, for instance, he was a great statesman, and at the same time an eminent scholar, it would be allowable to separate his literary from his political career, though the one was interwoven with the other, and to divide his history into two classes or sections, that the reader's attention might be wholly confined in the one to state affairs, in the other to subjects of literature. So far then the order of time would be violated, as the events related at the beginning

of the second division are antecedent to the events, which are related at the end of the first division. But on the other hand, not to mention that the reader sustains no inconvenience in this case, because he knows that the second division is not a continuation of the first, a biography formed on this plan contains two distinct histories, in which the order of time is not observed throughout for that very reason that they are distinct. The reader knows it, and readily gives up the advantage of having the whole according to the order of time, because he is recompensed by the advantage of having the political and literary facts in their respective classes, by which means the relation between cause and effect may be often, though not always, more distinctly observed, than if every single fact, both literary and political, were arranged throughout in the order in which it happened. Other examples might likewise be given, in which a separation of different kinds of facts into classes or chapters would be perfectly allowable. But shall we conclude therefore that the order of time may be neglected in the respective classes? Certainly not. For the very same motive, namely the principle of cause and effect, which makes it allowable to separate facts of different kinds, and therefore to violate the order of time upon the whole, renders it absolutely necessary to follow the order of time in the respective parts. And even if cause and effect be set aside, no good historian, for the reason already assigned, will designedly arrange a single series of facts in an order different from that, in which they succeeded each other. With respect to what our author calls *Singularia*, it may be granted, if a writer has no other object in view, than to present the world with a collection of unconnected anecdotes (such as that which has been published in several volumes of Frederic II. king of Prussia) that he is at liberty to arrange them without any regard to the time, in which they happened. But an author, or rather a publisher of this kind, can lay

no claim to the character of an historian ; the development of causes and effects makes no part of his plan, which is merely to give the reader a momentary pleasure by the perusal of each separate article. The reader expects no order, and therefore cannot be led into error, it being a matter of indifference whether he begins with the first or with the last volume. But whoever assumes the character of a biographer, and undertakes to give a connected detail of transactions, is bound to follow his hero regularly in his progress through life : and if he divides the several kinds of facts, which he has to record, into separate classes, it is his duty in each class to have regard to chronological order.

To apply the preceding observations to the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke. If we compare these three Gospels *, we shall find that the matter, which is common to all three, contains a series of events, which begins with the baptism of Christ and ends with his death and resurrection †. This series of events relates to one and the same person : it is also a single series, that is, the history is not divided as a biographer might divide the literary and political life of a statesman, and commences the one after he had finished the other : for all the events from the baptism to the death of Christ are delivered by St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke in one continued narrative ‡.

* The Gospel of St. John is out of the question, because it has so little matter in common with the other three.

† This series of events will be represented hereafter.

‡ Some commentators, in order to reconcile St. Luke's arrangement with that of St. Matthew, divide St. Luke's Gospel into different classes, containing, 1st the history of Christ's birth, 2dly the history of his youth, 3dly the account of his baptism, 4thly of his actions in Galilee, and 5thly of his last journey to Jerusalem. But these classes follow each other in chronological order ; they are nothing more than partitions of one uniform narrative, such as may be made in every history : and are totally different from the classes, into which a biography, formed upon the plan above described, might be divided.

Further, dates are rarely annexed to the events between the baptism and the death of Christ, and therefore if we read any one Gospel by itself, the arrangement of the events in that Gospel is almost the only criterion, by which we can judge of the succession, in which the events really happened. Hence it has been commonly supposed that every thing which St. Luke has related after ch. xi. 51. happened after Christ's last departure from Galilee; but that several things, which St. Luke has recorded after ch. xi. 51. took place long before Christ's last departure from Galilee, is evident from St. Matthew's Gospel, as will be shewn hereafter. If therefore we were to estimate our Evangelists as human historians, and measure their Gospels by the rules of historical composition, might we not affirm, that their Gospels would have attained a still greater excellence, if the facts had been arranged in chronological order? There can be no more reason for denying that they would, merely because chronological order has not been observed by all the Evangelists, than there is for denying what was likewise very strenuously asserted in the former part of this century, that the Evangelists wrote as pure and classic Greek, as Xenophon or Plato. Besides, if chronological order does not contribute to the perspicuity of an history, what is the reason that so many harmonists have taken such immense pains to restore it, by transposing and re-arranging the several parts of the Gospels? Lastly, the advantages to be derived from a defence of unchronological order are not so great, as our author expects: for, when the question relates to the arrangement of the *same set* of facts, there can be only one order, whatever that order may be, whether chronological or unchronological, which can be the best: and therefore, when two or more writers have differently arranged the same set of facts, the imagined excellence cannot have been attained by all. Consequently, since the *same set* of facts are arranged by St. Mark and St. Luke in one order, but by St. Matthew in another, an apology for their arrangement, on

the principle that a better order may be devised, than that of time, would not answer our purpose, even if the principle itself were true.

Instead therefore of supposing that our Evangelists *designedly* violated the order of time, and that with a knowledge of the real succession of their facts they purposely inverted them in their narrative, a supposition, which is surely an affront to their judgement and good sense, may we not rather suppose, since inspiration does not produce omniscience, that, when the same facts are referred by one Evangelist to one period, by another Evangelist to another period of Christ's life, they had a knowledge indeed of the facts themselves, but that not both of them had a knowledge of the particular period in which they happened? St. Mark and St. Luke were not eye-witnesses to the transactions, which they have recorded; and St. Luke himself acknowledges in his preface, that he had obtained his information by diligent inquiry. It is therefore highly probable, that the real succession of the events, which they have related, was not always known to them. St. Matthew on the contrary, who was one of the twelve Apostles, must in general have known the real succession of the facts, which he has delivered: and as he must likewise have known, that in a narrative without dates the arrangement of the facts was the only criterion, by which his reader could judge of their succession, we must conclude that St. Matthew's order is in general, I will not say without exception, chronological. According to this representation, we may satisfactorily explain all the differences in point of time, which are observable in the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke: the explanation neither offers an affront to the judgement of the Evangelists, nor does injury to the Christian religion: and it even anticipates every objection on the score of contradictions in time; because, when only one among three writers, who have recorded the same facts, is supposed to lay claim to a precise knowledge of the times, in which the facts hap-

posed, the assertion, that he can be contradicted in point of time by the other two, becomes itself a contradiction.

3. The meaning of *καθ' ἑξῆς*, Luke i. 3. will be explained in the Dissertation on the Origin of our three first Gospels.

4. But surely not at a venture, or without some motive for arranging his facts in the order, which he has chosen.

5. The meaning of *αὐταξασθαι διηγησιν* will be considered hereafter in the Dissertation just mentioned. All that can be observed at present is, that St. Luke is so far from applying the expression *αὐταξασθαι διηγησιν* to himself, that he opposes it to *καθ' ἑξῆς γράψαι*, by which he denotes the plan, on which he himself proceeded. Whatever therefore was the plan adopted by the persons of whom St. Luke speaks in his Preface, we cannot argue from their plan to that of St. Luke, but must rather deduce a contrary inference.

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6. In Luke iv. 14. as also in Matth. iv. 12. and Mark i. 14. is described in general terms Christ's arrival in Galilee after his baptism by John. In ch. iv. 15. St. Luke says that 'he taught in their synagogues being glorified of all,' without mentioning the name of any city in particular. In ver. 16—30. (a portion peculiar to St. Luke), is described Christ's arrival at Nazareth, his transactions there, and his departure. In ver. 31. is described Christ's arrival at Capernaum, and in the following part of ch. iv. (not in ch. v. as our author says) are related certain miracles, which Christ performed at Capernaum. St. Matthew, after having related in ch. iv. 12. Christ's return to Galilee, describes neither what was done by Christ before he came to Nazareth, nor what he did in Nazareth, but says in ver. 13. that he left Nazareth to go to Capernaum. St. Mark also relates in ch. i. 21. Christ's arrival in Capernaum, and in ver. 22—39. he describes the

miracles, which St. Luke has described in ch. iv. 32—44. and some of these miracles are described by St. Matthew, in ch. viii. Under these circumstances we must conclude that the miracles, to which Christ alludes in the synagogue at Nazareth (Luke iv. 23.) were not *those* miracles, which St. Luke has described in the latter part of ch. iv. : for not only St. Luke, but likewise St. Matthew and St. Mark have assigned to them a period, which must be subsequent to that of Christ's arrival at Nazareth, mentioned in Luke iv. 16. Besides, no historian, who has a regard to consistency, as St. Luke certainly had, would in a former part of his history, introduce an allusion to a fact as already happened, and yet record that fact in a later part of his history. The miracles therefore performed at Capernaum, to which allusion is made in Luke iv. 23. must have been performed on Christ's journey through Galilee before he came to Nazareth. That St. Luke has not mentioned Capernaum *by name* in ver. 14, 15. is true : but since he has given in that passage such a general description, that Capernaum may be included in it, and has expressly said in ver. 14, 15. that Christ had 'the power of the spirit,' and that, 'his fame went throughout the region round about,' he cannot be charged with inconsistency. Of allusions in speeches to facts not recorded in the narration itself examples may be produced even from the classic authors. Thus Livy introduces in B. XXI. ch. 18. a speech as delivered to the Roman ambassadors in the Carthaginian senate, in which the orator alludes to the fact, that the treaty made by Asdrubal relative to the city of Saguntum was not ratified by the Carthaginian government. But in ch. 2. where Livy gives an account of the treaty, this fact is left wholly unnoticed. The example therefore, which our author has selected, as an instance of St. Luke's inversion of chronological order, is not happily chosen : and since St. Luke's account of Christ's arrival at Nazareth in ch. iv. 16. and his departure from that place to go to Capernaum, ver. 30,

31. exactly accords with St. Matthew's account in ch. iv. 13. we must conclude that St. Luke as well as St. Matthew, has here abided by the order of time.

7. Not all the harmonists have adopted this strange principle. Archbishop Newcome, for instance, in his *Harmony of the Gospels* (Dublin, 1778, fol.) has totally discarded it.

8. In his *Remarks on the Harmony of the Evangelists*, written in German, and published at Lemgo, in 1737, 4to.

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9. Printed at Gottingen in 1762.

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10. The case in question is simply this. In Matth. viii. 19—22. and Luke ix. 57—60. is related a conversation of Christ with two persons, who wished to become his disciples. To the one Christ says, 'Foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head:' to the other, who requested leave to bury his father, Christ answers, 'Follow me, and let the dead bury their dead.' Both St. Matthew and St. Luke relate the second answer as given immediately after the first, and they agree likewise word for word in both answers. But the whole conversation, according to its position in St. Matthew's Gospel, took place near the lake of Gennesaret, whereas according to its position in St. Luke's Gospel, it took place on Christ's last journey from Galilee to Jerusalem. The obvious conclusion therefore is, that St. Matthew who was present at the conversation, has assigned to it a place in his Gospel, to which it properly belongs, but that St. Luke, who was not an Apostle, did not know the exact time when it was held, and therefore assigned to it a place in his Gospel, to which, if regard be had to chronological order, it did not belong. To suppose that the former answer was delivered on two

different occasions, that the one was noted by St. Matthew, the other by St. Luke, and that the second answer (which, as our author himself acknowledges, was delivered only on one occasion, and moreover, in his opinion, on an occasion different from either of the other two) was annexed in each place by the Evangelists themselves to the former answer, is surely to transgress the bounds of probability. Unless the two answers had been delivered at the same time, the two Evangelists would hardly have agreed by mere accident in placing them together: and if the latter part of the conversation took place only once, we must conclude the same of the former.

SECTION III.

1. Our author here delivers very excellent rules, though he himself has not always adhered to them in the examination of particular cases.

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2. St. Matthew (ch. xxi. 23), and St. Mark (ch. xi. 27.) determine the place, as St. Luke has also done: but neither of them has even an allusion to the time.

3. In Matth. xxi. 23—27. Mark xi. 27—33. Luke xx. 1—8. the same thing is related by all three Evangelists, and nearly in the same words. There is therefore no room for contradiction. Perhaps our author means Matth. xxi. 33. compared with Mark xii. 1.

PAGE 17.

4. Lightfoot, Whiston, Whitby, and Macknight, argue in favour of two different unctions: but archbishop Newcome, who takes the same side of the question with our author, has very well answered their ar-

gments in his *Notes on the Harmony of the Gospels*, p. 39, 40.

PAGE 22.

5. The present question lies in a very short compass. Both St. Matthew in ch. xxvi. 2. and St. Mark in ch. xiv. 1. have brought their narrative as far as the third day before the passover: for the latter says, 'After two days was the feast of the passover, and of unleavened bread, and the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might take him by craft, and put him to death:' according to the former Christ says, 'Ye know that after two days is the feast of the passover, and the Son of man is betrayed to be crucified;' on which St. Matthew adds, ver. 3—5. 'then assembled together the chief priests, &c.' Both St. Matthew and St. Mark therefore agree (a circumstance not noted by our author) in determining as precisely as possible, that the assembly of the chief priests and elders was held on the third day before the passover. St. Matthew then proceeds immediately in ver. 6—13. and St. Mark in ver. 3—9. to relate the unction of Christ at Bethany, a village near Jerusalem: on which St. Matthew adds, ver. 14, 15. 'then one of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief priests, and said, 'What will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you?' and St. Mark adds, ver. 10. 'and Judas Iscariot one of the twelve, went unto the chief priests, to betray him unto them.' It is evident therefore that Judas Iscariot went from Bethany into Jerusalem, not only on the very day, that the assembly of the chief priests and elders was held at the house of Caiaphas (Matt. xxvi. 3.) but while they were still sitting; for they covenanted together, and agreed to give thirty pieces of silver, as the price of the treachery. Consequently, the unction at Bethany from which Judas was just come, must, according to the representation both of St. Matthew and of St. Mark, have taken place likewise on the third day before the passover. Further, not only on the third

day before the passover. is determined by St. Matthew in ch. xxvi. 2. and by St. Mark in ch. xiv. 1. but likewise 'the first day of unleavened bread' is afterwards determined by St. Matthew in ver. 17. and by St. Mark in ver. 12. Here then we have two precise points of time fixed by both Evangelists. To suppose therefore that they could agree in fixing these two precise points of time, and yet place in the short interval between these two points of time a transaction, which they knew belonged to a different period, is to suppose, that they acted on principles, which the very worst historian would not adopt. Archbishop Newcome in his Notes to his Harmony, p. 40. says, 'It is natural to conclude from the accounts of St. Matthew and St. Mark that it happened two days before the passover.' Accordingly he refers in his Harmony, p. 214. (as Jebb likewise and some other harmonists have done) Christ's unction at Bethany to Wednesday in Passion-week: and he endeavours to reconcile the Evangelists by making in St. John's text a transposition similar to that, which our author proposes in respect to St. Matthew's. Namely he separates John xii. 1. where the expression *πρὸ ἐξ ἡμερῶν* occurs, from ver. 2—8. in which the unction at Bethany is related: he joins ver. 9. to ver. 1. and places them, p. 184. as belonging to the Saturday before the passover, and transfers the intermediate verses 2—8. to p. 214. as belonging to the Wednesday before the passover. But if we read in connexion John xii. 1, 2. *Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς πρὸ ἐξ ἡμερῶν τῆς Πάσχα ἦλθεν εἰς Βηθανίαν, ὅτε ἦν Λαζάρου ὁ τεθνεὺς, ὃν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν. Ἐποίησαν οὖν αὐτῷ δεῖπνον ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἡ Μαρία δέσπορει, κ. τ. λ.* we must perceive that it was St. John's intention to signify, that the supper at Bethany, of which he speaks in ver. 2. was given on *that very visit* at Bethany, of which he speaks in ver. 1. and not on another visit four days afterwards. The mode of reconciliation therefore adopted by those who refer the unction to Wednesday is not more satisfactory, than that which is given by our author, who refers it to the

preceding Saturday, as Augustine has done in his treatise *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, Lib. II. cap. lxxviii. Tom. III. P. ii. p. 55. ed. Benedict. Antwerp. What the true solution of this difficulty is, I am unable to determine: but for want of a better the following may at least be proposed. It is probable, if we may judge from some of the oldest Greek manuscripts, that St. John expressed the number (whether ἑξ, or any other) not by a word, but by a Greek numeral letter. Suppose then St. John wrote ΠΠΟ Γ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ, that is, *πρὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν*, his date will agree with that of St. Matthew and St. Mark, who say that the passover was 'after two days;' for if we say that an event will happen after two days, the day, on which we use the expression, is the third day before that event. But if St. John used the Greek numeral Γ, a transcriber might easily mistake this figure, especially if the cross-stroke at the bottom was longer than usual, for the figure Λ, which in the old Greek manuscripts denotes ἑξ, being nothing more than an upright and inverted Γ placed together*, in the same manner as the Romans formed their X from an upright and an inverted V. That the two figures Γ and Λ may be easily confounded we know from the example of Wetstein, who has quoted Γ from the Codex Bezae in Mark xv. 33. though the manuscript itself has very legibly, and moreover a *prima manu*, as I can testify from actual examination, the figure Λ, and in the Latin translation on the opposite page, *sexta* is written at full length. Now if in one of the earliest transcripts of St. John's Gospel Λ was falsely written for Γ, this mistake might have been propagated so widely, as to prevent any manuscript now extant from having the original reading. I am aware however that even this solution is not free from objections: for St. John describes in ch. xii. 12—15.

* This is the origin (which the native Greek grammarians did not know) of the figure ς, which is nothing more than Λ, with a turn given to the lower stroke.

Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem as taking place the day after the unction of Bethany.

6. Neither is the division of St. Matthew's text into the modern chapters the reason why we believe that St. Matthew has determined the time of Christ's unction at Bethany, nor will any new division, however artificial, prevent that belief.

PAGE 23.

7. The expression 'order of things' is not peculiar to our author, for Chemnitz in the Prolegomena to his Harmony, p. 4. (ed. Francofurti, 1640, 4to.) says of St. Matthew, 'Licet in plerisque rerum potissimum rationem habens, historiam contexerit, &c.' and Grotius in his Note to Luke iv. 21. says, 'Lucam ad rerum magis, quam ad temporum ordinem attendere:' and other commentators use the same expression, though they are not agreed in which of the Gospels this supposed order is observed. Now when we speak of the order of time, every one knows exactly what is meant: but the term 'order of things' is so vague, that it is difficult to assign to it any determinate notion. We may have a good order of things, or we may have a bad order of things: but the best order of things is in general, I will not say without exception, that, which agrees with the order of time.

8. See what was said on this subject in Note 2. to the preceding section.

PAGE 24.

9. That the rebuke, which Judas Iscariot received from Christ at the unction in Bethany determined him in his resolution to betray his master, that Christ's rebuke therefore and Judas's revenge were cause and effect, and that the account of the one is very properly joined by St. Matthew (and also by St. Mark) to the account of the other, I readily admit with our author, in opposition to Dr. Priestley, who says, in his Obser-

nations on the Harmony of the Evangelists, p. 100. that the verses Matth. xxvi. 6—13. which contain the account of the unction, 'stand very awkwardly in their present situation.' But I cannot agree with our author in the opinion, that several days elapsed between the unction at Bethany and Judas's going to the assembly of the chief Priests with an offer to betray Christ, and consequently that the account of the unction at Bethany belongs to the beginning of Matth. xxi. according to the order of time. For, whoever reads in connection Matth. xxvi. 1—11. must perceive that these three facts, 1st, the assembling the chief priests and elders at the house of Caiaphas, 2dly, the unction of Christ at Bethany, and 3dly, Judas's departure from Bethany to go to the assembly of the chief priests, are represented by both Evangelists as facts *immediately* connected with each other, and not as facts which were separated from each other by the intervention of all those transactions, which had been recorded in several preceding chapters. St. Matthew having mentioned in ver. 2, that after two days was the Passover, immediately adds in ver. 3. ΤΟΤΕ συνήχθησαν οι αρχιερεις, κ. τ. λ. and St. Mark says, ver. 1. Ην δε το πασχα και τα αζυμα μετα δυο ημερας, και εξητην οι αρχιερεις, κ. τ. λ. Both St. Matthew and St. Mark therefore represent the assembly of the chief priests as held on the third day before the passover; and though our author will not allow any determinate meaning to τοτε in St. Matthew's account, we cannot explain away what is said by St. Mark. St. Matthew then proceeds in ver. 6. Τη δε Ιησους γενομενος εν Βηθανια εν οικια Σιμωνος της λεπρας, κ. τ. λ. and St. Mark, ver. 3. Και οντος αυτης εν Βηθανια εν οικια Σιμωνος της λεπρας, κ. τ. λ. They then relate the unction, with Christ's conversation on it: which being ended, St. Matthew continues in ver. 14. ΤΟΤΕ πορευθεις εις των δωδεκα, ο λεγομενος Ιουδας Ισκαριωτης προς τας αρχιερεις, ειπε, κ. τ. λ. and St. Mark in ver. 10. Και ο Ιουδας ο Ισκαριωτης, εις των δωδεκα απηλθε προς τας αρχιερεις, κ. τ. λ. Here again it is evident that both St. Matthew and St. Mark re-

present Judas as going immediately from the unction at Bethany (a village not more than two miles from Jerusalem) to the assembly of the chief priests and elders, which was held during the time of the unction, and which did not break up before the arrival of Judas.

10. This instance is Matth. xxvii. 59, 60. compared with John xix. 41, 42. St. Matthew describing the burial of the body of Jesus by Joseph of Arimathea says εθηκεν αυτο εν τω καινω αυτου μνημειω ο ελατομησεν εν τη πετρα: but St. John, though he agrees with St. Matthew in saying that the tomb was a new one, does not mention either that it belonged to Joseph, or that it had been made by his order, nor does either St. Mark or St. Luke mention these two circumstances. Further our author observes in the place, to which he alludes, that as Joseph (in his opinion) lived at Arimathea, it is not probable, that a tomb had been made for him at Jerusalem, because it was the practice of the Jews to bury the dead as soon as possible, and not to transport them from one town to another. He concludes therefore, that our present Greek text in Matth. xxvii. 60. is faulty, and appeals to the Codex Winchelseanus (to which may be added the MS. which Matthäi denotes by it, and also the Armenian version) which omits αυτου before μνημειω, and to the old Syriac and Philoxenian versions, which, instead of ο ελατομησεν, express ην λελατομημενον, the former in the text itself, the latter in the margin. But these few authorities will hardly outweigh the united evidence of all other authorities; and as no manuscript has both alterations, it is probable, unless the omission of αυτου is to be ascribed to an oversight, that each of them was made in order to remove a seeming difficulty. Nor is there any necessity for appealing to them; for when two historians agree in the main fact, it cannot be said that they contradict each other, merely because the one omits a circumstance, which the other has related, and we might as well contend, that St. John has contradicted St. Mat-

thew in relating ver. 39. that Nicodemus, of whom St. Matthew says not a word, assisted Joseph in the interment. As to the objection that a tomb at or near Jerusalem could hardly be the property of Joseph, it is of no weight whatsoever. For though we may infer from the expression *Ιωσήφ ο απο Αριμαθαιας*, that Joseph was either born at Arimathea, or that he spent the former part of his life there, we are not warranted to conclude that Arimathea was the place of his residence, when Christ was crucified, and that he was come to Jerusalem at that time merely on account of the Passover. On the contrary we may infer from Luke xxiii. 50, 51. that he was become a member of the Jewish Sanhedrim; for St. Luke after having given him the title *βουλευτης*, adds *στος εκ ην συγκατατεθειμενος τη βελη και τη πραξει αυτων*. Now St. Luke would have hardly thought it necessary to observe, that Joseph did not assist at that meeting of the Sanhedrim, which was held in order to concert measures against Christ, unless Joseph had been a member of the Sanhedrim: for when it is known, that a man has no right to be present at a meeting, it is both useless and absurd to observe that he did not attend it. Further, St. Luke assigns the reason why Joseph did not attend that meeting: for he adds *προσεδεχετο την βασιλειαν τς Θες*. We must conclude therefore that St. Luke has here used *βουλευτης* to denote 'a person who had a seat and voice in the Sanhedrim,' (not a magistrate of Arimathea, as our author in the place to which he refers, has conjectured), that after he had applied this title to Joseph, he was aware, his readers might suspect, that Joseph had assisted at the deliberation (*συγκατατεθειμενος τη βελη*) against Christ; that he therefore thought it necessary to assure them of the contrary, and to assign as a reason, why Joseph absented himself, that he believed, that Jesus was the Messiah. Lastly, this explanation accords perfectly well with the account given by St. Matthew and St. John, that the tomb was a new one, and with that of St. Luke, that no one had been buried in it.

For if the family of Joseph lived originally at Arimathea, and he himself was the first, who settled in Jerusalem, we may suppose that in the vault, which he, as a man of rank, and a man of considerable property (*πλοσιος*, Matth. xxvii. 57.) would take care to have made at his new place of residence, no one of Joseph's family had been buried at the time, when Christ was crucified.

SECTION IV.

PAGE 25.

1. What our author has written in the thirty pages, to which he here alludes, deserves particular attention. But a translation of the whole would take up too much room in these notes : and a sketch of his arguments is unnecessary, because he himself has given it in this section.

PAGE 27.

2. The symbolic books of the Lutherans correspond to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England.

SECTION V.

PAGE 30.

1. In this reference there must be some mistake, for Luke ii. 51. relates to Christ's return from Jerusalem to Nazareth, when he was twelve years of age, and therefore admits of no comparison with St. Matthew's history of Christ's infancy. Our author means to compare Luke ii. 1—39. with Matth. i. 18.—ii. 23.

2. Our Author's Notes not only on the four Gospels but on the whole New Testament have been since published under the following title : J. D. Michaelis *Anmerkungen für Ungelehrte zu seiner Uebersetzung des*

Neuen Testaments, Gottingen, 1790—1792, 4 Vols. 4to.

PAGE 31.

3. The German title of this work has been already mentioned in Note 1. to Ch. ii. Sect. 1.

4. It must be observed in justice to Lessing, who was the publisher only, not the author of the fragments, that he has accompanied the publication of that fragment, in which the history of the resurrection is attacked, with a remark, in which he acknowledges, that no differences in the accounts of the Evangelists can disprove the fact itself.

5. See Note 2. to Ch. ii. Sect. 1.

SECTION VI.

1. In the new edition of Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca, the fourth volume of which was published at Hamburg in 1795, the alphabetical list of Harmonies is in Vol. IV. p. 882—889. and is augmented by the addition of Harmonies, which were either overlooked by Fabricius, or have been published since his time. But even in this improved catalogue is omitted Toinardi Harmonia Græco-Latina, Parisiis 1707, folio, a very minute, indeed anxiously minute Greek harmony, which is not generally known. Another list of Greek harmonies, with a division into classes, and the authors in each class arranged in chronological order, may be seen in Walchii Bibliotheca Theologica, Tom. IV. p. 863—900.

2. The German title of this book is, Haubers Leben Jesu Christi. It was published at Lemgo in 1737, 8vo.

3. The Harmony published by Ottomar Luscinius, or, as he was called in German, Othmar Nachtigal, bears in the original edition the name, not of Tatian, but of Ammonius of Alexandria. The title of the original edition is, Evangelicæ historiæ ex quatuor Evangelistis

perpetuo tenore continuata narratio, ex Ammonii Alexandrini fragmentis quibusdam e Græco per Ottomarum Lusciniū versa. At the end of this Latin translation, which is not accompanied with the Greek text, (nor has Luscinius mentioned in what library the Greek fragments from which he translated, were preserved) is, *Finis perpetuæ narrationis evangelicæ. Ex Ammonio Alexandrino, per Ottomarum Lusciniū.* The date of the subscription is, *Augustæ Vindelicorum Men. Novembri, An. MDXXIII.* In the edition of the *Orthodoxographa*, which was printed at Basel in 1555, this Latin translation of Ottomar Luscinius is re-printed p. 221—235, under the title, ‘*Evangeliorum quatuor narratio ex Ammonio Alexandrino, Ottomaro Luscinio interprete.*’ It is likewise re-printed in the *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* (Lugduni 1677, folio) Tom. II. P. ii. p. 213—212. But the editors of the *Maxima Bibliotheca* have taken the liberty to alter the title, and have affixed to the very same work, for I have compared both re-impressions of it, the title, not of ‘*Ammonii Alexandrini, &c.*’ but of *Tatiani Assyrii SS. Evangeliorum Diatessaron*, because they supposed that the harmony published by Luscinius was really that of Tatian, for which they assign their reasons, p. 203. This alteration of the title has created very great confusion: for one writer calls it by the original title, another, as our author has done, by its title in the *Maxima Bibliotheca*. With respect to the work itself, it is not an Harmony in the sense, in which we understand the term, for it is nothing more than a summary of the life of Christ delivered in the author’s own words. It consists of four Parts. The first Part contains the account of Christ’s birth, but without any genealogy, the account of his going to Jerusalem when he was twelve years of age, the account of his baptism, and his return to Galilee. The second part is entitled, *Annus primus dominicæ prædicationis*: the third part, *Dominicæ prædicationis annus secundus*: and the fourth part, *Tertius annus dominicæ prædicationis*.

4. The title of the work published by Michael Memler is, *Quatuor Evangeliorum consonantia, ab Ammonio Alexandrino congesta, ac a Victore Capuano Episcopo translata. Moguntiae.* And the subscription at the end of the work is, *Moguntiae in ædibus Joannis Shoeffler, Anno salutis MDXXIII. Mense Februario.* It is an Harmony in the proper sense of the word, for it is a compilation from the four Gospels, in which the words of the Evangelists are retained. It consists of an hundred and eighty-one sections or chapters, to the first of which is prefixed St. Luke's preface. Chap. i. relates to the *Λόγος*, John i. 1. &c. ch. ii. iii. iv. contain the account of the birth of Christ, and of John the Baptist taken from Luke i. 5. &c. ch. v. contains the genealogy of Christ, taken from Matth. i. and so on. (We have a short Harmony of the Evangelists in English, formed exactly on the same plan.) To the harmony itself is prefixed the preface of Victor, who was Bishop of Capua in the sixth century, and who made the Latin translation, which Memler published. In this preface Victor says, that his copy of the Greek original, from which he made the translation, had no title, and therefore that, as two Greek writers, Tatian and Ammonius, had written Greek harmonies, he was uncertain, to which of the two the work in question should be ascribed. His words are, '*Dum fortuitu in manus meas incideret unum ex quatuor Evangelium compositum, et absente titulo non invenirem nomen auctoris,*' &c. and he afterwards concludes, '*ut jure ambigi possit, utrum Ammonii, an Tatiani inventio ejusdem operis debeat estimari.*' He is inclined however to ascribe it to Tatian. But Memler, in his *Dedication to Chancellor Westhausen*, says, that most of the learned were of opinion that not Tatian, but Ammonius was the author of it, for which reason he ascribed it to Ammonius in the title page. In the same dedication Memler likewise says, that the Latin manuscript, from which he printed the work, was preserved in the library belonging to a convent at Erbach in the

Electorate of Mentz. Memler's publication was reprinted in the *Maxima Bibliotheca veterum patrum* (Lugduni 1667.) Tom. III. p. 265—299. under the title *Sanctorum quatuor Evangeliorum Harmonia Ammonio Alexandrino authore*. But though the text of the Harmony itself agrees with the text of Memler's edition, as I have found on comparing them, yet the hundred and eighty one chapters are not separated from each other with titles at the head of each chapter, but are distinguished only by a marginal notation. Another re-impression of this work is given in the *Orthodoxographa*, p. 110—188. of the edition printed at Basel in 1555 : but the editors of the *Orthodoxographa* have altered the title, and have changed 'Ammonii' to 'Tatiani,' and yet leaving the epithet *Alexandrini*, which cannot be given to Tatian, unaltered, have prefixed to their re-impression of Memler's edition the title, *Evangeliorum quatuor Harmonia, Tatiano Alexandrino authore*. Here we have another source of confusion in respect to the two harmonies ; for, as the publication of Ottomar Luscinius is called by one critic Tatian's harmony according to its title in the *Maxima Bibliotheca*, by another critic the Harmony of Ammonius, according to its original title, so the publication of Michael Memler is called by one critic the Harmony of Ammonius, by another the Harmony of Tatian, according to its different titles in the different editions of it.

Of the harmony translated into Latin by Victor of Capua, and published by Michael Memler, there exists an old German translation, though no one knows by whom, or in what century it was made. A vellum manuscript containing this old German translation, together with Victor's Latin, from which, and not from the Greek, the German translation was undoubtedly made, belonged formerly to Franciscus Junius, from whose library it came with the rest of Junius's manuscripts into the Bodleian library at Oxford. See the *Catalog. librorum MStorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ*,

Tom. I. p. 249. N° 5113. Palthenius, Professor at Gripswald, took a copy of this MS. during his residence at Oxford, and published it at Gripswald in 1706. In the Appendix to the second volume of Schilter's *Thesaurus*, which was published after Schilter's death, this old German translation, together with Victor's Latin is re-printed under the following title: *Tatiani Syri Harmonia Evangelica, e Latina Victoris Capuani versione translata in linguam Theotiscam antiquissimam. Editio post primam Palthenianam nova emendatio: ad apographa duo MSta, et curas J. Schilteri posthumas studiose recensita, subjectis notulis. Ulmæ 1727: fol.* But in Schilter's preface, and in the running title at the top of each page is *Tatiani Alexandrini Harmonia*, &c. as in the *Orthodoxographa*. The Latin text of this work, with exception to a few various readings, agrees, as I have found on actual comparison with the Latin text published by Memler, though Memler has affixed to *his* edition the title *Quatuor Evangeliorum consonantia ab Ammonio*, &c. With respect to the divisions, the first seventy-five chapters are the same in both texts; Ch. I. begins in both texts with 'Quoniam quidem multi conati sunt,' &c. Luke i. 1. and Ch. LXXV. ends in both texts with 'aliud quidem centesimum, aliud autem sexagesimum, aliud vero tricesimum,' Matth. xiii. 23. In the text printed in Schilter's *Thesaurus* there is a chasm from Ch. LXXVI. to Ch. CLII. probably because there was a chasm there in Junius's manuscript: but Ch. CLIII. begins as in Memler's text, with *Et factum est cum consummasset Jesus*, &c. Matth. xxvi. 1. From this place to the end, though the two texts are the same, and both of them close with the same words, 'prædicaverunt ubique domino co-operante et sermonem confirmante, sequentibus signis,' Mark xvi. 20. yet the chapters do not correspond, because the divisions are less numerous in Memler's edition than they are in the other.

I have been thus particular in the description both of the original editions, and of the re-impressions of

the two harmonies in question, in order to correct the mistakes which have been made about them. Even Fabricius in his *Codex Apocryphus N. T.* Tom. I. p. 378. has confounded these two harmonies, and asserted that the harmony, of which Palthenius took a copy, was the same as the harmony published by Ottomar Luscinius: but this is so far from being true, that on the contrary it is the very same as the harmony published by Michael Memler, as appears from what was said in the preceding paragraph. However it is not extraordinary, that Fabricius and other critics have confounded the two harmonies, since the original editions by Luscinius and Memler are very scarce, and in the re-impressions of them, as well in the *Orthodoxographa* as in the *Maxima Bibliotheca*, the titles have not only been altered, but altered in such a manner, that the harmony which in the one bears the name of Ammonius, bears in the other the name of Tatian, and vice versa. Hence different harmonies have been quoted by the same name, and the same harmony by different names, according as critics used the *Orthodoxographa* or the *Maxima Bibliotheca*. Other writers again have quoted from the quotations of their predecessors, without consulting the harmonies themselves, and have thus added confusion to confusion, till at length the reader is involved in a labyrinth, from which nothing but the clue of Ariadne can extricate him.

PAGE 32.

5. The first question to be asked is: who was the author of the Greek Harmony, of which Ottomar Luscinius published a Latin translation? That it is ascribed to Ammonius of Alexandria in the edition, which Luscinius himself published appears from the title, which has been already quoted in Note 3. It likewise bore the name of Ammonius in the Greek manuscript, from which Luscinius made his Latin translation: for though Luscinius has not declared it is

express terms, and intled did not think it necessary; since it could not occur to him that any one would suspect him of having prefixed a name, which was not in his manuscript, yet the following passage of his Preface evidently implies that the name of Ammonius really was prefixed to the Harmony in the Greek manuscript. ‘Docet sacer Augustinus, qua ratione una narratio omnium quatuor complecti possit dicta. Eusebius in eâ pulchram navavit operam. Nec minorem Ammonius Alexandrinus, in cujus fragmenta jampridem incidimus, *modo fallax non sit titulus.*’ From this passage it appears likewise that Luscinius himself was in doubt, whether the Harmony was not falsely ascribed to Ammonius of Alexandria. Now if the well known Ammonius of Alexandria is meant, namely the Ammonius who lived in the former part of the third century, who divided the Gospels into the sections, which are known by his name, and who is said by the ancients to have written a Harmony, he certainly was not the author of *that* Harmony, of which Luscinius made a Latin translation. For the ecclesiastical writers before the fourth century were not of opinion that Christ’s ministry lasted three or even two years. Clement and Origen, both of whom, as well as Ammonius, lived at Alexandria, (and the latter was contemporary with Ammonius) confine Christ’s ministry, the one to a single year, the other to a year and a few months*. But in the Harmony published by Luscinius Christ’s ministry is divided into a history of three years, not only in the superscriptions to the several portions, as ‘*annus primus dominicæ prædicationis, &c.*’ which the advocates for the antiquity of this work might say were added by transcribers, but likewise in the text itself. For the portion entitled, ‘*Dominicæ prædicationis annus secundus,*’ begins with ‘*Anni autem secundi initium*

* The authorities for these assertions will be quoted in Note 9. to the following section.

Jesus, &c. and ends with 'Et hæ quidem res gestæ finem secundo dominicæ predicationis anno imposuere : and the last portion begins with 'Extremus annus dominicæ prædicationis, qui, &c.' Consequently Ammonius, who lived in the third century, was not the author of this Harmony. For the same reason, Tatian, who lived still earlier, was not the author of it, though the editors of the Maxima Bibliotheca and several other critics call it Tatian's Harmony. Besides, that it is neither Ammonius's nor Tatian's is evident for other reasons. For Eusebius in his Epistle to Carpianus, says of Ammonius, το δια τεσσαρων ημιν καταλελοιπεν ευαγγελιον, τῷ κατὰ Ματθαιον τας ομοφωνας των λοιπων ευαγγελιστων περικοπας παραθεις, and then adds that the plan adopted by Ammonius suggested to him the ten canons, which he himself drew up. But the work published by Luscinius is formed upon a very different plan, being nothing more than a summary of the life of Christ delivered in the author's own words, and without regard to parallel passages. And that it is not Tatian's appears from the description, which Theodoret has given of Tatian's Harmony. For Theodoret says (Heret. Fab. Lib. I. cap. 20.) of Tatian, ετος και δια τεσσαρων καλεσμενον συντεθεικεν ευαγγελιον, τας τε γενεαλογιας περικοψας, και τα αλλα οσα εκ σπερματος Δαβιδ κατὰ σαρκα γεγεννημενον τον Κυριον δεικνυσι : but the author of the Harmony published by Luscinius, though he has omitted the genealogies, is so far from having avoided all reference to Christ's descent from David, that in the very first paragraph he has related the birth of Christ in the following words, 'quum Joseph Bethlehem, quæ civitas erat David, ad quem genus referebat, &c.' Lastly, the very title το δια τεσσαρων ευαγγελιον, which is applied by Theodoret and Eusebius to the harmonies of Tatian and Ammonius, is wholly unsuitable to the work published by Luscinius.—Whether this work was really written by some other person called Ammonius, who lived in a later age, since the name of Ammonius was prefixed to it in the Greek manuscript, or whether

it is a mere forgery in the name of Ammonius, who lived in the third century, is a question, which it is difficult to determine, and is in fact of no importance. Mill (Prol. sect. 353.) is of the former opinion: but since no ecclesiastical writer speaks of any harmony, or even of any life of Christ written by another Ammonius, the latter opinion is not improbable, unless the author lived in such obscurity as to remain wholly unknown. However, if it is a forgery, and was designed to be imposed on the world, as the harmony of that Ammonius, who lived in the third century, the author of it has shewn himself to be wholly unqualified for the task.

The remaining question to be asked is: Who was the author of that harmony, which was published by Michael Memler? That this harmony is a Latin translation made in the sixth century by Victor of Capua from a Greek manuscript, of which the title containing the name of the author was lost, that Victor therefore was in doubt whether he should ascribe it to Tatian or to Ammonius, but that he was inclined to ascribe it to the former, that Memler on the contrary ascribed it to Ammonius, and accordingly published it under his name, but that the editors of the *Orthodoxographa* in their re-impression of Memler's edition again assigned it to Tatian, appears from what has been said in the preceding note. Now the question, whether this is Tatian's harmony lies in a very short compass: for it has not only the passages which relate to Christ's descent from David, but in ch. v. has the genealogy contained in Matth. i. at full length, and likewise a part of the genealogy in Luke iii. which, as Theodoret expressly says, were not in Tatian's harmony. And Zachary of Chrysopolis, who lived in the twelfth century, and wrote a commentary on that very harmony which was translated by Victor, and published by Memler, declares in his Preface, that Tatian's harmony was even at that time no longer in existence. Zachary's

commentary, together with the text of the harmony itself, is printed in the *Maxima Bibliotheca*, Tom. XIX. p. 741--958. and is divided, as in Memler's edition, into an hundred and eighty-one chapters or sections. In the Preface (p. 742.) after mentioning that Ammonius and Tatian had written harmonies, but that Tatian's was no longer in existence, that Augustin had written a *Concordia Evangelistarum*, and that others had followed his example, he proceeds thus. *At verò hujus operis quis author imo ordinator extiterit nihil interest ignorare. Etenim tam verba quam sententiæ non nisi Evangelistarum sunt. Matthæi namque dictis reliquorum trium excerpta (quod cuilibet perquirenti facile est cognitu) arte mirifica magisque brevitate miranda junguntur. Hoc autem prænominatum Ammonium fecisse, scribit Eusebius Carpiano.* Now Eusebius in his Epistle to Carpianus certainly says of Ammonius, *τῷ κατὰ Ματθαίου τὰς ὁμοφώνους τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν περικοπὰς παραθεῖς*, and therefore Zachary is so far right. But when he says that this description applies to the harmony, on which he wrote a commentary, he asserts what is not true. For in this harmony, as both Zachary and Memler have it, ch. i. contains a passage from St. John's Gospel, ch. ii. from St. Luke's Gospel, and in this manner to the end of the whole work the chapters contain passages sometimes from one Gospel, sometimes from another. But the harmony of Ammonius, according to the words of Eusebius, and even according to the interpretation, which Zachary himself has given them, must have contained St. Matthew's Gospel throughout, and opposite to St. Matthew's text the correspondent portions of the other Evangelists in the same manner as modern harmonies do. Zachary's appeal therefore to Eusebius, instead of proving, that the harmony, which Victor of Capua translated into Latin in the sixth century, on which Zachary himself wrote a commentary on the twelfth, and which harmony was printed by Memler

in the sixteenth century, was written by the Ammonius of Alexandria, who lived in the third century, proves the very reverse.

It appears then, that neither the work published by Ottomar Luscinius, nor the work published by Michael Memler, can be ascribed either to Tatian, or to the Ammonius, who lived in the third century.

6. In the Codex Johnsonianus, Wetstein's Codex 72 in the Gospels, a MS. supposed to have been written in the eleventh century, there is a marginal scholion to Matth. xxvii. 49. in which Tatian is quoted: but he is there quoted by his name Τατιανος, not by the title εϋρος. See Wetstein's Note to Matt. xxvii. 49.

7. These ancient chapters are commonly called the Ammonian sections, from Ammonius, who made these divisions. In respect to the manner, in which Eusebius applied these sections, and the use to be made of his ten canons, see Note 31. to Vol. II. ch. xiii. of this Introduction.

8. Since four things, when taken three and three, may be combined four ways, and when taken two and two, may be combined six ways, Eusebius, if he had made all possible combinations, would with the first canon, which contains the passages common to all four Evangelists, and the last canon, which contains the passages peculiar to each, have had upon the whole twelve tables. But he reduced them to ten, because he found no passage, which was common to the Gospels of St. Mark and St. John, which was not likewise contained in the Gospels, either of St. Matthew or of St. Luke, and none, which were common to St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John, which was not likewise contained in the Gospel of St. Matthew.

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9. This Ludolphus was a German Carthusian monk of the fifteenth century. His work entitled '*Vita Jesu Christi, ex quatuor Evangelistis aliisque scriptoribus ecclesiasticis conflata, cum commentario*,' was

first printed at Strasburgh in 1474, and was held in such high estimation, that it not only went through at least thirty editions, in France, Germany, and Italy, but was translated into French and Italian. See Walchii *Bibliotheca theologica*, Tom. IV. p. 866. and Fabricii *Bibliotheca Latina mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis*, Tom. IV. p. 847.

10. Jean Charlier de Gerson was chancellor of the university of Paris at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. When, or where; his *Monotessaron* was first printed I know not: but all his works were published at Paris in 1521, in 2 vol. fol. and again in 1606, in 4 vol. fol. He is said (for I never read his works) to have followed Augustin, and to have completed what Augustin began in his treatise, *De consensu quatuor Evangelistarum*.

11. At Louvain. The '*Concordia evangelica*,' itself, the work, which properly belongs to the present place, was first printed at Louvain in 1549. But Jansen did not adopt Osiander's principle, at least not at all times, as appears from the very title, *Concordia evangelica, in qua præterquam quod suo loco ponuntur, quæ evangelistæ non servato recensent ordine, &c.*

12. The edition of 1593 contains only what had been written by Chemnitz. The continuations of it by Leyser and Gerhard were afterwards published separately: and the whole work, including the continuations, was first published at Geneva in 1628. See Walchii *Bib. Theol.* Tom. IV. p. 871.

13. Chemnitz may in some things have followed Osiander too closely; but Osiander's leading principle, that in *all* our Gospels the facts are arranged in chronological order, was absolutely rejected by Chemnitz: for he says, in his *Prolegomena*, p. 2. (ed. Francofurti, 1600, 4to.) '*Unus idemque Evangelista non semper et ubique in omnibus ordinem temporis et seriem rerum gestarum anxie observat.*' And whoever consults the *Harmony* itself will find, that Chemnitz has made many transpositions in the Gospel of St. Matthew, be-

cause in his opinion (Prol. p. 4.) St. Matthew had frequently departed from the order of time. Consequently Chemnitz, instead of being ranked among the followers of Osiander, as he is not only by our author, but by several other writers on this subject, ought to be placed at the head of the other class of harmonists.

14. It was reprinted in 1684, and 1695. Craddock did not adopt the strange principle of Osiander.

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15. Our author mentions here only Lamy's Commentary, whereas he ought to have mentioned likewise the Harmony itself, which has the title, *Historia, sive Concordia quatuor Evangelistarum*, Parisiis, 1689, 12mo. Lamy, who rejected the principle adopted by Osiander, adheres to St. Matthew's arrangement of the facts, which he has in common with St. Mark and St. Luke.

16. Le Clerc's Greek and Latin Harmony was printed at Amsterdam in 1699. The edition of 1700 contains the Latin only. To Le Clerc's Greek Harmony our author might have added Nicolai Toinardi *Harmonia Græco-Latina*, Parisiis, 1707, fol. It is a work of particular use to those who wish to examine the verbal agreement of the Evangelists, for Toinard has not only placed in adjacent columns the parallel passages, but has parallelized even single words.

17. 'Tenth' is a mistake for 'fourteenth.'

18. Whiston, on comparing the order of the facts recorded in Matth. iv. viii. ix. x. xi. xii. xiii. xiv. with the order in which the same facts are arranged in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, observed that St. Mark and St. Luke agreed in their arrangement of the facts, but that St. Matthew in the above-mentioned chapters frequently differed in his arrangement. This created no difficulty to Osiander and his followers, who, instead of untying the knot, cut it at once by making the same facts happen as often, as they found them differently arranged in different Gospels. But Whiston,

who had too much good sense to become a disciple of Osiander, was reduced to the necessity of acknowledging, that many of the facts, which are related in common by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, are arranged in unchronological order, either in the Gospel of St. Matthew, or in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke. But as Whiston would not admit the supposition, that the Evangelists themselves had deviated from chronological order, since this order is the most perspicuous, which an historian can adopt, he saw no other method of extricating himself from the difficulty, than to suppose, that either St. Matthew on the one hand, or St. Mark and St. Luke on the other, arranged their facts in an order different from that, which we *now* find in their Gospels, and consequently that either in the one or in the other, transpositions had been made by transcribers. And as there is less improbability in supposing, that transpositions had been made in one Gospel, than in supposing that the same transpositions have been made in two, Whiston had recourse to the former conjecture. And, as he believed that St. Mark derived the principal materials of his Gospel from that of St. Matthew, and justly argued (whether the premises themselves are true is another inquiry) that a writer, who was neither an Apostle, nor eye-witness to the facts, which he has recorded, would, in copying from an author, who was both, retain the arrangement of the facts, which that author had observed, Whiston further concluded, that St. Matthew's Gospel, in its primitive state, contained the facts in the order, in which they are arranged by St. Mark, and consequently in the order in which they are arranged by St. Luke. This mode of reasoning is so far from involving an absurdity, that it is really ingenious: and Whiston's conjecture, notwithstanding the difficulties, under which it labours, and those difficulties are not few, is still less exceptionable, not only than the principle of Osiander, but even than the principle adopted by our author, that the Evangelists designedly departed from

the order of time, in order to render their histories more perspicuous. However there is not the least necessity for having recourse to Whiston's conjecture, since the difference in the arrangement of the facts in the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke may be explained in a much more satisfactory manner. See what has been already said in Note 2. to ch. ii. sect. 2. and what will hereafter be said on this subject in the Essay on the origin of our three first Gospels. Whoever wishes particularly to examine the objections which may be made to Whiston's conjecture, may consult an answer written by Mr. Jeremiah Jones, not long after Whiston's publication, and entitled, 'A Vindication of the former part of St. Matthew's Gospel from Mr. Whiston's charge of dislocations.' Dr. Priestley, in his 'Observations on the Harmony of the Gospels' (prefixed to his Greek Harmony) p. 90. takes the other side of the question, and agrees, partly at least with Whiston.

19. This work consists of three Tomes, the third of which is subdivided into two volumes. The first only was published in 1727, the second was published in 1728, and the third, consisting of two volumes, in 1730.

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20. Here may be mentioned, 'A Harmony of the four Gospels, in which the natural order of each is preserved: with a Paraphrase and Notes, by James Macknight, London, 1756, 2 vols. 4to.' Macknight, like Hauber, adheres closely to the principle of Oslander: but his paraphrase and commentary contain much useful information. Whoever makes use of this Harmony should compare with it 'Lardner's Observations upon Macknight's Harmony of the four Gospels, as far as relates to the history of our Saviour's resurrection,' first published in 1764, and reprinted in Vol. XI. p. 359—400. of the edition of Lardner's works published in 1788.

21. The German title is, 'Die vier Evangelisten mit ihren eigenen Worten zusammengesetzt, und verdeutsch, auch mit hinlänglichen Erklärungen versehen; Tom. I. Hamburg, 1766. This volume extends no further than Matth. vii. 29. : But Büsching, though he lived above five and twenty years after this publication, did not continue it. Whether he altered his opinion in respect to Osiander's principle, which he had adopted, or whether he had other reasons for discontinuing the work, I know not.

22. The German title is, Neue Harmonie der vier Evangelisten, Halle, 1767, 4to. Bertling, like Bengel, rejects the principle of Osiander.

23. Here our author should have mentioned the Greek Harmony of archbishop Newcome, which was published at Dublin in 1778, under the following title : 'A Harmony of the Gospels, in which the original text is disposed after Le Clerc's general manner, with such various readings at the foot of the page, as have received Wetstein's sanction in his folio edition of the Greek Testament. Observations are subjoined, tending to settle the time and place of every transaction, to establish the series of facts, and to reconcile seeming inconsistencies.' The notes annexed to this Harmony are very valuable: they display sound judgement, and great critical knowledge.

Dr. Priestley has published two Harmonies, the one entitled, 'A Harmony of the Evangelists in Greek, to which are prefixed critical dissertations in English, London, 1777, 4to. the other 'A Harmony of the Evangelists in English, with critical dissertations, an occasional paraphrase, and notes for the use of the unlearned, London, 1780, 4to.

24. All the modern harmonies of the four Gospels, of which we have above an hundred in various languages, may be divided into two classes: 1st Harmonics, of which the authors have taken for granted, that all the facts recorded in all the four Gospels are arranged in chronological order, and 2dly Harmonies, of which

the authors have admitted, that in one or more of the four Gospels chronological order has been more or less neglected. Osiander, or as he was called in German, Hosmann, is at the head of the first class, Chemnitz at the head of the second. The harmonies of the former kind are very similar to each other, because though the authors of them had to interweave the facts recorded in one Gospel with the facts recorded in another, yet, as they invariably retained the order which was observed in each Gospel, and consequently repeated whatever facts occurred in different places in different Gospels, as often as those facts presented themselves to the harmonists in their progress through the Gospels, there was less room for material deviations in their plan and method. But in the harmonies of the latter kind we meet with considerable variations, because, though the authors of them are unanimous in their principle, they are at variance in the application of it: and, though they agree in making transpositions, by which they distinguish themselves from the harmonists of the first class, yet they do not always make the *same* transpositions. Some, for instance, have supposed, as Chemnitz, archbishop Newcome, and other harmonists of this class have done, that St. Matthew has mostly neglected chronological order, while others, as Bengel and Bertling, have supposed, that he has in general retained it. Hence, though they have all the same object in view, namely, to make a chronological harmony, or to arrange the events, which are recorded in the Gospels, as nearly as possible according to the order of the time, in which the events happened, they have adopted different modes of producing this effect. For in some harmonies the order of St. Matthew is inverted, and made subservient to that of St. Mark, while in other harmonies St. Mark's order is inverted, and made subservient to that of St. Matthew. Some harmonists again suppose, that *all* the Evangelists have neglected chronological order, while others make an exception in favour of one, or more of them, though the question, which of the Evangelists should be ex-

cepted, likewise affords matter of debate. And even those harmonists, who agree as to the Gospel, or Gospels, in which transpositions should be made, differ in respect to the particular parts, where these transpositions ought to take place. Amid this variety of opinion, and amid the manifold arguments, by which each harmonist has ingeniously defended his own particular plan, it is really difficult to discover a fixed and solid principle, by which the events recorded by the Evangelists may be restored to chronological order. For this reason, Griesbach in the Preface to his Synopsis, p. 5. (ed. 2.) says, ‘*Ingenue profiteor, lectoresque admonitos esse cupio, Harmoniam, quam proprie dicunt in hocce libello neutiquam esse quærendam. Quamvis enim non ignorem, quantum laboris viri perdocti harmoniæ secundum regulas a se conditas in ordinem redigendæ impenderint, ego tamen exiguum utilitatem, imo nullam fere, quam non mea etiam Synopsis præstet, e minuta ista diligentia percipi posse arbitror: sed valde etiam dubito, an ex Evangelistarum libellis harmonica componi possit narratio, veritati quoad chronologicam pericoparum dispositionem satis consentanea, et firmis fundamentis superstructa.*’ The title of this work is, *Synopsis Evangeliorum Matthæi, Marci, et Lucæ, una cum iis Joannis pericopis quæ historiam passionis et resurrectionis Jesu Christi complectantur.* Textum recensuit et selectam lectionis varietatem adjecit J. J. Griesbach, Editio secunda, emendatior et auctior. Halæ Saxonum, 1797; 8vo. The chief purport of this Synopsis is, not to give a chronological series of events, but to present in parallel columns all those sections, which are common to the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke; St. John’s Gospel, with exception to the last part of it being omitted, because the rest of it has so very little matter in common with the other three. And, to make as few transpositions as possible St. Mark’s order is generally retained, because it is the same with that of St. Luke, as far as relates to the facts which are common to all three. Those parts, which each Evangelist has peculiar to

himself, are inserted in intermediate sections. The disposition of the whole work is very commodious, and I know of no harmony, which affords so much assistance in the investigation of a subject, which has lately much engaged the attention of the German critics, and which will be particularly considered hereafter, namely, the origin of our three first Gospels, and the relation, which they bear to each other.

With respect to the question, where there is a possibility of arranging in chronological order all the facts recorded in all the four Gospels, the greatest difficulty consists in the mode of arranging St. John's Gospel. For since, if we except the two last chapters, it has so very little matter in common with the other three, every harmonist, who inserts the whole of it, must divide it into a great number of small portions, and insert them, one in one place, another in another, in intervals between the sections of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, according to the time, to which such harmonist supposes, that each of those portions belongs. But many, if not most, of these insertions are so arbitrary, and so destitute of every criterion, by which we might pronounce with certainty, that such an event recorded by St. John immediately followed this event, and immediately preceded that event, recorded by St. Matthew, St. Mark, or St. Luke, that though some of them may have been inserted according to the time, in which they have happened, we cannot be sure that even the greatest part of them have received in any harmony an exact chronological position. The safest method therefore is to confine all harmonic arrangements to the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, and to consider St. John's Gospel, with exception to the two last chapters, as a work unconnected with the other three. The question of chronological order will then be reduced to a smaller compass; and since the facts, which are common to the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke, are arranged by St. Mark and St. Luke in general in the

same order, we have only to choose between their order (namely, in the facts which are common to all three) on the one hand, and that of St. Matthew on the other. For whoever supposes, that all three have neglected chronological order, and yet attempts to compose an harmony, in which the facts shall be chronologically disposed, engages in an undertaking, in which it is impossible to meet with success; since on this supposition there exists no criterion, by which the real succession of the events may be determined. Now it has been already shewn in Note 2. to Sect. ii. of this chapter, that an historian, who knows in what order the events, which he records, followed each other, and yet designedly inverts that order in his narrative, must be conscious to himself, that his plan is such, as will expose his readers to the danger of mistaking the succession of those events. On the other hand, if an historian, though accurately informed in respect to the events themselves, does not always know, in what order they followed each other, he cannot be charged with neglect, though his arrangement be not chronological, since the order of real succession, which may be justly expected from an historian, who knows it cannot be expected from an historian, to whom it is not always known. Consequently, as St. Matthew was in general eye witness to the facts, which he has recorded in common with St. Mark and St. Luke, but St. Mark and St. Luke were not, it is surely more reasonable to expect chronological order in the former, than in the latter. It is true, that wherever St. Matthew differs in his arrangement from St. Mark or St. Luke, these two Evangelists agree in their arrangement with each other. But this agreement affords no proof that they have written in chronological order: for, though nothing but an adherence to the real succession of events could produce an uniformity of arrangement in the works of two historians, who had no connection, either mediate or immediate with each other, yet if either the one copied from the other, or both of them drew

from a common source, their arrangement might be the same, and yet not chronological. Now that one of these suppositions must be adopted in respect to St. Mark and St. Luke, the late critical investigations on this subject, which will be considered hereafter, have placed beyond a doubt. The conclusion therefore, that St. Matthew's order is in general chronological rests unimpaired: and hence we may infer, that those harmonists, who take St. Matthew for their guide, must meet with more success in their attempts to produce a chronological harmony, than they who desert him.

25. A list of authors, who have endeavoured to reconcile single difficulties is given in Walchii Bibliotheca, theologica, Tom. IV. p. 901—919.

SECTION VII.

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1. A similar table of contents to the four Gospels was drawn up and published many years ago at Cambridge by Jebb. Another table, though not exactly on the same plan, is given in Hofmann's edition of *Pritii Introductio in lectionem N. T.* (Lipsiæ, 1764, 8vo.) p. 486—496. But the most complete and the most useful table of this kind is that, which was published by Professor Sextroh at Göttingen in 1785, under the following title, 'Abriss der Geschichte Jesu aus den Evangelien Matthäus, Marcus, Lucas, und Johannes,' that is, A sketch of the history of Christ, from the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John.

2. Whoever admits, that the order of time is not observed in St. Mark's Gospel, must admit the same in respect to St. Luke's Gospel, because the facts, which are common to both, are placed in general in the same order.

3. Our author here confounds chronological arrangement with the assignment of dates. An historian may have arranged all his facts according to the order, in which they succeeded each other, and yet never have specified either the day, or the month, or the year, in which any one of them happened: as, on the other hand, an historian may have specified the dates of some of his facts, and yet not have uniformly preserved chronological order in the disposition of his narrative.

4. St. Luke has precisely determined the year, in which John the Baptist began to preach, but he has not expressly mentioned John's age. However we may infer from a comparison of Luke i. 36. with ch. iii. 23. that John, when he began to preach, was between thirty and thirty-one years of age.

5. This inference our author probably deduces from the following facts. First, Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, was a priest of the course of Abia (Luke i. 5.) Secondly, Zacharias was in the execution of his office in the temple, when the angel Gabriel appeared to him, and announced that his wife Elisabeth would bear him a son, who should be called John (Luke i. 8—13.) Thirdly, the priests, who served in the temple, were divided by David (1 Chron. xxiv. 3—19.) into four and twenty classes, each of which served in its course, and the eighth was that of Abia (ver. 10.) Now the Jewish ecclesiastical year began with the new moon, which was nearest to the vernal equinox, and consequently their fourth ecclesiastical month, or Tammus, corresponded in part to our July. But whether our author's inference, that the class of Abia was in office in the month of Tammus, is valid or not, depends on the two following questions. How many days did each class serve at a time? And at what part of the year did the first class begin its office? If we divide the Jewish year into four and twenty equal parts, and suppose that each class served about fourteen days, and likewise suppose that the first

class came into office at the beginning of the ecclesiastical year, or on the first of Nisan, the class of Abia, which was the eighth, was of course in office in the latter half of the fourth month. Both of these suppositions must have been made by our author; otherwise I do not see in what manner he can have come to this conclusion. But though no mention is made in 1 Chron. xxiv. of the duration of the office of each class, Josephus expressly declares, (Antiq. Lib. VII. c. 14. §. 7.) that according to the institution of David, each class served only *one week* at a time: διαταξε τε μιν πατριαν διακονεισθαι τῷ Θεῷ ἐπὶ ἡμεραις οκτώ, ἀπὸ σαββάτου ἐπὶ σαββάτου. And a few lines afterwards he adds, that the arrangement made by David was still retained at that very day: καὶ διεμεινεν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας. But if each of the four and twenty classes served only one week at a time, each of them must have served twice in the year. However certain therefore we might be as to the month, when the first class went into office, it must be wholly impossible to determine the month, in which Zacharias had the vision in the temple, because we have no data whatsoever, by which we can determine, whether his turn at that time was the first or the second in the year. All that we can affirm with certainty is, that it was either in the eighth or in the thirty-second week, but which of the two must remain undecided.

6. Toinard, in his Harmony, p. 2. has calculated the very day, and fixed it on the 31st of August. Mr. Mann, in his Essay entitled, 'Of the true years of the birth and death of Christ, London, 1733, 8vo.' has likewise calculated the day, on which Zacharias returned to his wife Elisabeth: but his calculation is very different, for he has fixed (p. 83.) on the 29th of December. That these calculations differ so widely from each other is not at all extraordinary, when we consider the uncertainty of the data. Dr. Körner therefore in a short treatise published at Leipzig in 1778, entitled, De die natili Servatoris, very properly

concludes, that all attempts to discover the real day, on which Christ was born, must be fruitless.

7. That John the Baptist was born in May, and consequently that Christ, who was nearly six months younger, (Luke i. 36.) was born about the month of October, is an assertion, the truth of which depends on our author's preceding calculation. But that this calculation is inaccurate has been already shewn in Note 5. Lardner allows a greater latitude, and says, 'it is not improbable that Jesus might be born some time between the middle of August and the middle of November.' Credibility, &c. P. I. B. ii. ch. 3. Vol. I. p. 533. ed. 1788.

8. The members of the Greek church fixed on the eighth of the Ides of January, that is, Jan. 6. for the celebration of Christ's birth, on which day they supposed, that he was born. Thus Epiphanius, Heres. LI. cap. 24. says, Γεννηθεντος γαρ αὐτοῦ περι τον Ιανουαριον μηνα, τετεστι προ οκτω Ειδων Ιανουαριων, κ. τ. λ. and cap. 27, απο της των γενεθλιων αὐτοῦ ημερας, τετεστιν Επιφανιων, ητις τυγχανει εκτη Ιανουαριου μηνος, κ. τ. λ. Here it may be observed that Epiphanius is not singular in calling the birth of Christ *Επιφανια*; for most of the Greek fathers used the term *Επιφανια* and *Θεοφανια* to denote the birth of Christ, though Epiphania afterwards acquired a different sense. See the authorities quoted in Suiceri Thesaurus, Tom. I. p. 1198—2000. The members of the Latin church on the contrary fixed, not on the eighth of the *Ides*, but on the eighth of the *Kalends* of January, that is, on December 25, for the celebration of Christ's birth, because they believed that he was really born on that day, as Augustin says, (De Trinit. Lib. IV. cap. 5. T. VIII. p. 578. ed. Bened. Antwerp.) Natus traditur octavo Kalendas Januarias, and a few lines before, Octavo Kalendas Aprilis conceptus creditur. This belief appears to have been grounded on the following, though erroneous calculation. Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, who is represented by St. Luke, ch. i. 11. as being at the

altar of incense, when the angel appeared to him, was supposed to be high priest, and to have been offering incense in the Sanctum sanctorum on the great day of atonement, which was on the tenth day of the seventh month. See Leviticus xvi. 29—34. The seventh month or Tisri, corresponded partly to our September, partly to our October; and the tenth of Tisri was supposed, by the Latin church, to correspond to September 23. They imagined therefore that Zacharias returned to Elisabeth on September 24: and therefore the festival called Conceptio Johannis Baptistæ was fixed on September 24, at which day this festival is still noted in the calendars of the church of Rome. Accordingly the festival of John's birth was fixed on June 24, which is nine months later: and on this day we still celebrate the festival of John the Baptist. And as Christ was born about six months after John the Baptist, they fixed on March 25 for the annunciation of the Virgin Mary, and on December 25 for the birth of Christ, which is 12 days earlier than according to the calculation of the Greek church: a difference, which arose probably from no other cause, than a difference in adapting the tenth of Tisri to the Roman calendar.

Now if Augustin, as appears from the preceding quotation, and other members of the Latin church at the end of the fourth century believed that Christ was really born on December 25, we must conclude that it was this belief, which induced them to fix on December 25 for the celebration of Christ's birth: and that they did not fix on that day merely in imitation of the festival called Nativitas (or rather Natalis) Invicti. Besides, the festival called Natalis Invicti was not introduced into the Roman calendar before the year 351. In the *old* Roman calendar the Ides of June were sacred Jovi Invicto: but neither on December 25, nor on any other day of the whole year was there a festival called Natalis Invicti. The earliest calendar, in which this festival appears, is that which is printed in Grævii

Thesaurus Antiq. Rom. Tom. VIII. p. 97—102. under the title, *Kalendarium Romanum, sub Imperatore Constantio, Imper. Constantini Magni filio, circa annum Christi cccliv compositum, et Valentino cui-dam dedicatum.* In this calendar, at the eighth of the Ides of January, is marked *Natalis Invicti*: on which Lambecius in his Notes to this calendar, p. 112, says, ‘*Per Natalem Invicti significatur dies, quo Imperator Constantius, Vetracione VIII. Kal. Januar. A. C. 351. deposito, Invictus appellatus est. Qua de re vide Idatii Fastos Consulares anno æræ Hispanicæ 389.*’ But if the festival called *Natalis Invicti* was not introduced into the Roman calendar before the year 351, it could not have given rise to the celebration of Christ’s birth on December 25, unless we take for granted that the Latin church did not fix on this day before the latter half of the fourth century: Now had this been the case, Augustin, who was born in the year 355, must have known both at what time this Christian festival was fixed at December 25 in the Latin church, and likewise the cause of its being fixed at that day. But if Augustin knew that the *Natalis Christi* was fixed at December 25, merely in imitation of the *Natalis Invicti*, he could not have imagined that Christ was *really* born on that day. On the other hand, if the reason why December 25 was chosen for the celebration of Christ’s birth, was unknown to Augustin, and he imagined, as many persons do at present, that Christ was really born on December 25, merely because his birth was celebrated on that day, it necessarily follows, that December 25 was chosen before the age, in which Augustin himself lived, and consequently at a time, when the festival called *Natalis Invicti* did not exist in the Roman calendar. Whether we suppose therefore that the day was chosen before, or whether we suppose that it was chosen after the middle of the fourth century, the inference will be the same. But there is hardly a doubt, that it was chosen before the middle of the fourth century; for Chrysostom, who was a

contemporary of Augustin, is so far from representing the time of the celebration of Christ's birth in the Latin church as lately introduced, that on the contrary he says in his Homily 'De Natali Christi,' that the day of Christ's birth was known in the Western or Latin church from the very beginning (*παρα μὲν τοῖς τῇ Ἑσπερίαν οὐρανὸν ἀνωθεν γνωριζομένῃ*): for which reason he preferred the day adopted by the Latin church to that which was adopted by the Greek church, and supposed that Jan. 6. was not the day, on which Christ was born, but the day, on which he was baptized in the Jordan by John the Baptist. See the passages quoted in Bingham's *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, B. XX. ch. iv. sect. 2. and Suiceri *Thesaurus*, Tom. I. p. 1200, 1201. The notion therefore that the festival, called *Natalis Invicti* gave rise to the celebration of Christ's birth on December 25, is devoid of foundation. It is moreover a modern opinion, for none of the ancient fathers have given the least hint of it. It was first hazarded as a conjecture by John, metropolitan of Nicæa, (who is supposed to have lived about the tenth century) in his treatise, 'De Nativitate Domini,' published by Combesis in the second Volume of his *Auctarium bibliothecæ Patrum Græcorum*: In the last century it was revised and defended by Hardouin and Petau: and in the present century it was brought into more general circulation, principally by a dissertation published by professor Hamberger at Gottingen in 1751, entitled, 'Ritus, quos Romana ecclesia a majoribus suis gentilibus in sua sacra transtulit.' Much ingenuity has certainly been displayed in support of this opinion: *Natalis Invicti* has been taken in the sense of *Natalis Solis Invicti*, because December 25, is about the time of the winter solstice, when the days begin to lengthen, and the sun, as it were, receives a new birth: and as Christ was called the Sun of Righteousness, the analogy between the birth of the Sun and the birth of Christ has been supposed to have presented itself to the primitive Christians. No man has dressed

this notion in more fanciful array than Dupuis in his *Origine de tous les Cultes*, Tom. V. p. 114—139. the object of which work is to derive all religions from the twelve signs of the zodiac. But *Natalis Invicti*, at its first introduction into the Roman calendar in the year 351, was so far from denoting the birth of the invincible sun, that it denoted figuratively the birth of the invincible Constantius son of Constantine the Great, as appears from the Note of Lambeccius already quoted. Consequently even if it be true, that the term was afterwards applied to the sun, though the epithet ‘*invictus*,’ which is given to heroes, and to Jupiter and Mars among the Gods, is not very suitable to Phœbus or Apollo, yet no inference can be drawn from an application of the Roman calendar made at a time, when the Latin church had already determined the day of the celebration of Christ’s birth.

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9. St. John says, First in ch. ii. 13. *Και εγγυς ην το πασχα των Ισδαιων, και ανεβη εις Ιεροσολυμα ο Ιησους*: Secondly, in ch. v. 1. *μετα ταυτα ην εορτη των Ισδαιων, και ανεβη ο Ιησους εις Ιεροσολυμα*: Thirdly in ch. vi. 4. *ην δε εγγυς το πασχα, η εορτη των Ισδαιων*: Fourthly in ch. xi. 55. *ην δε εγγυς το πασχα των Ισδαιων*. On these four passages is grounded the opinion that between the baptism and death of Christ four different passovers intervened, and consequently that Christ’s ministry lasted something more than three years. Hence all that St. John relates before ch. ii. 13. is supposed to have happened before the first passover: all that he relates between ch. ii. 13. and ch. v. 1. is supposed to have happened either at, or after the first, and before the second passover: all that he relates between ch. v. 1. and ch. vi. 4. is supposed to have happened either at or after the second, and before the third passover: and all that he relates after ch. vi. 4. is supposed to have happened partly about the time of the third passover,

and partly in the year, which elapsed between the third and the last passover: for the passover mentioned ch. xi. 55. is that at which Christ was crucified.

On the other hand, not one of the three Evangelists, St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, has taken notice of any passover between the baptism of Christ, and the passover at which he suffered. Neither the word *πασχα*, nor even the word *εορτη*, which might be construed into *πασχα*, occur in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark before the description of the passover, at which Christ was crucified: and in the Gospel of St. Luke likewise neither of these words occurs before ch. xxii. except in ch. ii. 41, 42. which however relates, not to any part of Christ's ministry, but to the passover, which he attended with Joseph and Mary, when he was only twelve years of age. Further, St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, from the place, where they describe Christ's return to Galilee after his baptism (Matth. iv. 12. Mark i. 14. Luke iv. 14.) to the end of their Gospels, make no mention whatsoever of any journey from Galilee to Jerusalem, except the journey which Christ took to celebrate the passover, at which he was crucified. If therefore we had no other Gospels, than those of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, we should conclude, that no passover intervened between the baptism of Christ and the passover at which he suffered. The ancients likewise were decidedly of opinion, that all the transactions relative to Christ's ministry, which are recorded by St. Matthew and St. Mark, and St. Luke, happened within the space of *one year*. Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. 24.) speaking of St. John's Gospel, says, *της αλλης γυν τρεις Εναγγελιστας συνιδεν παρεισι, μονα τα μετα την εν τω δεσμωτηριω Ιωαννη τε Βαπτισα καθιερξιν εφ' ενα ενιαυτον πεπραγμενα τω σωτηρι συγγεγραφοτας*. And Jerom in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers (Tom. IV. P. II. p. 105. ed. Martianay) speaking of St. John, says, '*Aliam causam hujus scripturæ ferunt: quod, quum legisset Matthæi, Marci, et Lucæ, volumina,*

probaverit quidem textum·historiæ, et vera eos dixisse firmaverit, *sed unius tantum anni, in quo et passus est*, post carcerem Johannis, historiam texuisse.

To reconcile this apparent difference between the duration of Christ's ministry, as represented by St. John on the one hand, and by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke on the other, the ancients (namely, they who perceived the difference, for all of them did not) had recourse to the following explanation. St. Matthew in ch. iv. 12. and St. Mark in ch. i. 14. where they relate Christ's return to Galilee after his baptism, say at the same time, that John the Baptist, before Christ's return, was cast into prison, which was probably the reason, why Christ quitted the eastern bank of the Jordan, and the vicinity of Machærus, the fortress in which John was imprisoned by order of Herod, as Herod himself was then in that neighbourhood with his army. St. Luke also, though not in chap. iv. 14, yet in chap. iii. 19. mentions John's imprisonment. It is true, that not one of these three Evangelists has mentioned any thing relative to Christ between his Baptism and his return to Galilee (Matth. iv. 12. Mark i. 14. Luke iv. 14.) except his temptation. But John the Evangelist has recorded many transactions of Christ which took place after his baptism, and before John the Baptist was imprisoned: for he expressly says, in ch. iii. 24. *εγω γαρ ην βεβλημενος εις την φυλακην ο Ιωαννης*, and in ch. iv. 1. he likewise speaks of John the Baptist as still baptizing. Consequently all the transactions of Christ, which are recorded in St. John's Gospel between ch. i. 29. and ch. iv. 1, are represented as having taken place in the interval, which elapsed between Christ's baptism, and the imprisonment of John the Baptist: and during this interval the first passover must have taken place, for the first passover is mentioned in ch. ii. 13. Further, the passover, which preceded that, at which Christ was crucified, is mentioned in ch. vi. 4.: and therefore all the transactions, which St. John has related after *this*

passover, that is, from ch. vii. 1. to the end of his Gospel, are represented as having taken place in the last year of Christ's life. And since he has no where related the imprisonment of John the Baptist, his Gospel presents no obstacles to the supposition, not only that all the events recorded before ch. iv. 1. but that all the events likewise which are recorded before ch. vii. 1. happened before the imprisonment of John the Baptist. But St. Matthew, ch. iv. 12. St. Mark, ch. i. 14. and St. Luke, ch. iv. 14. *begin* their account of Christ's miracles *after* John the Baptist's imprisonment, as these three Evangelists themselves expressly declare. The six first chapters therefore of St. John's Gospel may be considered as relating to a period of Christ's ministry, which preceded that, with which St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke *began* their account of Christ's miracles: and it is in these six chapters that all the passovers are mentioned except the last. In this manner the ancients appear to have reasoned, and thus they reconciled the duration of Christ's ministry as represented by St. John on the one hand, and by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke on the other, by supposing that St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke recorded only the transactions of the last year, but that St. John recorded the transactions of the preceding part of Christ's ministry. Eusebius, a few lines after the passage above quoted, says, *σκεν ο μιν Ιωαννης τη τε κατ' αυτον ευαγγελισ γραφη τα μηδεπω τε Βαπτισ εις φυλακην βεβλημεν προς τε Χριστ πραχθεντα παραδιδωσιν· οι δε λοιποι τρεις Ευαγγελισαι τα μετα την εις το δεσμωτηριον καθειροξιν τε Βαπτισ μνημονευσι.* And Jerom, immediately after the passage above quoted, adds: *Prætermisso itaque anno, cujus acta a tribus exposita fuerant, superioris temporis antequam Johannes clauderetur in carcerem, gesta narravit, sicut manifestum esse poterit his, qui diligenter quatuor Evangeliorum volumina legerint. Quæ res etiam διαφωνιαν, quæ videtur Joannis esse cum, cæteris, tollit.*

But the modern harmonists have adopted very different principles, and have interwoven the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke with that of St. John from the beginning to the end of it. In general they have accommodated the transactions recorded by the three former to the feasts of the passover mentioned in the latter: and have inserted in their harmonies some of the transactions before the first passover, others between the first and the second passover, and so on, according as in the opinion of each harmonist, these or those transactions belonged to this or that period of Christ's ministry. Different harmonists however not only make different insertions in the same interval, but differ likewise in respect to the intervals themselves. The common opinion is, that St. John has mentioned *four* different passovers, namely, in ch. ii. 13. v. 1. vi. 14. and xi. 55. as already stated at the beginning of this note, and consequently that Christ's ministry lasted between three and four years. But in ch. v. 1. St. John has not used the term *πάσχα*, though he has used it in the three other places, for he says only in general terms *εορτή των Ισδαιων*: and though *εορτή* is here commonly understood as denoting the grand festival, or the passover, yet some commentators, and not without reason, call this interpretation in question, and suppose that *εορτή* here denotes some other festival, since, if it denoted the passover, the short compass of ch. v. 1.—vi. 4. must have included a whole year. It is true that several Greek MSS. (but not the common printed text) have *η εορτή* with the article, as if the grand festival of the passover was meant *κατ' ἐξοχην*: but Griesbach in his note to John v. 1. says that the quotation of Origen exactly agrees with our common text, which is a strong argument in favour of its authenticity. The article is likewise omitted in the Codex Alexandrinus, Codex Vaticanus, Codex Bezae, and many other, indeed most of the Greek MSS. Some few harmonists therefore, in the number of whom is Bengel, assume only three passovers. Others

again, of whom Macknight is one, instead of diminishing, have augmented the number to five, the reason of which I have not been able to discover, unless the term *εορτη*, used in John vii. 2. though St. John has expressly explained it by *σκηνοπηγία*, gave rise to the conjecture. As these harmonists, whether they assume three, four, or five passovers accommodate the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke to that of St. John, and extend the transactions of Christ's ministry recorded by the three first Evangelists to nearly two, or to nearly three, or to nearly four years, according to the number of passovers, which they supposed to be mentioned in St. John's Gospel, so there are other harmonists, who accommodate the Gospel of St. John to those of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, and adopting the opinion of the ancients, that our three first Gospels contain the transactions of only one year, endeavour, as Dr. Priestley has done in his 'Harmony of the Evangelists,' to confine that of St. John within the same compass. To effect this purpose, they find it necessary to reduce the passovers mentioned in St. John's Gospel to two. We have already seen, that St. John himself has expressly mentioned only three: consequently the passover, which is really mentioned by name in ch. vi. 4. presents the only obstacle to the opinion, that no more than two passovers occur in St. John's Gospel, the one in ch. ii. 13. which happened soon after Christ's baptism, the other in ch. xi. 55. which was the passover at which Christ was crucified. This obstacle however is not an immaterial one: for St. John expressly says in ch. vi. 4. *ην δε εγγυς το πασχα, η εορτη των Ισδαιων*, and the word *πασχα* is omitted in no Greek manuscript now extant, and in no ancient version. But Gerard Vossius, in the second dissertation of his work, entitled '*Dissertatio gemina: una de Jesu Christi genealogia: altera, de annis, quibus natus, baptizatus, mortuus*, published at Amsterdam in 1643, conjectured that *πασχα* was an interpolation, and that *εορτη* was used by St. John in

ch. vi. 4. as well as in ch. v. 1. to denote, not the passover, but some other Jewish festival. The same conjecture is made by Mr. Mann, in his 'True years of the birth and death of Christ,' p. 161. and by Dr. Priestley in his 'Observations on the Harmony of the Evangelists,' p. 43. Bishop Pearce supposes that the whole verse is an interpolation: for in his note to John vi. 4. in his Commentary on the four Evangelists, he says, 'There does not seem to be any reason for the Evangelist's inserting this verse, nothing in this chapter having any relation to the feast of the passover or to any other of the Jewish feasts. G. J. Vossius, and Mr. Mann are of opinion that the word *πασχα* is an interpolation: and I think *that the whole verse is so*, because in ch. v. 1. mention is made of a feast, (probably the feast of Pentecost,) and in ch. vii. 2. of the feast of tabernacles, between which two no feasts appointed by the law of Moses intervened.' By this argument Bishop Pearce has really given great weight to *his* conjecture: and if any conjecture is here allowable, which I must leave undetermined, it is certainly preferable to the conjecture, that *πασχα* alone is an interpolation. Besides the omission of ver. 4. does no injury to the connexion: for ver. 3. and 5. are as well connected with each other, as ver. 4. is with either of them.

On these points rests the grand question, which has given rise to so much controversy, the 'Duration of Christ's ministry.' An examination of all the arguments, which various writers have used in support of their respective opinions, would require a volume for this article alone: and therefore I can only mention the various opinions, which have prevailed on this subject, with the principal authors, who have written on it. During the three first centuries the common opinion was, that Christ's ministry lasted only one year, or at the outside a year and a few months. Clement of Alexandria expressly confines it to one year, which he calls the acceptable year of the Lord, described by

the prophet (Isaiah lxi. 2.) and in the Gospel. His words are, *Ἦν δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὡς ἑτῶν λ' καὶ ὅτι ἐνιαυτὸν μόνον εἶδε αὐτὸν κηρύξαι, καὶ τὸτο γεγραπταὶ ὅτως· Ἐνιαυτὸν δεκτὸν Κυρίου κηρύξαι ἀπέστειλεν με· τὸτο καὶ ὁ προφήτης εἶπεν, καὶ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον.* Stromat. Lib. I. p. 407. ed. Potter. According to Origen, Christ's ministry lasted a year and a few months, for he says, *ἐνιαυτὸν γὰρ πρὸς, καὶ μῆρας ὀλίγους, ἐδίδαξεν.* De Principiis, Lib. IV. cap. 5, Tom. I. p. 160. ed. Debarue. Tertullian says, (adv. Judæos, cap. 8.) 'Hujus quindécimo anno imperii passus est Christus, annos habens quasi triginta cum pateretur.' Consequently Tertullian supposed that Christ's ministry did not exceed one year. Julius Africanus and Lactantius were likewise of the same opinion. Irenæus indeed, who lived in the second century, makes an exception to the rule: but his opinion on this subject was so absurd, that it is hardly worth mentioning. For in zeal against the Gnostics, who as well as the fathers of the three first centuries, believed that Christ's ministry lasted about a year, he goes so far as to extend it to nearly *twenty years*: in proof of which he appeals to John viii. 57. where certain Jews say to Christ, 'Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?' Hence Irenæus argues, that Christ was really not far from fifty at that time, and consequently that nearly twenty years had elapsed from the time of his baptism. Irenæus adv. Hæreses, Lib. II. cap. 22. § 6, p. 148. ed. Massuet. Further, in the second epistle ascribed to Clement of Rome, a writer of the first century, Christ's ministry is extended to more than a year, and fixed, agreeably to the opinion, which now prevails at three years: but all critics are at present agreed that the second Epistle, ascribed to Clement of Rome, is a forgery of a later age: consequently it exhibits not the common opinion of the first century, but the opinion, which prevailed at the time, when the epistle was fabricated. The earliest genuine work now extant, in which Christ's ministry is extended to three,

or even to two years, in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, who lived in the former part of the fourth century. We have already seen that in the opinion of Eusebius the transactions of Christ's ministry recorded by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, were confined within the compass of *one* year: yet he supposed that the *whole* ministry, namely, the whole time, which elapsed from the baptism to the death of Christ, lasted more than three, but not quite four years. His words are, *εχ ολος ο μεταξυ τετραετης παρισταται χρονος*. Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. cap. 9. This inference he deduces from what is said in Luke iii. 2. that Annas and Caiaphas were High Priests, when John the Baptist began to preach, and from what is said in Matth. xxvi. 3. John xviii. 24. that Caiaphas was High Priest when Christ was crucified, compared with the accounts of Josephus relative to the succession of High Priests at that time: an inference however, which the premises assumed by Eusebius do not warrant, as appears from the Notes of Valesius to this chapter. Eusebius further adds, that his calculation does not disagree with the accounts of the Gospel, by which he most mean the Gospel of St. John, in reference to the passovers, which are there mentioned. Jerom, who wrote in the latter part of the fourth century, and, as well as Eusebius, was of opinion, that St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, recorded the transactions of only one year of Christ's ministry, believed also with Eusebius that the whole ministry lasted more than one year, as may be inferred from the passage above quoted, '*prætermisso itaque anno, cujus acta a tribus exposita fuerant, superioris temporis,*' &c. But the indefinite term '*superius tempus,*' leaves it undecided, whether Jerom believed that Christ's ministry lasted three, or only two years. In fact, Jerom appears to have had no determinate opinion on this subject, for in another place (Comment. in Isaiam. ch. lxi. Tom. III. p. 456. ed. Martiana) commenting on '*the acceptable year of the Lord,*' Isaiah lxi. 2. he speaks as if the whole

ministry of Christ was confined to one year. *Annum autem acceptabilem et diem retributionis omne prædicationis ejus, quo in carne versatus est, tempus intellige.* Epiphanius, a contemporary of Jerom says, (*Hæres. LI. cap. 23.*) that Christ was crucified in his thirty-third year, *εν τῷ τριακοστῷ τριτῷ ετει της αὐτῆς ἐνσαρκώσεως :* and adds, *ε μονον δυο χρονων περιοδος Πασχων εν τοις ευαγγελιοις εμφερεται, αλλα και τριων.* Consequently in the opinion of Epiphanius, Christ's ministry lasted more than two but not full three years : for since Christ was thirty years of age, when he began to preach, (*Luke iii. 23.*) as Epiphanius himself observes, he could not have preached full three years, if he was crucified in his thirty-third year. This likewise agrees with what Epiphanius says of the three passovers mentioned in the Gospels (that is, in the Gospel of John) : for three passovers include the space of two years, which added to the months, which elapsed between Christ's Baptism and the First Passover, make up the period of time which Epiphanius assigned to Christ's ministry. But that it lasted even so long, was not the general opinion at the end of the fourth century; or Epiphanius would not have thought it necessary to deny, that it was confined within the compass of two passovers, *δυο χρονων περιοδος Πασχων.* The opinion of Eusebius, that it lasted between three and four years, prevailed at last over all other opinions on this subject, though Augustin, whose name alone was of great authority, still retained the ancient opinion. During the middle ages no further inquiries appear to have been made on this subject : and even after the Reformation all the Harmonists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have taken for granted, that Christ's ministry lasted between three and four years. But Bengel, in his *Harmony of the Gospels* published at Tübingen in 1736, reduced it to two years. And a short time before this *Harmony* was published, Mr. Mann revived the ancient opinion, that it lasted one year, which he has defended with great learning and ingenuity, p. 145—165. of

the Dissertation quoted above in Note 6.: and p. 166—177. he has given a chronological synopsis of the four Gospels, formed on this opinion. Dr. Priestley in his 'Harmony of the Evangelists in Greek,' printed in 1777, has likewise adopted the ancient opinion, which he has defended in his Observations, p. 38—43. But in his mode of combining St. John's Gospel with the other three he differs from Mr. Mann, as every one will immediately perceive, who compares the Harmony of the former with the Synopsis of the latter. They differ indeed in a material point: for Matth. iv. 12. Mark i. 14. Luke iv. 14. where the three first Evangelists begin their account of Christ's miracles, are placed by Mr. Mann *before*, but by Dr. Priestley *after* John ii. 13. where the first passover is mentioned. In 1778, Archbishop Newcome published his Harmony of the Gospels, and in the Notes annexed to it, especially p. 15, &c. defended the common opinion, in respect to the duration of Christ's ministry. In 1779, Dr. Priestley replied in a Letter, prefixed to his 'Harmony of the Gospels in English:' which was answered by Archbishop Newcome in the year following in an essay, 'On the Duration of Christ's ministry, in reply to Dr. Priestley,' who soon after published another defence of his opinion in his 'Two Letters to Dr. Newcome, Bishop of Waterford, on the duration of our Saviour's ministry.' In 1779, Dr. Körner published at Leipzig a short treatise entitled, *Quot Paschata Christus post baptismum celebraverit*: and in 1796, Dr. Hänlein published at Erlangen a short treatise entitled, *De temporis, quo Jesus Christus cum Apostolis versatus est duratione*. He asserts, p. 12. *si computum facimus totius temporis, quo arcta familiaritate apostoli cum Jesu conjuncti fuerunt, eumque docentem audire, loco triennii, vix unius anni spatium colligi posse videtur.*

Without attempting to decide on so difficult a question, I will only observe, that, as far as I am able to judge, the Gospel of St. John presents almost insuperable obstacles to the opinion of those, who confine

Christ's ministry to one year : for in order to effect this purpose, it is necessary to make omissions and transpositions in St. John's Gospel, which are not warranted a priori by the laws of criticism, but are attempted merely to support a previously assumed hypothesis. On the other hand, the opinion that it lasted three years, which receives no support whatsoever from the three first Gospels, cannot be satisfactorily proved even from the Gospel of St. John, who at the utmost has noticed only three different passovers ; at least he has *named* no more.

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10. The following Table considered as a General Index to the four Gospels is a very useful one. Our author himself expressly declares, that it must not be considered as a chronological table : yet from the transpositions which he has made, not only in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, but likewise in the Gospel of St. Matthew, as in N°. 29—42. it is obvious that he intended to arrange the facts in chronological order, as well as he was able. For the facts which occur in N°. 29—42. are recorded only by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke : and therefore the formation of a mere index did not require that the order of all three should be inverted. The reasons of each particular transposition our author has not assigned, and indeed the propriety of some of them might be called in question : but as almost every harmonist has a mode of arrangement peculiar to himself, and that, which is adopted in the following table, is liable perhaps to fewer objections, than that which is adopted in most other harmonies, I leave it to the reader's own judgment to determine on the propriety of each single article.

The duration of Christ's ministry is a question, which our author passes over in total silence. That in his opinion it lasted more years than one, may be inferred from what he says of Luke ix. 51.—xviii. 14.

a few lines before his Harmonic Table. But he leaves it undetermined, whether it lasted between two and three, or between three and four years.: for in N°. 52. he calls the festival (εορτη) mentioned in John v. 1. merely 'a great festival,' not the feast of the passover in particular, as all those harmonists do, who contend that four different passovers are mentioned in St. John's Gospel, and consequently that Christ's ministry lasted more than three years. However, in his Annotations on the New Testament he says at John v. 1. that, though it is a matter of doubt, whether εορτη here means the feast of the passover, or some other feast, he prefers the interpretation of those, who take it in the former sense.

SECTION VIII.

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1. Our author retains the commonly received opinion that all the precepts recorded in the three chapters, Matth. v. vi. vii. were delivered by Christ at one and the same time, or in other words, that Christ delivered a sermon on the mount in the same form, and in the same extent, as that which is recorded by St. Matthew in these three chapters. But many critics are at present of opinion, that these precepts were delivered by Christ at different times, and on different occasions, but that St. Matthew collected them and placed them together in order to give a comprehensive view of Christ's moral doctrines. This opinion has been very ably supported by Professor Pott in a dissertation published at Helmstädt in 1788, entitled *De natura atque indole orationis montanæ et de nonnullis hujus orationis explicandæ præceptis*: and by Professor Wunibald at Heidelberg in 1794, in his *Commentatio biblica in sermonem Christi in monte, Matth. v. vi. vii.* More will be said on this subject in the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels.

2. By the sermon in parables our author means the collection of parables in Matth. xiii. 1—53., which are recorded by St. Matthew as delivered by Christ at one and the same time. Some critics suppose that these parables also were not all delivered at the same time.

3. I know not by what means our author has discovered that the discourse delivered by Christ in the synagogue at Capernaum was of the same import as the sermon on the mount, since that discourse is not on record. For St. Matthew says nothing of it: and St. Mark, ch. i. 21, 22. and St. Luke, ch. iv. 31, 32. say nothing more, than that Christ taught in the synagogue, and that the people were astonished at his doctrine, since he taught as one having authority. It is true that St. Matthew, at the end of the sermon on the mount, ch. vii. 28. says likewise, 'that the people were astonished, &c.' But we cannot therefore conclude that the two discourses were of the same import.

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4. The arguments for the opinion that N°. 25—30. contain the history of only one day may be stated thus. N°. 27. is the sermon on the mount, Matth. v. vi. vii. N°. 28, 29, 30. the cure of the leper, of the centurion's servant, of Peter's mother in law, with other sick persons at Capernaum, are related by St. Matthew in ch. viii. 1—17. as events which took place on the same day, on which the sermon on the mount was delivered. Further, the cure of the demoniac at Capernaum, N°. 25, which however is not mentioned by St. Matthew, took place according to Mark i. 29, 30. Luke iv. 38. on the same day as the cure of St. Peter's mother in law, N°. 30. Lastly, Christ's choice of the twelve Apostles, N°. 26, which is likewise not mentioned by St. Matthew, immediately preceded the sermon on the mount, according to Luke vi. 12—49. Consequently, all the events in N°. 25—30. happened on the same day. This is the

clearest method of stating the arguments in favour of our author's opinion. They are liable however to some objections. In the first place, according to St. Mark and St. Luke, the cure of St. Peter's mother in law, N°. 30. succeeded the cure of the demoniac in the synagogue at Capernaum, without the intervention of any event whatsoever. For St. Mark says, ch. i. 29. *Και εὐθεὺς ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς ἐξελθόντες ἦλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Σίμωνος*, and St. Luke, ch. iv. 38. *ἀναστὰς δὲ ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Σίμωνος*. Further, the cure of the leper, N°. 28. took place according to St. Mark and St. Luke on a later day: for St. Mark after having related the cure of St. Peter's mother in law, ch. i. 29—31. adds, ver. 32. *ὥσπερ δὲ γενομένης, ὅτε ἔδυν ο ἡλῖος*, and ver. 35. *καὶ πρὶν ἐννυχθὲν ἄλλαν ἀναστὰς ἐξῆλθε*. St. Luke also, after having related the cure of St. Peter's mother in law, ch. iv. 39. adds, ver. 40. *δυνόντες δὲ τὸ ἡλῖο*, and ver. 42. *γενομένης δὲ ἡμέρας*. What follows therefore is represented as having happened after the day on which the demoniac and St. Peter's mother in law were cured. Now the cure of the leper is related, by St. Mark in ch. i. 45—50. and by St. Luke in ch. v. 12—16. And N°. 26, 27, 29. are represented by St. Luke as having taken place at a still later time; for they are recorded in ch. vi. 12—49. vii. 1—10. N°. 27, 29. are not recorded by St. Mark; but in N°. 26. which he has recorded, he agrees with St. Luke in referring it to a later day; for he has it in ch. iii. 13—19. It appears there that, according to St. Luke's representation N°. 25. and 30. happened not only on the same day, but without the intervention of any other miracle or event whatsoever: that N°. 26, 27, 28, 29. which our author has inserted as intermediate events, happened according to St. Luke at a later time; and that St. Mark's representation, in as much as he has recorded, agrees with that of St. Luke. St. Matthew on the contrary represents N°. 27, 28, 29, 30. as immediately following each other. Now as St. Matthew was not only an Apostle, but lived at

Capernaum, where the events in question took place, and was probably present at the sermon on the mount, and thence followed Christ into Capernaum, his representation is justly preferred by our author, who says of the cure of the leper, N°. 28. that St. Mark and St. Luke 'were unacquainted with the time, and St. Luke even with the place, in which it happened.' It may be admitted then, on the authority of St. Matthew, that the events related in N°. 27—30. happened on the same day. But the question is: Ought we to refer N°. 25. and 26. likewise to the same day? On these two articles St. Matthew is totally silent, and therefore we have the authority only of St. Mark and St. Luke. But though St. Mark and St. Luke refer N°. 25 to the same day as they refer N°. 30, yet they both agree in referring N°. 26 to a later day. We have no authority whatsoever therefore for referring N°. 26 to the day assigned by our author: and, even if we refer N°. 25 to that day, it ought not to occupy the place which he has allotted to it, but should immediately precede N°. 30, for the reason already assigned. On the other hand, if we refer N°. 26 to that day, we must necessarily refer N°. 25 to an earlier day; for on these two articles St. Mark and St. Luke are our only guides, and they both agree in making a very distinct and circumstantial separation of them.

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5. Nain was about twelve stadia from mount Tabor. See Relandi *Palæstina* (Traject. Batav. 1714, 4to.) p. 904.

6. If we separate N°. 35, we must likewise separate N°. 36; for the latter is a continuation of the discourse delivered in the former. St. Luke has the one in ch. xi. 14—36. the other in ch. xi. 37.—xii. 12.

7. That Christ was invited to dinner by a Pharisee on the same day on which he cast out a devil appears from Luke xi. 14. 37. It is likewise true, that St. Mark in ch. iii. 20. to which our author appeals, says,

the multitude, which surrounded Christ was so great, that he was prevented even from eating bread. But that this prevention had taken place on the day on which the Pharisee afterwards invited Christ to dinner, is at least a matter of doubt. For St. Mark says in ch. iii. 13, 14. *Και αναβαινει εις το ορος, και προσκαλειται ος ηθελεν αυτος· και απηλθον προς αυτον· και εποιησε δωδεκα, κ. τ. λ.* He then enumerates the twelve Apostles, ver. 17—19. and immediately adds ver. 20, 21. *και ερχονται εις οικον· και συνερχεται παλιν οχλος, ωτε μη δυνασθαι αυτες μητε αρτου φαγειν· και ακουσαντες οι παρ' αυτε, εξηλθον κρατησαι αυτον, ελεγον γαρ, οτι εξεση.* St. Mark then proceeds in ver. 22. *Και οι Γραμματεις οι απο Ιεροσολυμων καταβαντες ελεγον οτι Βεελζεβυλ εχει,* and in ver. 23—31. relates Christ's confutation of this opinion, which St. Matthew has related in ch. xii. 22—30. and St. Luke in ch. xi. 14—23. who likewise mention the occasion of this discourse, namely, that Christ had cast out a devil, which St. Mark has not mentioned. One might conclude therefore from St. Mark's account, that Christ was prevented from acting by the thronging of the multitude immediately after his return to his house at Capernaum, on the day on which he had chosen his apostles: that ver. 20, 21. to which neither St. Matthew nor St. Luke have any thing which corresponds, are connected with the preceding verses: and that ver. 22—31. which relate to a new subject, are the only verses which correspond to Matth. xii. 22—30, Luke xi. 14—23. But our author, like many other harmonists, separates Mark iii. 20, 21. from the preceding verses, and joins them to the following, and thus makes the prevention in question take place on the day, on which Christ cast out a devil, and confuted the opinion, that, he cast out devils by Beelzebub.

8. Even if our author is right in his application of Mark iii. 20. the inference, which he here deduces, is without foundation. For that Christ was so engaged on one day that he had not time to eat, cannot

excite even a conjecture that he was so engaged the day before.

9. The ancient Greeks used *αρισον* to denote an early breakfast, which they took at sunrise, for Athenæus says, (Lib. I. Cap. 5. Pag. 11. ed. Casaubon 1698, fol.) *αρισον μεν επι το υπο την Εω λαμβανομενον*: and they used *δειπνον* to denote the meal, which they took at noon: *Αρισον* therefore was the breakfast of the ancient Greeks, and *δειπνον* their dinner. But as the hours of eating generally become later and later in proportion as luxury increases, the *αρισον* was in later ages taken at noon, the ancient time of the *δειπνον*, in the same manner as ladies of fashion in London sit down to breakfast at the time when their ancestors sat down to dinner: for Athenæus, who lived in the second century, immediately adds, *δειπνον δε μεσημβρινον, ο ημεις αρισον, κ. τ. λ.* Such was the use of *αρισον* among the Greeks. But as it was adopted by the Jews and written *אַרְסָתוֹן*, or *אַרְסָתוֹן*, we must explain *αρισηση*, Luke xi. 37. from the Jewish, not the Greek usage. Now the Jews applied it to denote not an early, but a late meal: for Buxtorf (Lex. Talm. p. 227.) quotes the following passage *לְרַמְשָׁא עֵבֶר לִין אַרְסָתוֹן*, *vesperi fecit illis αρισον*. Even in the Septuagint it is used to denote a late meal, as appears from 2 Sam. xxiv. 15. *εδωκε κυριος θανατον εν Ισραηλ απο πρωθεν εως ωρας αρισης*.

10. All these discourses and parables might be delivered in less than an hour, and therefore there is no necessity for supposing that the meal, to which the Pharisee invited Christ, was given so early as ten in the morning, in order to allow time for their delivery. Besides, if we fix on so early an hour, we shall hardly allow sufficient time for the events, which, in our author's opinion, had already taken place on that day.

11. This interpretation of *σαββατον δευτεροπρωτον* is peculiar to our author. He was led to it perhaps from the use of the word *deuterocanonicus*; and as the term 'liber deuterocanonicus' is used to denote 'a book inserted in the canon, though its claim is doubt-

ful,' so he supposes that σαββατον δευτεροπρωτον was used by St. Luke to denote that part of Friday before sun set, which scrupulous Jews annexed to the sabbath, though in reality no part of it: for even at this day the strict Jews abstain from work and all payments of money after three o'clock on Friday afternoon. Now if σαββατον πρωτον had been ever used to express the main or primary sabbath, that is, the time which elapsed from Friday at sun set to Saturday at sun set, the supposition that σαββατον δευτεροπρωτον denotes the secondary or accessory part of it might be admitted. But as σαββατον πρωτον is never used in this sense, our author's conjecture is destitute of support. Scaliger's interpretation is 'primum sabbatum post secundum diem Paschatos,' Wetstein's 'primum sabbatum mensis secundi,' which is approved by Storr, who in his 'Design of the Evangelic History and Epistles of John *,' p. 315. analyses the expression thus, σαββατον πρωτον τε δευτερον μηνος. Dodwell says, that as there were three grand festivals in the Jewish year, the Passover, the feast of Pentecost, and the feast of Tabernacles, the first may be denoted by πρωτοπρωτος, the second by δευτεροπρωτος, the third by τριτοπρωτος. Various other interpretations of this expression, which occurs nowhere except in Luke vi. 1. may be seen in Poli Synopsis, and Wolfii Curæ.

12. This interpretation, which is likewise peculiar to our author, is absolutely inadmissible, for no Greek writer ever used ετερος in the sense, which he has ascribed to it. If St. Luke had intended to express the sabbath itself, in opposition to what the Jews annexed to it, he would have used το σαββατον: or, if he intended to divide the whole into two parts, he would have used, not ετερος but λοιπος, and have written, not ετερον σαββατον, but το λοιπον τε σαββατος. Whatever may

* The German title of this work is, Ueber den Zweck der evangelischen Geschichte und der Briefe Johannis. Tübingen. 1786, 8vo.

be the meaning therefore of σαββατον δευτεροπρωτον, Luke vi. 1. we must necessarily understand σαββατον ετερον of a totally different sabbath. St. Matthew likewise, though he has not noted a difference of time, has clearly noted a difference of place, for he says, ch. xii. 9. και μεταβας εκειθεν ηλθε, κ. τ. λ. Consequently our author's opinion, that all the events in N°. 33—37. took place within the compass of four and twenty hours, on which a doubt has been already expressed in Note 9. is a mistaken one.

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13. I here retain Beelzebub, as our author has written it, which is in fact the proper orthography, for all the Greek manuscripts without exception have Βεελζεβυλ with λ not with β. The English and other modern translations have Beelzebub with a b, for no other reason than because the word is so written in the Latin Vulgate, to which the translators in many instances paid more regard than to the original. But the most ancient Latin MSS. for instance the Latin of the Codex Bezae, have Beelzebul.

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14. Our author here speaks in reference to the day of the sermon in parables, which he ought to have expressed. But according to Mark iv. 35. to which he appeals, Christ put to sea on the evening of that very day (εν εκεινη τη ημερα οψιας γενομενης,) on which he had delivered the parables. In Luke viii. 22. to which our author likewise appeals, there is no determination of time whatsoever: for St. Luke says merely εν μια των ημερων.

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15. Rather on the evening of that very day on which the sermon on the mount was delivered. For in ch. viii. 1. St. Matthew relates Christ's descent from the mount, ver. 5. his entrance into Capernaum, ver. 16. he says, οψιας δε γενομενης, and in ver. 18. adds,

ιδων δε ο Ιησους πολλας οχλous περι αυτον; εκελευσεν απελθειν εις το περαν.

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16. St. Luke is so far from having determined the time, that he virtually confesses, by the indeterminate expression *εν μια των ημερων*, that he himself did not know the time. We have not therefore a majority of evidence in favour of the opinion, that the storm in question happened after the sermon in parables. We have St. Mark only on the one side, St. Matthew on the other. According to Matth. viii. 1—34. Christ entered the ship, in which he suffered the storm, on the evening of that day, on which he delivered the sermon on the mount, Math. v. vi. vii. According to Mark iv. 35—37. he entered the ship, in which he suffered the storm, on the evening of that day, on which he delivered his sermon in parables, Mark iv. 1—34. Now St. Matthew was both an Apostle, and an inhabitant of Capernaum, where Christ entered the ship: and therefore that he was better acquainted with the time, when the storm happened, is more probable, than that St. Mark knew the time better than St. Matthew. The objection, which our author makes a few lines before, that in this instance St. Matthew was not an eye-witness to the fact, since he relates the storm in ch. viii. and his own call to the apostleship in ch. ix. on Christ's return to Capernaum, is really of no weight. For if St. Matthew was called to the apostleship immediately on Christ's return, the time when the storm happened, must have been as well known to St. Matthew, as if he himself had been in the ship: and the very circumstance that his own election immediately succeeded that event, must have so impressed it on his memory, that he could not easily have forgotten it. Besides, our author's objection cannot be applied without involving us in a contradiction. For the object of it is to give probability to the opinion, that the storm happened, not after the

sermon on the mount, as St. Matthew represents it, but after the sermon in parables, as St. Mark represents it. But if it happened after the sermon in parables, it happened after St. Matthew's call to the apostleship, for St. Matthew relates the sermon in parables in ch. xiii. Consequently, we cannot apply the objection, without contradicting the objection itself. If it be said in reply, that St. Matthew did not write in chronological order, and therefore that we cannot infer that he was called to the apostleship before the sermon in parables merely because he has related the one in ch. ix. the other in ch. xiii. we may answer that, if this mode of reasoning is inadmissible, no one can infer that the storm preceded St. Matthew's election, merely because it is related in ch. viii. In whatever view therefore the subject be examined, whether it be admitted, or whether it be denied, that St. Matthew wrote in chronological order, the inference in this case will be the same. Lastly, since St. Matthew has recorded both the sermon on the mount and the sermon in parables, it is less probable on this account also, that he annexed to the one a fact, which really followed the other, than that St. Mark did so, who has recorded only the latter. And since St. Matthew expressly says, ch. xiii. 53, 54. *και εγενετο οτε ετε ετελεσεν ο Ιησους τας παραβολας τautas μετρηεν εκειθεν, και ελθων εις την πατριδα αυτου εδιδασκεν αυτους εν τη συναγωγη αυτων*, we must conclude, unless we contradict the authority of a writer, who had certainly the best means of information, that Christ, after the sermon in parables was ended, instead of going to the sea side, took the road to Nazareth, which is called his country, because it was the residence of Joseph and Mary.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE CAUSE, WHY ST. MATTHEW AND ST. MARK, AND ALSO ST. MARK AND ST. LUKE, HAVE IN SEVERAL INSTANCES A REMARKABLE VERBAL HARMONY, THOUGH THE ONE DID NOT COPY FROM THE WRITINGS OF THE OTHER.

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1. This cause will be particularly examined in the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels.

2. Our author writes $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\ \chi\epsilon\iota\rho\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ without $\tau\omicron\ \pi\tau\upsilon\omicron\nu$ in order to make a Hebraism, where in fact there is none. In the expression $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\ \pi\tau\upsilon\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\ \chi\epsilon\iota\rho\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, used both by St. Matthew and St. Luke, there is no Hebraism whatsoever, for $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ relates to $\pi\tau\upsilon\omicron\nu$ and $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ to $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\iota$. The peculiarity of the Hebrew language in this respect is, that a pronoun relative and a pronoun demonstrative are joined with the *same* substantive, as in Psalm cxliv. 8. $\text{אֲנִי פִּדְיוֹם דְּבָרֶיךָ שֶׁמָה}$, which literally rendered is, Quorum os eorum loquitur vanitatem. Consequently to make the phrase in question a Hebraism it must be written $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\ \pi\tau\upsilon\omicron\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\ \chi\epsilon\iota\rho\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$; and Justin Martyr in his Dialogue with Trypho really quotes it thus.

3. These two events are the cure of a paralytic, which St. Matthew has related in ch. ix. 1—8. and the cure of Jairus's daughter, which he has related ch. ix. 18—25. The former is related by St. Mark in ch. ii. 1—12. by St. Luke in ch. v. 17—26. and the latter is related by St. Mark in ch. v. 21—43. by St. Luke in ch. viii. 40—56. In the former, St. Mark and St. Luke (and also St. Matthew, which our author has not observed) have a great similarity of expression: but throughout the whole of the latter there is no verbal agreement whatsoever, not even in

Mark v. 22. Luke viii. 41. which our author has particularly quoted.

4. De Oratione, cap. 27. Tom. I. p. 245, 246. ed Delarue.

5. Instead of saying 'to follow any one' the Syrians say 'to follow after any one,' as may be seen on consulting these passages in the Syriac version. In the Hebrew Bible likewise, which is better authority, because it is an original, (whereas in the Syriac version the turns of expression might be ascribed to a closeness of translation,) the same mode of speaking is used. Thus in 1 Kings xix. 20. **וַיִּתְּרָה אַחֲרָיו**, which in the LXX. is literally rendered by **καὶ ἀκολουθῶσιν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ**.

6. According to Griesbach's text, which is supported by the best authority, St. Mark has really used **ἀκολουθεῖν**. But then he has used it in this instance with **ὀπίσω μς**, not with **μοι**, as a classic writer would have done. However, the Evangelists themselves use the construction **ἀκολουθεῖν τινι** much more frequently than the construction **ἀκολουθεῖν**, or **εἰθεῖν**, **ὀπίσω τινος**, which makes their agreement in here using the latter construction the more remarkable.

7. St. Mark and St. Luke have here used **γαζοφυλάκιον** to denote the treasury, in which voluntary contributions were deposited for the service of the temple. The word is frequently used both in the Septuagint and in the Greek Apocrypha: and in the book of Nehemiah it always denotes the sacred treasury in particular. Thus in ch. x. 37. **οἰσομεν τοις κερουσιν εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον οὐκ ἐστὶν Θεῷ**: ch. xiii. 4. **ἐν γαζοφυλακίῳ οὐκ ἐστὶν Θεῷ ἡμῶν**: ver. 7. **ποιῆσαι ἐντὺ γαζοφυλακίου ἐν αὐλῇ οὐκ ἐστὶν Θεῷ**. St. Mark and St. Luke therefore are so far from having taken **γαζοφυλάκιον** in an unusual sense, that they have taken it in the sense, to which it was appropriated by particular usage. Consequently in this instance their agreement in expressing the same thing by the same word proves nothing in respect to our present inquiry. Nor is their agreement in the use of

the word λεπτον at all extraordinary, though this word occurs no where else in the New Testament. Λεπτον was the name of the smallest coin among the Greeks: it was the 7th part of the Χαλκός, the 56th part of the Οβολός, and the 336th part of the Δραχμή. Now in Mark xii. 42. Luke xxi. 2. the subject relates to a poor woman, who, while the rich deposited in the treasury large sums, contributed two pieces of the smallest Jewish coin. That these two Evangelists therefore, in relating the story in Greek, selected the Greek word, which denoted the smallest coin among the Greeks, is what might be naturally expected, and requires no further explanation.

8. Φως is here used as synonymous to πυρ. These two words, which no classic Greek writer would have confounded, were sometimes exchanged by Jewish Greek writers, and used as synonymous, because the same Hebrew word **אור** denotes both light and fire. It is true that after points were added, the Vau was written with Holem, when **אור** was taken in the former sense, and with Shurek, when it was taken in the latter: yet, notwithstanding this Masoretic refinement, the word remained in fact the same. In Syriac, πυρ was expressed by **ܠܚܕܐ**, φως by **ܠܚܕܐ**, which differ only in the guttural **ܚ**, and were probably pronounced so nearly alike, that it was very difficult to distinguish them.

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9. Our author here adds **ς** before **αγιον**, in order to make a Hebraism, though the phrase used by St. Luke has none.

10. **עשה חיל** is rendered in the LXX. by **εποιησε δυναμιν**. See Psalm cvii. (cviii. in LXX.) ver. 15, 16. For **δυναμιν** St. Luke has substituted **κρατος**.

11. **Προ προσωπε τς κυρις** is a literal translation of **לפני יהוה**, or **לפני אלהים**, expressions, which incessantly occur in the Hebrew Bible.

12. *Σμα θανάτος* is the literal translation of *תלמות*, which is thus rendered in the LXX. in Job iii. 5. xii. 22. xxiv. 17. xxviii. 3. and in other places.

13. In the LXX. *Μασιξ* is so far from being the usual translation of *גַּלְגַּל*, that, though *גַּלְגַּל* occurs sixty times in the Old Testament, it is rendered by *μασιξ* in only three instances, Psalm xxxviii 9, (not ver. 12. as both Kircher and Trommius have here inaccurately quoted), Psalm lxxxviii. 32. xc. 10. The second of these three passages is, *επισκεψομαι εν ραβδῳ τας ανομιας αυτων, και εν μασιξι τας αμαρτιας αυτων*, where *μασιξ*, as well as *גַּלְגַּל* in the Hebrew, is used in its primitive sense. In the first example it is likewise used literally: but in the third example, which is *μασιξ εκ εγγυι τῳ σκηνωματι σς*, it admits at least of a figurative sense. N.B. The preceding quotations are in reference to the Greek division of the Psalms. In Prov. vi. 33. where *גַּלְגַּל* signifies 'pain' or 'affliction,' it is rendered in the LXX. by *οδυνη*: but Symmachus has even in this instance used *μασιξ*.

14. As our author has not mentioned the line in Homer, he probably quotes on the authority of H. Stephens, or Scapula, the former of whom after he has explained *μασιξ* as denoting metaphorically 'poena' adds, *quo sensu dixit Homerus μασιγα Διος*. Now H. Stephens had probably the following line in view. Iliad, N. 812. where Ajax says,

Αλλα Διος μασιγι κακῃ εδαμηνεν Αχαιοι.

But the subject here relates to the havock made among the Greeks by Hector, whom Ajax describes as a scourge in the hands of Jupiter: and there is no reference, as our author supposed, to any disease inflicted by Jupiter.

15. It is the literal translation of *גַּלְגַּל*.

16. In 2 Kings xii. 17. (not 18. as our author quotes) we find *εταξεν Αζαηλ το προσωπον αυτου αναβηναι επι Ιερουσαλημ*: but neither in this, nor in the other two

examples is *τηρίζω* used with *προσωπον* as in Luke ix. 51. However in the Greek version of Ezekiel *τηρίζω προσωπον* frequently occurs. Thus in ch. xxi. 2. *τηρισον το προσωπον σε επι Ιερουσαλημ*: and in ch. xxviii. 21. *τηρισον το προσωπον σε επι Σιδωνα*. In both these instances *פְּנֵי פָנֶיךָ*, *converte faciam tuam*, is used in the Hebrew.

17. In Syriac the common meaning of *ܐܝܢ* is 'ecce,' as of *אֵין* in Hebrew, and of *ἰδὲ* in Greek: nor does it appear to be ever used in the sense of 'jam.' That the Syriac translator has used it in Luke xiii. 16. shews nothing more than that he took *ἰδὲ* in its common acceptation.

18. A better example is in 1 Kings xvii. 24. where *ἰδὲ* is used in the Greek, and *וְהִנֵּה* in the Hebrew.

The present is the most convenient place for the examination of a subject, which has lately engaged the attention of some of the most eminent German critics, namely, 'The origin of our three first Gospels.' Our author himself, in the preceding chapter, has delivered his opinion, though without entering into any minute investigation. Indeed the principal publications on this subject have appeared since the year 1788, when the last edition of his Introduction was printed, and therefore he had not an opportunity of entering so deeply into it, as he otherwise would have done. But as the subject is of great importance, and has material influence on every other critical question relative to our canonical Gospels, I thought it an indispensable duty to institute a particular inquiry into it, which I have done in the Dissertation printed in the latter half of this volume, and which the reader is requested to peruse immediately, because frequent reference will be made to it in the Notes to the three following chapters.

CHAPTER IV.

OF ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL.

SECTION I.

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1. SEE Simonis Onomasticum Novi Testamenti (Halæ, 1762, 4to.) p. 107, 108.

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2. Not only in regard to the main point, but in regard likewise to all the concomitant circumstances, are the accounts, which are given in Matth. ix. 9—17. Mark ii. 13—22. Luke v. 27—39. precisely the same: and in the greatest part of the narrative St. Mark has even the same words, as St. Matthew. See the Dissertation on the Origin of our three first Gospels, First Division, Sect. 8. All three Evangelists agree in relating, immediately after the description of Christ's cure of a person afflicted with the palsy at Capernaum, (Matth. ix. 1—8. Mark ii. 1—12. Luke v. 17—26.) that Christ departed from the house where the paralytic person had been cured, and that seeing a certain collector of tribute, who was then engaged in the duties of his office, Christ invited him to become his disciple, that this collector of tribute accepted the invitation, that in consequence of his acceptance a repast was prepared, of which Christ and his disciples partook, that certain Pharisees to whom tax-gatherers were obnoxious, seeing Christ in such company, censured him on that account, and that Christ answered 'they who are whole need not a physician, but they who are sick.' Further, all three Evangelists agree in relating that some disciples of John the Baptist, who were accustomed to a more austere life, seeing Christ at an enter-

tainment, expressed their surprize at it, and that Christ answered them in the parable of the bridegroom, the parable of an old garment mended with new cloth, and the parable of old bottles filled with new wine. It is reasonable to suppose therefore, that all three Evangelists have recorded one and the same fact, and that, though they differ in respect to the *name* of the collector of tribute, they mean one and the same *person*. Now since both St. Mark and St. Luke agree in calling him Λευις, we may conclude that לֵוִי was the name, which was written in the common Hebrew document, and that both St. Mark and St. Luke retained it without any alteration. St. Matthew, on the contrary, exchanged the name of לֵוִי for that of מַתְיָא, not because לֵוִי was a mistake in the original document, but probably because St. Matthew, after he was become a disciple of Christ, laid aside his former name, which would have instantly reminded the Jews of an occupation, which was offensive to them, and adopted a new one, in the same manner as the apostle Lebbæus adopted the name of Thaddæus, John, the cousin of Barnabas, the name of Mark, and Saul altered his name to that of Paul. According to this representation Levi (or Levis) and Matthew were nothing more than different names of the same person, the former being that, which he bore, while he was collector of tribute, the latter the name which he afterwards assumed. In the original Hebrew document the name of לֵוִי was ascribed to him in the place, where his invitation to the apostleship was described, because *at that time* he bore the name of Levi: and St. Mark and St. Luke retained the name, which they found in the common Hebrew document, because, as they themselves were not Apostles, and had no connexion with St. Matthew, they either did not know, that St. Matthew had changed his name, or were not aware that the name לֵוִי, which they found in their common document, denoted the Apostle Matthew. But St. Matthew himself, as he had laid aside the name of לֵוִי long before he wrote his

Gospel, substituted the name, by which he was generally known at the time when he wrote.

8. If St. Matthew and Levi had been names of two different persons, and these two persons had been invited by Christ at the same time to become his disciples; it is very improbable that St. Matthew would have confined the whole narrative in such a manner to himself, as not to give even the most distant hint, that another person received, at the same time, a similar invitation. But if the omission of the name of Levi in St. Matthew's Gospel must appear extraordinary under these circumstances, what must we think of the omission of the name of Matthew in the place where St. Mark and St. Luke relate the call of Levi. Our author indeed endeavours, as will presently appear, to assign reasons, which might have induced these two Evangelists to relate the call of the one, and omit the call of the other. But his reasons are merely imaginary: and if they were ever so well founded, they never could justify a *designed* omission, as his arguments imply, of the call of a person, who was received into the number of the twelve Apostles, and that too in the very place, where they relate the call of his supposed colleague.

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4. It is true that St. Mark (but not St. Luke) calls Levi the son of Alphæus: but that he was therefore a relation of Christ, is an inference, which we cannot make, unless we take for granted, 1st, that Alphæus, mentioned Mark ii. 14. as the father of Levi, was the *same Alphæus*, who is mentioned as the father of James the Apostle, Matth. x. 3. Mark iii. 18. Luke vi. 15. and 2dly, that James the Apostle, son of Alphæus, was the *same James*, who is mentioned Matth. xiii. 55. and there called one of Christ's brethren, (αδελφοί.) This is the only mode of reasoning, by which a relationship can be made out between Levi and Christ: and if these two just mentioned positions could be proved to be true,

it would follow that Levi was a brother of James the Less, as he is called, and a relation of Christ. But the first of them it is at least difficult to prove; for we have not sufficient data, to determine the identity of the Alphæus mentioned in Mark ii. 14. with the Alphæus mentioned in Matth. x. 3, &c.: and the identity of the name is no argument for the identity of the person, since various persons, who lived in Galilee, might have borne the name of Alphæus. Michaelis himself likewise has since abandoned the opinion that the Alphæus mentioned in Mark ii. 14. was the same as the Alphæus mentioned in Matth. x. 3, &c. as appears from what he says, on Mark ii. 14. in his Annotations on the three first Gospels, published in 1790. But even if their identity be granted, it will be of no use; for the other position not only cannot be proved to be true, but may be proved to be false. For none of Christ's brethren believed in him, at least not at the time when he chose his twelve Apostles, since it is expressly said in John vii. 5. Ουδε γαρ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστενον εἰς αὐτόν: and that the twelve Apostles had been already chosen at that time appears from what Christ says a few verses before (John vi. 70.), ουδε ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς τὰς δώδεκα ἐξελέξαμην, κ. τ. λ. See also Mark iii. 21. 31. But if none of Christ's brethren believed in him, none of them could have become an Apostle: and therefore the James, who is mentioned, Matth. xiii. as one of Christ's brethren (ἀδελφοί) cannot be the Apostle James, the son of Alphæus. It cannot be objected, that the word ἀδελφός has a different meaning in John vii. 5. from that which it has in Matth. xiii. 55. and that in one place it must be taken in a remote, in the other in its proper sense: for this would be to adopt a mere arbitrary interpretation, in order to support a previously assumed opinion.

5. Though St. Mark and St. Luke relate that the entertainment was given in the house of Levi, we cannot conclude that it was not given in the house of St. Matthew, without being guilty of a *petitio principii*,

and of taking for granted that Levi and Matthew were different persons. That St. Matthew has barely mentioned the feast, without noticing the founder of it, is a proof only of his own modesty.

6. This is the only solid argument, which can be alleged in favour of the opinion, that Matthew and Levi were two different persons : but this argument will not outweigh the arguments in favour of their identity, if a reason can be assigned, why St. Mark and St. Luke, in relating Christ's invitation of a collector of tribute at Capernaum to become his disciple, agreed in calling him Levi, though each of them in his catalogue of the twelve Apostles has used not the name of Levi, but that of Matthew. And this reason has been already assigned in Note 2.

7. It may be here asked : Of what Apostles ? For our author himself acknowledges in his Note to Mark ii. 14. that more persons, than one, who bore the name of Alphæus, are mentioned in the New Testament.

8. That James, Joses, Simon, and Judas, who are mentioned in Matth. xiii. 55. and are there called brethren of Christ, were sons of *that* Alphæus, who is mentioned in Matth. x. 3. Mark iii. 18. Luke vi. 15. as the father of an apostle, called James, is an opinion, which has been already confuted in Note 4. Whether *their* father was likewise called Alphæus, is a question of no importance to the present inquiry.

9. Even if St. Matthew (namely, on the supposition that he was the same as Levi, which must be here supplied) was son of that Alphæus, who was father of the Apostle called James the Less, still the inference will be false, that St. Matthew was a relation of Christ, because Alphæus, the father of James the Less, was not the father of the four persons mentioned in Matth. xiii. 55. The supposition therefore, that St. Matthew and Levi were the same person, is not at all affected by St. Matthew's silence in respect to any relationship

with Christ, since the supposition warrants no such conclusion.

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10. Our author's objection to the argument, which he himself had used in the third edition, when clearly stated, is as follows. 'Though St. Matthew, in his catalogue of the twelve Apostles, has not said that he was the son of Alphæus, as he has of James the Less, we cannot infer from his silence on this subject, that he was not the son of Alphæus, because he is equally silent in respect to Lebbæus, though Lebbæus, as well as James the Less, was (as is supposed) the son of Alphæus.—But if St. Matthew had been son of *that* Alphæus, who was father of James the Less, it is probable that he would have noted at least his own relationship: and therefore our author's objection to his own argument is not convincing. The argument however is, for this reason, without foundation, that it implies, what no man can prove, that the Alphæus mentioned in Mark ii. 14. as the father of Levi, was that very Alphæus, who was father of James the Less. Our author has not expressed himself clearly; but he means to argue thus. According to St. Mark, the father of Levi was called Alphæus: if therefore St. Matthew and Levi were one and the same person, St. Matthew's father was called Alphæus. But *this* Alphæus was the same person, as the father of James the Less: therefore, &c.

11. It is true that Christ might have invited a person to become his constant attendant, and yet not receive him into the number of his Apostles: whence it appears, that there is no absolute necessity for concluding that Levi, if he was a different person from St. Matthew, was likewise an Apostle. But if the arguments, which have been used above in Note 2. can be overruled, and St. Matthew and Levi were really different persons, the opinion adopted by Hase

and Heumann, that Levi was the same person as the Apostle, whom St. Matthew in his catalogue of the Apostles call Lebbæus, will be found to be not wholly destitute of support. For the Hebrew name לֵוִי, especially if pointed לֵוִי (see Simonis Onomast. N. T. p. 99), might be expressed in Greek by Λεβαιος, since β is frequently used for γ, as in Δαβιδ for דָּוִד: and though the word is written Λεββαιος with a double β, this addition is of no consequence, since in other Hebrew names we sometimes meet with the same duplication, as in Tobit i. 8. where Δεβωρα is written Δεββωρα. Further, the Apostle Lebbæus, is supposed to have been the son of that Alphæus, who was father of James the Less. For in the place where St. Matthew has Λεββαιος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θαδδαιος, ch. x. 3. and St. Mark Θαδδαιος, ch. iii. 18. St. Luke has Ἰσδας Ἰακωβς: and since in St. Luke's catalogue of the twelve Apostles Ἰακωβς ὁ τῆς Ἀλφαις precedes with the interval of only one other name, that of Simon the zealot, it is supposed that St. Luke intended by Ἰσδας Ἰακωβς to refer to James the son of Alphæus. Hence it is concluded that Lebbæus was likewise the son of Alphæus. Again, according to Mark ii. 14. Levi had a father, who was called Alphæus: and though no one can prove that *this* Alphæus was the same person as the father of James the Less, yet if St. Matthew and Levi were different persons, we cannot prove the contrary. It is therefore not improbable that Levi mentioned in Mark ii. 14. Luke v. 27. was the Apostle Lebbæus. — This is the general outline of the argument, which may be alleged in favour of the opinion, that Levi and Lebbæus were one and the same person. In fact however they prove nothing more than this: that, *if* St. Mark and St. Luke, notwithstanding their agreement with St. Matthew, not only in the main narrative, but likewise in all the circumstances, except in regard to the name, have really described the call of a different person from him, whose call St. Matthew has described, the person mentioned by St. Mark and St. Luke *may*

be the Apostle Lebbæus. But if the arguments in favour of the opinion, that all three Evangelists have related the call of one and the same person, are valid, as they appear to be, the notion that St. Mark and St. Luke have related the call of Lebbæus to the apostleship, is ungrounded.

12. See Lardner's history of the Apostles and Evangelists, Vol. I. ch. v. §. 1. (Vol. VI. p. 44—48. ed. Lardner's Works, published in 1788), where the few traditional accounts, which are extant of St. Matthew's history, are collected. But Lardner justly observes, 'that the diversity of those accounts seems to shew, that they are all without good foundation.'

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13. Theophylact, in the Preface to his Commentary on St. Matthew, and Euthymius Zigabenus, likewise in the Preface to his Commentary on St. Matthew, (of which however only a Latin translation has been printed, viz. in the Maxima Bibliotheca, Tom. XIX.) say that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel eight years after the ascension. And it is better to abide by their mode of expression than to substitute, as our author has done, the year 41 : for it is not absolutely certain that Christ was thirty-three years of age, when he was crucified. Further, since chronologers are agreed, that Christ was born at least four years before the commencement of the vulgar æra, great care must be taken in reducing the years after the ascension to the years of Christ, not to confound the year 41, for instance, according to the vulgar æra, with that, which was really the 41st year after the birth of Christ, for this is at the outside the year 37 of the vulgar æra. In respect to dates in the first century, as the vulgar æra was not then used, it is a matter of indifference, provided we are every where consistent, whether we refer to the real year of Christ's birth, or whether we have respect to the vulgar æra.

14. When our author says that in most of the subscriptions to St. Matthew's Gospel, the year 41 (or as

he ought rather to have said the eighth year after the ascension) is assigned as the date of its composition, it must not be thence inferred, that most of the Greek MSS. really assign to it this date: for in the greatest part of the Greek MSS., especially of those, which are written in uncial letters, no date whatever is mentioned in the subscription. At least Wetstein has quoted only eleven out of more than an hundred MSS. of the Gospels, and only one of them is written in uncials. These eleven however agree in assigning the eighth year after the ascension. The Arabic Life of St. Matthew, to which our author refers, is probably the work published by Kirstenius at Breslaw in 1608, under the title, *Vitæ IV. Evangelistarum e codice Arabico*.

15. See what Lardner has said on this subject, Vol. I. p. 262. ed. 1788.

16. The German title of this work is, *Abhandlung über die Grundsprache des Evangelii Matthæi*, Halle, 1755, 8vo.

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17. Supplement, Vol. I. p. 110. or Vol. VI. p. 56, ed. 1788.

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18. An exception however may be made, in favour of his fourteenth argument, which is of a different description, namely: 'There is also an expression used by him (St. Matthew) once or twice, intimating that it was a considerable space since the time of the event, and his writing about it: *cb. xxvii. 8. Wherefore that field was called the field of blood to this day*. Having related the affair of the soldiers, and the directions given to them by the Jewish council to say, *that his disciples came by night, and stole him away*: he adds, *and this saying is commonly reported among the Jews until this day, ver. 15*. Such an expression does not denote any certain period: but one would think, that in this case, whereby must be

intended a considerable space of time, more than eight, or ten, or fifteen years.'

19. In the paragraph to which our author alludes, he says only 'according to *some critics* it was in the year 61, though it really must have been much later.' The opinion therefore, which Michaelis delivered, was rather in favour of St. Paul's second residence, than in favour of his first residence in Rome. This contradiction arose from the following oversight. In the third edition of his introduction, he really did understand the words of Irenæus, as he says: but he altered the sentence in his fourth edition, and yet forgot that he had done so, when he came to the place, to which this note relates.

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20. It is true that Cosmas of Alexandria refers the writing of St. Matthew's Gospel to the time when St. Stephen was put to death. See Lardner's Works, Vol. IV. p. 51. ed. 1788. But Cosmas does not say with Tillemont that this event happened soon after the death of Christ: nor can it have happened so soon, as will appear from a following note.

21. Tillemont's opinion differs very little from that of Dr. Townson, who supposes that St. Matthew's Gospel was written in the year 37. See his Discourses on the four Gospels, p. 120. 2d ed. Oxford, 1788, 8vo. And Dr. Owen in his Observations on the four Gospels (London, 1764, 8vo.) p. 22. fixes it only one year later, namely in 38.

22. That the fourth year after the ascension was the year in which St. Paul went to Jerusalem to confer with St. Peter (Gal. i. 18.), is an opinion wholly destitute of foundation. For according to St. Paul's own account (Gal. i. 17, 18.) he went into Arabia after his conversion; and after his return to Damascus, three years elapsed, before he went up to Jerusalem to confer with St. Peter. Consequently, even if the time of his stay in Arabia be not taken into the account, his journey to Jerusalem to confer with St. Peter cannot

have happened so soon as the fourth year after the death of Christ. But St. Paul's conversion must have happened several years later; for at that time the Jewish Sanhedrim possessed the power of inflicting capital punishments, as appears from the condemnation of St. Stephen by the Sanhedrim (*ἤγαγον εἰς τὸ συνέδριον*, Acts vi. 12.) which preceded St. Paul's journey to Damascus: and as long as Judæa was governed by the Roman procurator Pontius Pilate, the Sanhedrim did not possess this power, for the Jewish priests themselves said to Pilate, when they requested him to condemn Christ, *ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐξέστιν ἀποκτείνειν σδενά*, John xviii. 31. But Pilate continued procurator of Judæa till the beginning of the year 37 of the vulgar era: for Josephus, who relates in his *Antiq. Lib. xviii. cap. 4. § 2.* that Pilate, after he had governed Judæa ten years, was dispossessed of his government by Vitellius, proconsul of Syria, and sent to Rome, adds that when Pilate arrived there, Tiberius was already dead: *πρὶν δὲ ἢ τῇ Ῥώμῃ προσχεῖν αὐτὸν, φθάνει Τιβέριος μετὰ τῆς*. Now Tiberius died on the 16th of March, of the year 37 of the vulgar era. Consequently the death of St. Stephen, St. Paul's persecution of the Christians, and his subsequent conversion, could not have happened before that year: and therefore the journey to Jerusalem, mentioned Gal. i. 18. which was at least three years later, could not have taken place before the year 40.

Whether the condemnation of St. Stephen and the persecution of the Christians took place immediately after the departure of Pilate, or whether they happened in a later year, is uncertain. But as Vitellius was as favourable to the Jews as Pilate had been inimical to them, and Marcellus, the friend of Vitellius, was appointed by him to govern Judæa in the room of Pilate (see Josephus in the place above-quoted), it is not improbable that the Sanhedrim obtained from him a privilege, which it did not enjoy under the government of Pilate: and if they did, they of course took the earliest opportunity of making use of it.

23. That St. Matthew wrote his Gospel for the use of the Jewish converts in Palestine is a point, on which all the ancients are agreed : but for the opinion that he wrote it in the city of Jerusalem, we have no good authority. It is true that the author of the Synopsis, falsely ascribed to Athanasius, and the author of the Paschal Chronicle, assert it. See Lardner's Works, Vol. IV. p. 263. 296. ed. 1788. Jerusalem is likewise mentioned in the subscription to St. Matthew's Gospel in some few Greek manuscripts. But such late and such anonymous authorities are of no value : and it is evident that the ancients themselves did not know in what city St. Matthew wrote his Gospel ; for Jerom, who, from his residence in Palestine, had the best opportunity of procuring information, says only in general terms, in the Preface to his Commentary on St. Matthew (Tom. IV. p. 3. ed. Martianay), *Evangelium in Judæa Hebræo sermone edidit*. And Chrysostom in his first Homily on St. Matthew's Gospel virtually confesses, that he is unable to determine in what city any one of the four Evangelists wrote : *ἐνθα μὲν ἂν ἕκαστος διατριβὼν ἔγραψα, ὃ σφοδρὰ δεῖ ἰσχυρισθῆναι*, (where instead of *δα* some authorities have *δυνατον*). See Chrysost. Opp. Tom. VII. p. 8. ed. Montfaucon.

24. St. Luke virtually declares in Acts viii. 1. that the Apostles did *not* leave Jerusalem during the persecution, which took place after the death of St. Stephen : for he says, ' They were all scattered abroad, throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, *except the Apostles*.' And in ver. 14. ' When the Apostles which were at Jerusalem, &c.' Likewise in ch. ix. 26—30. where he mentions St. Paul's arrival in Jerusalem after his conversion, he speaks in general terms of the Apostles, as being still there.

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25. Whatever interpretation be given to the words of Irenæus, whether we suppose that he meant that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel during St. Paul's first resi-

dence in Rome, described in Acts xxviii. or during a second residence, we shall be equally well able to account for the circumstance that St. Matthew's Gospel was unknown to St. Luke. For in either case, if St. Luke wrote his Gospel before he quitted Palestine to accompany St. Paul to Rome, he wrote before St. Matthew: and, if on the other hand he wrote his Gospel after he had left Palestine, St. Matthew's Gospel, even if written before that of St. Luke, would have remained, if not wholly unknown to him, at least unseen by him, since transcripts of written books were not sent from one quarter of the globe to another with that rapidity, with which we now distribute copies of printed books.

26. The words of Origen on this subject are quoted by Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. 25.

SECTION II.

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1. The words used by Irenæus preclude this explanation: for Irenæus expressly says, that St. Matthew's *Hebrew* Gospel was published while St. Paul and St. Peter were preaching in Rome. Ο μὲν δὲ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλεκτῷ αὐτῶν καὶ γραφὴν ἐξενεγκεν εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ Πέτρος καὶ τὸ Παῦλος ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελίζομενων καὶ θεμελιοντῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Adv. Heres. Lib. III. cap. 1.

2. This is the only instance of an internal note of time, from which it might be inferred that St. Matthew's Gospel was written before Herod Agrippa, grandson of Herod the Great, had been appointed king of Judæa by the emperor Claudius. But in fact this internal note of time is a mere imaginary one, for it was not the practice of ancient historians to distinguish kings of the same name by any particular mark, or by the addition of 'the first,' 'the second,' and so on, as is the practice of modern historians. When the Romans invaded Macedon after the close of the second

Punic war, Philip; who then reigned in Macedon, was the third king of that name: yet Livy in the thirty-first and following books of his history, in which he relates the Macedonian war, calls him simply Philippus, without any distinguishing epithet whatsoever, since the circumstance of the history itself clearly shewed, that neither Philip, the father of Alexander, nor Philip, the son of Cassander, could be meant. In like manner Herod the Great is called simply Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς, Matth. ii. 1. without any additional epithet to distinguish him from his grandson Herod Agrippa, who was likewise king of Judæa, because it could not have occurred to the writer, though he had written either during or later than the reign of the other Herod, that any of his readers could make so strange a mistake, as to suppose that king Herod, under whose reign Christ was born, was not Herod the Great, but his grandson. St. Luke also in his Gospel, ch. i. 5. calls Herod the Great simply Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς, without any additional epithet to distinguish him from his grandson: and in the Acts of the Apostles, ch. xii. 1. he gives to Herod Agrippa the same title Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς, without any additional epithet to distinguish him from his grandfather. For St. Luke could not suppose, that any one would imagine, the Herod, who beheaded James the Apostle (Acts xii. 2.) was Herod the Great, any more than he could suppose, that one would mistake the Herod, under whose reign Christ was born, for the Herod, who beheaded St. James. Further, the same title, which St. Luke gives both to Herod the Great, and to his grandson, is given by St. Mark to Herod Antipas (son of Herod the Great), who is commonly known by the title of tetrarch of Galilee, a title however, which St. Mark never gives him, but on the contrary calls him in ch. vi. 14. ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης, or as the Codex Bezae, and some other MSS. read Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς. The indiscriminate application therefore of this title to the various reigning Herods makes it impossible to deduce any inference from the use of it

in Matth. ii. 1. in respect to the time, when St. Matthew's Gospel was written, or even when the two first chapters were written, if they were not written by St. Matthew. And if in the Acts of the Apostles, which were undoubtedly written long after the reign of Herod Agrippa, St. Luke thought it unnecessary to distinguish *this* Herod by any other appellation than that of Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς, though St. Luke himself had in his Gospel already given the same title to the grandfather, the supposition that either St. Luke or St. Matthew (for our author's inference applies equally to both) would have distinguished Herod from his grandson, if he had written after the reign of the latter, is evidently devoid of foundation. And it is the more remarkable, that our author should apply the argument to the Gospel of St. Matthew, as in a following section (ch. vi. sect. 5.) where another writer is quoted, who applies it to the Gospel of St. Luke, he positively rejects it.

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3. Namely in the Note to Matth. ii. 1.

4. If Matth. i. ii. were not written by St. Matthew himself, but were afterwards prefixed to his Gospel, it is no necessary consequence, that the author of them wrote after St. Matthew, since they may have existed in a separate document under the title, which they still bear, Βιβλος γενεσεως Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ, even before St. Matthew's Gospel was written : and therefore the use of the expression Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς in ch. ii. 1. can prove nothing in respect to the time when St. Matthew himself wrote, if the two first chapters were written by a different person. But whether they were, or were not, is of no importance to the present inquiry, since the expression contains no internal note of time, as has been already shewn.

5. If St. Matthew's Gospel (on the supposition that it was written before St. Luke's Gospel) remained unknown to St. Luke for no other reason, than because it was written in Hebrew, that is, in the language

spoken in Palestine in the time of the Apostles, St. Luke must have been unacquainted with that language; for otherwise, the circumstance, that St. Matthew's Gospel was written in Hebrew, could not have been the cause, why St. Luke made no use of it. But it is impossible to read a page of St. Luke's Gospel without perceiving the author's intimate acquaintance with the Hebrew turns of expression. Besides, it has been shewn in the Dissertation on the Origin of our three first Gospels, ch. 15—18. not only that St. Luke made use of Hebrew documents, but likewise in what manner he used them.

6. If the arguments in favour of a late date for the composition of St. Matthew's Gospel be compared with those in favour of an early date, it will be found, that the former greatly outweigh the latter. In the first place, the evidence in favour of a late date is ancient, whereas the evidence in favour of an early date is modern. A writer of the second century, as Irenæus was, had surely better means of information in respect to a fact in the first century, than any writer could have, who lived in a later age. And it is incredible, that Irenæus would have assigned to the composition of St. Matthew's Gospel a later date, than that, which he had really heard, since he could have had no motive for so doing; and if he had been instigated by any motive, to substitute his own conjecture to the report, which had been made to him, it is probable, if we may judge from the practice of later ecclesiastical writers, that he would have endeavoured rather to augment, than to diminish the antiquity of St. Matthew's Gospel. Further, we may trace in what manner the period, which elapsed between the death of Christ and the composition of St. Matthew's Gospel, as assigned by Irenæus, gradually diminished. For, according to Irenæus, thirty years must have elapsed. Now in the Paschal Chronicle, as it is called, which was written in the seventh century, the number thirty is exactly halved, and the fifteenth year after the death

of Christ is assigned as the year when St. Matthew wrote : and four centuries afterwards, Theophylact divides this half, and makes St. Matthew's Gospel written in the eighth year after the death of Christ. These successive divisions of the period assigned by Irenæus are alone sufficient to excite a suspicion against them, and consequently to augment the credibility of the original date. It cannot be supposed either that the author of the Paschal Chronicle, or Theophylact, had access to *historical* information on this subject, which had escaped the notice of Irenæus : and at any rate, if the former had good historical authority for reducing the period assigned by Irenæus to only one half, the latter could not have good historical authority for halving it again. Either one therefore, or both of them, must have delivered mere matter of opinion : and it is not difficult to discover the cause, which gave birth to each of their opinions. Almost all writers, who have rejected the testimony of Irenæus, have contended, that it would have been improper for St. Matthew to have deferred writing his Gospel so long as thirty years after the death of Christ ; and therefore they have diminished this period in a greater or less degree, according to the circumstances, which, as they supposed, rendered the composition of St. Matthew's Gospel necessary. Now it has been thought necessary that St. Matthew should have written his Gospel before the Apostles left Jerusalem to preach the Gospel in other countries. But in the Acts no mention is made of any number of Apostles being together in Jerusalem after Acts xv. where the council of the Apostles and elders at Jerusalem is described : and as this council was supposed to have been held about fifteen or sixteen years after the death of Christ, the first alteration of the period assigned by Irenæus was a diminution of it to one half, as in the Paschal Chronicle. Later writers again supposed, that, if not all the Apostles, at least the greatest part of them, and among them St. Matthew, had already left Jerusalem, when St. Paul arrived there three years

after his conversion, because in the Epistle to the Galatians, ch. i. 18, 19. he says, that he *saw* no other of the Apostles than St. Peter and St. James : and, since it was calculated that about eight years had elapsed at this time after the death of Christ, (see Note 22. to the preceding section), the date of St. Matthew's Gospel was further reduced from the fifteenth to the eighth year after the ascension, as by Theophylact. And it is probably owing to the authority of Theophylact, which was very great in the Greek church, that we find in the subscriptions to so many Greek manuscripts *ἐξεδόθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ χρόνου ὀκτώ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναληψέως* * : for, if we except the Codex Cyprius, which however in the opinion of Simon was not written before the tenth century, all the manuscripts, from which this, or indeed any date has been quoted, whether by Mill, Wetstein, Matthai, Birch, or other critics, are all written in small letters, and are therefore probably posterior to the age in which Theophylact lived.

To oppose these late opinions, for they are nothing more than mere opinions, to the assertion of Irenæus, who lived so near to the time of the fact in question, is surely to violate the laws of sound criticism. Besides, these opinions, if not improbable, are at least destitute of support. For in the first place the supposed propriety of a fact can never prove the existence of that fact: and therefore however great we may represent to ourselves the advantages, which might have been derived from an early composition of St. Matthew's Gospel, we cannot thence conclude that it really was written either within eight, or even within fifteen years after the death of Christ. That St. Matthew wrote his Gospel before the Apostles, that is, before the greatest part of them, left Jerusalem, is likewise mere conjecture. For Eusebius, to whom appeal is made in support of this opinion, says nothing more than that,

* But Nicephorus Callisti, who lived in the fourteenth century, had again recourse to the opinion, that it was written in the fifteenth year after the ascension.

* When St. Matthew was about to go to other people, he delivered his Gospel to the Hebrews in their own language*; but Eusebius does not say, *when* St. Matthew left Judæa, or even when he left Jerusalem, and it is probable that Eusebius did not know the time, or he would have mentioned it. Nor is it possible to determine when the greatest part of the Apostles left Judæa: for though Acts xv. is the last place, in which St. Luke speaks of an assembly of Apostles at Jerusalem, yet, as all the following chapters of the Acts are wholly confined to the history of St. Paul, we cannot argue from his silence in respect to the twelve. It is therefore at least possible, that St. Matthew remained; if not in Jerusalem, at least somewhere in Judæa, ten or even fifteen years after the council described in Acts xv.: and the bare possibility of it is sufficient to destroy the force of those arguments, which depend on the contrary supposition. The opinion therefore that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel within fifteen years after the death of Christ, whether we assume exactly the fifteenth year, with the author of the Paschal Chronicle and Nicephorus Callisti, or whether we reduce it to the eighth year, with Theophylact and the subscriptions to several Greek manuscripts, or whether we make a further reduction, as some late critics have done, is destitute, not only of direct historical support, but likewise of that support, which its defenders have endeavoured to give it by the aid of induction.

Since then the early dates, which have been assigned to the composition of St. Matthew's Gospel, are themselves incapable of proof, it remains only, that we examine, whether Irenæus, in testifying that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel at the time that St. Peter and St. Paul were together in Rome, has asserted any thing, which is in itself incredible. Now Eusebius has quoted the words of Irenæus not only without expressing the

* Ματθαῖος μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον Ἑβραίως κηρύξας, ὡς ἐμέλλε καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρους εἶναι, πατρὶν γλῶττι γράψῃ παραδὼς το κατ' αὐτὸν Εὐαγγέλιον, &c. τ. λ. Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. 24.

least distrust as to the truth of them*, but has prefaced them in the following manner, *Hist. Eccles. Lib. V. cap. 8.* Ἐπει δε ἀρχόμενοι τῆς πράγματις ὑποσχέντων πεποιημένα, παραθησέσθαι κατὰ καιρὸν εἰπόντες τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ συγγραφεῶν φωνὰς, ἐν αἷς τὰς περὶ τῶν ἐνδιαθηκῶν γραφῶν εἰς αὐτὰς κατελθούσας παραδοσεῖς γραφῇ παραδεδωκάσι, τῶν δὲ καὶ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος τὴν φέρει καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς παραθώμεθα λέξεις. He then quotes the words of Irenæus: ὁ μὲν δὲ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν διαλεκτῇ καὶ γραφὴν ἐξενέγκεν Εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ Πέτρος καὶ τὸ Παῦλος ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιοντῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. It appears then that Eusebius describes the assertion of Irenæus as ἡ περὶ τῶν ἐνδιαθηκῶν γραφῶν εἰς αὐτὸν κατελθούσα παραδοσις; and παραδοσις, as used by the ancient fathers, does not signify a mere uncertain tradition, but good and credible evidence delivered by one person to another, whether in writing or in speaking, and is applied even to the Gospels, which were called εὐαγγελικαὶ παραδοσεῖς. See Suiceri. Thesaurus, Tom. II. p. 576. Eusebius then, since he has neither here nor elsewhere advanced an opinion on this subject, which contradicts the assertion of Irenæus †, may be rather supposed to have tacitly assented to it. What Epiphanius says is likewise consistent with the account of Irenæus, as far as relates to St. Matthew: for he says in *Hæres. LI. cap. 6.* εὐθύς δε μετὰ τὸν Ματθαῖον ἀκολουθὸς γενομένος ὁ Μάρκος τῷ ἁγίῳ Πέτρῳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπιτρέπεται τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐκθεσθαι καὶ γραφὰς ἀποστέλλεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρος εἰς τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων χώραν. But if St. Mark wrote soon (εὐθύς) after St. Matthew, and yet wrote so long after his arrival in Rome with St. Peter, that

* Eusebius in general placed great confidence in the testimony of Irenæus: for in another place (*Lib. III. cap. 23.*) speaking of the testimony of Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria, to the fact, that St. John lived to the reign of Domitian, he says, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴεν οὗτοι

† When Eusebius says that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel when he was going to leave Judæa, no one can assert, that he contradicts Irenæus, because no one knows when St. Matthew left Judæa, as has been already shewn.

the composition of his Gospel immediately preceded St. Mark's departure, it is consonant to the account of Epiphanius to suppose that St. Matthew likewise wrote after St. Peter's arrival in Rome. . . . Theodore of Mopsuestia, who was a contemporary of Epiphanius, says still more plainly, that St. Matthew wrote after St. Peter was arrived in Rome, and adds that St. John was then arrived at Ephesus. . . . For, in the Preface to his Catenæ in Johannem, after having related that the Apostles remained a considerable time (ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ) at Jerusalem he says, that in process of time (περὶ χρόνου προβαυτός) the Apostles went into other countries, that St. Peter went to Rome, and St. John to Ephesus, and then immediately adds: γινέται τοίνυν ἐν ταῖς τῶν λοιπῶν Εὐαγγελιστῶν ἐκδόσεσιν, Ματθαῖος τε καὶ Μάρκος, κ. τ. λ. . . . Nor is the account of Irenæus contradicted by any ecclesiastical writer either of the second, or of the third, or of the fourth, or even of the fifth century: for all the authors, who assign an early date to St. Matthew's Gospel lived after the fifth century, as appears from Lardner's History of the Apostles and Evangelists; ch. v. sect. 2. . . . It is true that neither Clement of Alexandria, nor Origen, nor Jerom, &c. have positively confirmed the testimony of Irenæus, since they are silent as to the year, in which St. Matthew wrote: but then their silence cannot be so construed, as to make it a contradiction of Irenæus. . . . But if neither Eusebius, who quoted the words of Irenæus, nor Epiphanius, nor Theodore of Mopsuestia, nor any other ecclesiastical writer of the five first centuries, observed any thing incredible in the account of Irenæus relative to the time when St. Matthew's Gospel was written, it may be asked: what reason can be assigned, why we should reject it as incredible?

Now it has been asserted that the very fact, by which Irenæus determines the time when St. Matthew wrote his Gospel, is itself an imaginary one, it not being true, that St. Peter ever was in Rome. Could this assertion be proved it would certainly destroy the credit,

which would otherwise be due to Irenæus : for though the determination of time by a reference to a contemporary fact, if that fact is well known, and admits of no doubt, is still more satisfactory than the bare mention of a date, since a date is more easily forgotten than a fact, yet on the other hand, if that fact is false, the ground of determination vanishes, and with it the determination itself. But the arguments, which have been used in favour of the opinion, that St. Peter never was in Rome, affect only the opinion that he came there before St. Paul, and this opinion they certainly do affect. For the Epistle to the Romans, which was written from Corinth, implies that neither St. Peter nor any other of the Apostles had been at that time in Rome : and that St. Peter was not in Rome when St. Paul arrived there with St. Luke, is at least probable, since St. Luke in Acts xxviii. 16—31. where he describes St. Paul's arrival in Rome, and his reception there, says nothing of St. Peter, which we might expect that he would have done, if St. Peter had been there. Further, in none of the Epistles which St. Paul wrote from Rome, is the least mention made of St. Peter, which appears at least to imply, that St. Peter was not there, when those Epistles were written, unless it be supposed that the dissension, of which St. Paul speaks in Gal. ii. 11. still subsisted. But if we allow to these arguments their full force, the possibility still remains that St. Peter came *afterwards* to Rome, and that he was there before the death of St. Paul. And that St. Peter really was in Rome is a fact so strongly attested by the ecclesiastical writers of the four first centuries, that it is difficult to withstand their united evidence. It is asserted by Clement of Alexandria, by Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, with other writers of the Greek church, and by Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Jerom, and other writers of the Latin church *. One

* See the authorities quoted in Lardner's History of the Apostles and Evangelists, ch. xviii. sect. 5. Vol. VI. p. 556—561 ed. 1788.

should suppose that the early members of the Latin church especially could not have been mistaken in respect to so plain a question, whether St. Peter ever was in Rome, or not. And on the other hand, if they knew that it was false, or doubted the truth of it, but propagated the story in order to enjoy the reputation of having had two Apostles among them as teachers, (for no doubt could be made that St. Paul went to Rome) it would not have been so generally asserted by the members of the Greek church, on whom this motive could have no influence. That some of the fathers * have assigned a too early date to St. Peter's arrival in Rome, cannot be used as an argument, that the whole story is false: for we all know by experience, that a man may be very certain as to the reality of a fact, and yet have wholly forgotten in what year it happened. As to the expression *θεμελιοντων την εκκλησιαν*, which Irenæus likewise uses, it must not be understood, as if Irenæus intended to say that the *first* foundation of the church of Rome was jointly laid by St. Peter and St. Paul, for *θεμελιω*, signifies not only 'fundamentum jacio,' but likewise 'stabilio,' and 'confirmo:': and that Irenæus has here used it in the latter sense can admit of no doubt. For no man, who had read St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, in which the author declares, ch. i. 13. that he had not then been in Rome, and yet describes in ver. 8. the Christian community as being already in so flourishing a state, *ὅτι ἡ πῖστις αὐτῶν καταγγέλλεται ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ*, could think of attributing the *first* establishment of that community either to St. Paul alone, or to St. Paul in company with any other Apostle: and that Irenæus was well acquainted with the Epistle to the Romans is certain, for he has made quotations from almost every chapter of it, as any one may see on turning only to the *Index locorum scripturæ sacræ* in Massuet's edition. Whoever argues therefore from the expression *θεμελιοντων την*

* Eusebius for instance (Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. cap. 14.) says that St. Peter arrived at Rome in the time of Claudius.

ἐκλήσαν, and endeavours to convict Irenæus of a falsehood, on the supposition that he used θεμελίω in the sense of 'fundamentum jacio,' argues without foundation.

The objections therefore which have been made to the evidence of Irenæus, in respect to the time when St. Matthew's Gospel was written, are by no means sufficient to destroy its validity: and since it is the most ancient evidence on this subject, and is contradicted by none of the fathers of the five first centuries, there can be no reason for rejecting it. Besides, we may shew on other grounds, that it is at least highly probable; if not absolutely certain, that St. Matthew's Gospel was not written within eight, or within fifteen, or even within twenty years after the death of Christ. Every critic will readily admit, that the diligent inquiries, which St. Luke, as he himself says in his Preface, made into the history of Christ, were made either in Jerusalem itself or at least somewhere in Palestine, since during his travels in Greece and Asia Minor he had no opportunity of conversing with eye-witnesses to Christ's transactions. Now Troas, a sea-port town of the lesser Phrygia, was the place where St. Luke entered into St. Paul's company, whether St. Luke resided at that time in Troas, or whether only an occasional journey had brought him thither. For St. Luke constantly speaks of St. Paul and his companions in the *third* person before St. Paul's arrival at Troas, Acts xvi. 8. and even his arrival there he relates in the third person, saying, παρελθόντες δὲ τὴν Μυσίαν κατέβησαν εἰς Τρωάδα: but the departure from Troas he relates in the *first* person, saying, ver. 11. ἀναχθέντες ἂν ἀπὸ τῆς Τρωάδος ἐνδρομησαμεν εἰς Σαμοθράκην. After this place St. Luke mentions only two journeys to Judæa, the one in Acts xviii. 22. the other in Acts xxi. 8. On the first of these two journeys St. Luke did not accompany St. Paul, for in relating this journey he uses again the third person: on the second he did accompany St. Paul, for in describing that journey he resumes the first

person, saying, *ch. xxi. 8. ηλθμεν ες Καισαρειαν, and ανεβαινομεν ες Ιερουσαλημ.* It was at this time, that St. Paul was taken prisoner by the Jews, and was sent by Claudius Lysius to Felix the Roman governor, who resided at Cæsarea, where St. Paul continued in prison two years till the arrival of Festus, when he was sent to Rome, and was accompanied thither by St. Luke. No doubt therefore can be made, that it was during these two years, which St. Luke spent in Judæa, that he made the diligent inquiries, of which he speaks in his Preface, and at least collected the materials for his Gospel, if he did not draw it up there. Now it appears from the Dissertation on the Origin of the three first Gospels, *ch. 15—18.* that St. Luke procured two Hebrew documents, the one containing a narrative of facts relative to Christ, the other a collection of discourses and parables, but that he had no knowledge of St. Matthew's Gospel. Consequently it is at least highly probable that St. Matthew, who wrote, if not in Jerusalem, at least somewhere in Judæa, as all the ancients are agreed, did not write his Gospel till after St. Luke had left Judæa to accompany St. Paul to Rome: for if St. Matthew's Gospel had existed at the time when St. Luke was in Judæa collecting the materials for his own Gospel, it would hardly have escaped the notice of a writer, who professedly made such diligent inquiries, and who actually procured two other documents on the same subject. This argument then so far confirms the testimony of Irenæus, as it shews that St. Matthew's Gospel was not written till after St. Paul was gone to Rome. But in what particular year it was written after that event, is a question, which involves so many difficulties, that the most prudent part, which we can take, is to confess our inability to determine it.

With respect to the time when the Greek translation was made, all that can be affirmed with certainty is, that it was not made till after the Gospels both of St. Luke and of St. Mark had been written. See

the Dissertation on the Origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 15.

SECTION III.

PAGE 113.

1. See Note 1. to Sect. vi. of this Chapter.

2. The German title is, *Abhandlung von der Grundsprache des Evangelii Matthæi*.—As our author's inquiry into the original language of St. Matthew's Gospel, which takes up seven entire sections, is, though upon the whole the very best which has been instituted on this subject, in many places prolix and tedious, and, in consequence of its being controversial, abounds with repetitions and digressions, with which the reader may dispense, I have taken the liberty to omit in the translation not only many single sentences, but sometimes whole paragraphs. I have omitted however nothing, which was essential to the subject, as every one will perceive, who compares the original with the translation.

3. The early Protestant writers, who began to contradict the opinion, which had been generally received in the Greek as well as in the Latin church from the second to the fifteenth century, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, appear to have been influenced by party spirit, and a desire of opposing the church of Rome. It is well known that the council of Trent had declared the Latin Vulgate the standard, to which appeal was to be made in all cases of controversy. To this the Protestants objected, and asserted (what however is not true) that no appeal to a translation can be valid. Conscious therefore, that the members of the church of Rome might retort, 'You yourselves are obliged, when you quote from St. Matthew's Gospel, to quote from a translation,' they undertook to defend a perfectly new opinion, that St. Matthew wrote in Greek, as well as the other Evangelists; and setting aside the

testimony of all antiquity, they endeavoured to support their opinion by arguments, which were foreign to a question of historical fact.

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4. Within these last ten or twelve years, several eminent German critics have declared themselves in favour of the opinion that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew: for instance, Adler in his treatise *Nonnulla Matthæi et Marci enunciata*, &c. p. 24.: Eichhorn in his *Univ. Lib. of bibl. literature*, Vol. V. p. 977: Halfeld, *de origine quatuor Evangeliorum*, p. 47: Storr, in his *Design of the Evangelic History*, &c. p. 361: Corrodi, in his *Illustration of the Canon*, Vol. II. p. 152: Bolten, in the Preface to his German translation of St. Matthew's Gospel: J. E. C. Schmidt, in a treatise published in *Henke's Magazine*, Vol. IV. p. 576.

5. Published at Coburg in 1730.

6. Namely, Walton, Cave, Mill, Kidder, and Scott: to whom may be added Williams, who has written 'A dissertation on the original language of St. Matthew's Gospel,' which is prefixed to his 'Free Inquiry into the authenticity of the first and second chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, London, 1789, 8vo. 2d ed.' Dr. Campbell likewise in his excellent Preface to St. Matthew's Gospel, § 2—13. has well argued in favour of the opinion that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew.

7. The theological proof, as it is called, that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel not in Hebrew, but in Greek, runs thus. The words of the whole New Testament were written by inspiration. Therefore the words of St. Matthew's Gospel were written by inspiration. But if the words of St. Matthew's Gospel were inspired, they must have been written by St. Matthew himself, since if they had proceeded only from a translator, they would not have been inspired.—Now this argument would just as well prove that St. Matthew wrote in English or in French, as that he wrote in Greek.

In fact the argument, as our author justly observes in the place to which he refers, contains a glaring *petitio principii*. For if it be admitted that the words used by the Evangelists themselves were inspired, it will follow indeed that the words of St. Matthew's original were inspired; but when the question is in agitation, whether St. Matthew wrote in Greek or in Hebrew, we cannot set out with the proposition that the words of the whole *Greek Testament* were inspired without taking for granted the thing to be proved.

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8. In fact all such *priori* arguments would just as well prove that the original manuscript in St. Matthew's own hand writing was now extant.

SECTION IV.

PAGE 117.

1. Dr. Masch (p. 39.) does not give a different interpretation of these words, but only denies the fact, which follows from the interpretation which Simon, Michaelis, and several other eminent critics have put upon them. But that the words of Paplas do not imply that several Greek translations were made of St. Matthew's Hebrew original, appears from what has been said in the Dissertation on the origin of our three first Gospels, ch. 15. Note r.

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2. Namely, in the interpretation of the New Testament; for the Jews had long used allegorical interpretation in the Old Testament. Ernesti, speaking of the interpretation in the Old Testament before the time of Origen, says, '*Sola relinquebatur interpretatio rerum, quæ ad οκοδοµην feret in conventibus sanctorum causa, atque etiam in libris, quæ δογµατα et præcepta Christianæ veritatis explicaret, illustraret, et fidem sanc-*

titatemque hortando, movendo, consolando. aleret ap-
 roboraret, quo genere interpretationis hodie magistri
 ludorum puerilium, et concionatores populares, et li-
 brorum asceticorum scriptores utuntur. In eo sane
 fuit et semper mansit usus allegoriarum, sed modicus,
 et qui interpretationi ei quæ proprie dicitur, h. e.
 grammaticæ, nihil obsesset: *donec Origenes, imbutus*
litteris Judaicis, et philosophia Græcanica ingenioque ipsa
valens, longius progressus allegorias nimis et interdum
cum detrimento ac prope perniciæ grammatici sensus
persecutus est. Yet Ernesti in that very dissertation,
 from which the preceding passage is an extract, § 4.
 endeavours by an induction to shew, 'quicquid vetustas
 boni habet inter interpretes S. librorum e *genere literali*,
 et quicquid est in iis boni, id vel prope totum fluxisse
 ab Origene, vel saltem initia ab Origenis libris habuisse,
 § 29.' and has prefixed to the dissertation the following
 title, De Origene interpretationis librorum SS. gram-
 maticæ auctore. This apparent contradiction he recon-
 ciles § 31. by saying: *allegoriæ sunt rerum potius*
quàm verborum, nec allegoria quæritur antè, quàm
sensus verborum per grammaticas artes sit repertus.
 He adds however in the same place: *neque tamen is*
ego sum qui negem nimis longe allegoriarum studio
progressum esse Origenem. The dissertation is printed
 in Ernesti Opuscula philologica critica, ed. 2d. Lugduni:
 Bat 1776, 8vo.: and I have made the preceding extracts
 from it, lest the title should induce any one to suppose,
 that Origen, in the opinion of Ernesti, rejected alle-
 gorical interpretation.

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3. It is the duty of those, who reject the evidence
 of Irenæus, to prove that it rests only on the authority
 of Papias, and it is very unjust to require from those,
 who admit it, a proof of the contrary. Were this
 demand admitted, the testimonies of the ancients would
 be so curtailed, as to be reduced almost to nothing:
 for it would be allowable in no instance whatsoever, to

quote more than *one* ancient writer in favour of the same fact, if the bare *possibility* that the testimony of the one was nothing more than the echo of the testimony given by the other, were a sufficient reason for rejecting that testimony. But this is a consequence, which even they who make the demand do not admit, and therefore shew by their own practice the impropriety of the demand itself. However in the present instance it is not wholly impossible to satisfy the demand, for we can shew that it is highly probable, that Irenæus had the authority of Polycarp for what he has said both of St. Matthew and of the other Apostles. In his third book against heresies, ch. iii. § 4. he speaks of Polycarp in the following manner. Πολυκαρπος δε ε μονον υπο αποτολων μαθητευθεις, και συνανατραφεις πολλοις τοις τον Χριστον ωρακοσιν, αλλα και υπο αποτολων καταταθας εις την Ασian εν τη εν Σμυρνη εκκλησια επισκοπος, ον και ημεις ωρακαμεν εν τη πρωτη ημων ιλικια, κ. τ. λ. And in his Epistle to Florinus, of which Eusebius (Hist Eccles. Lib. V. cap. 20.) has preserved a fragment, he says, that every thing which he saw and heard delivered by Polycarp, had made such an impression on his memory: ωτε με δυνασθαι ειπαιν και τον τοπον, εν ω καθεζομενος διελεγετο ο μακαριος Πολυκαρπος, και τας προοδους αυτου και τας εισοδους, και τον χαρακτηρα του βίου, και την του σωματος ιδεαν, και τας διαλεξεις ας εποιετο προς το ωληθος, και την μετα Ιωαννης συνανατροφην, ως απηγγελλει, και την μετα των λοιπων των ωρακοτων τον Κυριον, και ως απεμνημονευσεν τις λογος αυτων. And a few lines after he adds: ταυτα δε τοτε δια το ελεος του Θεου το εκ' εμοι γεγονος σπεδαιως ηκουν, υπομνηματιζομενος αυτα, εκ εν χαρτη, αλλ' εν τη εμνη καρδια, και αι δια την χαριν του Θεου γνησιως αυτα αναμαρτυκωμαι. If then Irenæus had such respect for his master Polycarp, if he fixed in his memory all things, which he heard from him, and, as he himself says, constantly ruminated on them, there is reason to believe that Irenæus has related nothing, either in respect to the Apostles in general, or to St. Matthew in particular, which was inconsistent with what he had heard from

Polycarp. And if he really had his information from Polycarp, his testimony becomes still more important: for since Polycarp, as Irenæus testifies, was conversant with several of the Apostles, and other eye-witnesses to the transactions of Christ, Polycarp must have known, whether St. Matthew's Gospel was written originally in Hebrew, or in Greek. It will be objected perhaps that Polycarp never saw St. Matthew's Gospel, either in the Hebrew or in the Greek, since he has nowhere quoted it by *name*: and for this reason even Dr. Less admits that the quotations of Polycarp, which agree with the text of St. Matthew, do not afford an absolute proof, that Polycarp took them from St. Matthew's Gospel, as I have already observed in the Notes to the first volume of this Introduction, Ch. i. § 2. Note 3. But on the other hand no one can prove, that Polycarp did *not* quote from St. Matthew's Gospel: and since he has really quoted in his Epistle to the Philippians (see Lardner's Works, Vol. II. p. 92. ed. 1788.) several passages with the following formule, *ὡς εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος*, or *καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος*, which passages are contained in St. Matthew's Gospel, it is more reasonable to suppose that Polycarp copied them from St. Matthew's Gospel, though he has not expressly said so, than that he received them from oral tradition, or that he took them from some other document, which is now lost. Besides, though in the single Epistle to the Philippians, which is all that is now extant of Polycarp's works, the Gospel of St. Matthew is not mentioned by name, and even though it were true; which however no one can prove, that Polycarp has not quoted it in that single Epistle, it would be very unfair to conclude that he never quoted it in any other work, and still more so, to conclude that he had no knowledge of it. On the contrary, Polycarp's connexions were such, that if St. Matthew wrote a Gospel at all, Polycarp must not only have known it, but must have known likewise in what language St. Matthew wrote it. We are reduced therefore to this dilemma. Either

the Gospel attributed to St. Matthew is a forgery in his name, and written after the apostolic age, or Polycarp was able to communicate to Irenæus the necessary information about it. But in the former case Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, could never have imagined that St. Matthew was the author of it. Consequently Polycarp was able to communicate to Irenæus the necessary information relative to St. Matthew's Gospel: and therefore it is highly probable that Irenæus learnt from Polycarp, that St. Matthew's Gospel was written originally in Hebrew.

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4. Catal. Script. Eccles. cap. 36. Tom. IV. P. ii. p. 111. ed. Martianay.

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5. See Suiceri Thesaurus, Tom. II. p. 576.

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6. Tom. IV. P. ii. p. 102. ed. Martianay.

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7. In the place quoted by our author in Note k.

SECTION V.

PAGE 137.

1. Origen's own words (Tom. III. 671. ed. Delaue) are : *δηλονοτι πολλη γεγονεν η των αντιγραφων διαφορα, ειτε απο ραθυμιας τινων γραφειων, ειτε απο τολμης τινων μοχθηρας της διορθωσεως των γραφομενων, ειτε και απο των τα εαυτοις δοκουντα εν τη διορθωσει προστιθεντων η αφαιρεντων.* But what gives the greatest weight to the objection now under consideration, Origen immediately adds : *την μεν εν εν τοις αντιγραφοις της παλαιας διαθηκης διαφωνιαν Θεοδιδοντος, ευρομεν ιασασθαι, κριτηριω χρησαμενοι ταις λοιπαις εκδοσεσιν· των γαρ αμφιβαλλομενων παρα τοις εβδομη*

κοντα δια την των αντιγραφών διαφωνίαν, την κρίσιν ποιήσαντες των λοιπών εκδόσεων το συναδόν εκείνοις εφυλάξαμεν, και τινα μεν ωβελίσσαμεν εν τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ μη κείμενα, μη τολμήσαντες αὐτα παντὴ περιελειν· τινα δὲ μετ' ἀσερισκῶν προσεθήκαμεν, ἵνα δηλον ᾗ ὅτι μη κείμενα παρὰ τοῖς ἑβδομηκοντα ἐκ των λοιπών εκδόσεων συμφωνῶς τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ προσεθήκαμεν. By this observation Origen virtually confesses that he had no Hebrew original, by which he could correct the Greek text of St. Matthew's Gospel, as he had corrected the Greek text of the Septuagint by the Hebrew Bible.

2. The objection, which our author here combats, was first made by Lardner, from whom Masch probably borrowed it. See Lardner's Works, Vol. II. p. 542. ed. 1788.

3. Jerom. in his third book against the Pelagians (Tom. IV. P. ii. p. 533.) says, 'In Evangelio *juxta Hebræos*, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone, sed Hebraicis literis scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, *secundum Apostolos*, sive, ut plerique autumant, *juxta Matthæum*, &c.:' and in his Catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, under the article Jacobus (Ib. p. 102.) he says, 'Evangelium quoque, quod appellatur *secundum Hebræos*, et a me nuper in Græcum Latinumque sermonem translatum est, quo et Origines sæpe utitur, &c. From these two passages it appears that Origen, in several parts of his works, had quoted from a Hebrew Gospel, called the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews,' that the same Gospel had likewise the appellation of the 'Gospel according to the Apostles,' and moreover that it was supposed by many, at least in the time of Jerom, to have been no other than the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew. Further, among the works of Origen now extant, which are very few in comparison of what he wrote, there are still two passages, in which he has quoted this Gospel, which he himself calls τὸ καθ' Ἑβραϊσὶς εὐαγγέλιον. See Grabe Spicilegium Patrum, Tom. I. p. 26, 27. It is certain therefore, that Origen not only possessed, but occasionally quoted a Hebrew Gospel, which among other

titles had that of St. Matthew's Gospel: and it is likewise certain that Origen has not applied this Hebrew Gospel in the correction of those passages in the Greek text, on which he himself entertained a doubt.

4. See the following Note.

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5. But if Origen really believed that the first of our canonical Gospels was a Greek translation of *that* Hebrew Gospel, which he himself has quoted by the title το καθ' Ἑβραῖς εὐαγγέλιον, he certainly would have appealed to the Hebrew, wherever he entertained doubts in respect to the Greek text, for the very same reason that he appealed to the Hebrew Bible in doubtful passages of the Septuagint. But the fact is, Origen did not believe, that the first of our canonical Gospels was a Greek translation of *that* Hebrew Gospel, or rather he knew that it was not. His very neglect to appeal to it in doubtful passages of the Greek text is alone sufficient proof of this assertion: and it is fully confirmed by the fragments, which are still extant of the Gospel according to the Hebrews*. Besides, Origen in a place where he quotes the Gospel according to the Hebrews, says, 'si tamen placet alicui suscipere illud non ad auctoritatem, sed ad manifestationem propositæ quæstionis.' See Grabe Spicilegium, Tom. I. p. 26. It is true that this passage no longer exists in the Greek text: but the other quotation, which Grabe has likewise proposed, does exist in the Greek, and this quotation Origen likewise introduces in a similar manner, saying, εἰν δὲ προσιεται τις το καθ' Ἑβραῖς εὐαγγέλιον. Nor did Jerom believe, or at least he was not convinced, that this Gospel was St. Matthew's original: for in that case he would not merely have said of it, 'quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum,' and 'ut plerique

* The most complete collection of these fragments is in Jones's New and full method of settling the canonical history of the New Testament, Vol. I. p. 330—350.

autumant, juxta Matthæum,' (Tom. IV. P. i. p. 47. P. ii. p. 533. ed. Martianay). Besides, since Jerom translated this Gospel both into Greek and into Latin, there must have been a material difference between the contents of this Gospel and the contents of our first canonical Gospel: and though the former had probably much matter in common with the latter, in the same manner as the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke have, yet on the other hand the former must have had much matter, which was not contained in the latter, as is the case likewise with the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke. For unless this were true, Jerom's translation of the former would have been unnecessary. Had the difference between these Gospels consisted merely in a few variations, such as arise from a multiplication of copies of the *same* work, Jerom's object would have been attained by a bare notation of those variations; and moreover in that case he would have more frequently appealed to the Hebrew in his Commentary on St. Matthew.

But from these concessions the advocates for the opinion that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel not in Hebrew, but in Greek, can derive no advantage whatsoever. For though Origen did not believe, that our first canonical Gospel was a Greek translation of *that* Hebrew Gospel, which he has quoted by the title το καθ' Ἑβραϊσὶς εὐαγγέλιον, it cannot be thence inferred, that in Origen's opinion it was translated from *no* Hebrew Gospel: and though he did not believe that St. Matthew wrote the Hebrew Gospel καθ' Ἑβραϊσὶς, we cannot thence infer, that in Origen's opinion St. Matthew wrote no Hebrew Gospel at all. Even therefore if Origen had said nothing further on this subject, he could not be quoted in favour of the opinion that St. Matthew wrote in Greek: and since he has declared elsewhere in the most unequivocal manner, that St. Matthew really wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, it cannot be a matter of doubt on which side of the question Origen decides.

It is true that there is one passage in Origen's works (De Oratione, cap. 27. Tom. I. p. 245. ed. Delarue), which appears at first sight to imply, that in Origen's opinion St. Matthew wrote in Greek, and is quoted for that purpose by Lardner, Vol. II. p. 541. ed. 1778. In this passage Origen speaks of the word *επισσιος*, which occurs in the Lord's Prayer, Matth. vi. 11. and Luke xi. 3. Of this word Origen says, *πρωτον δε τστ' ισειον, οτι η λεξις η Επισσιον παρ' εδενι των Ελληνων στε των σοφων ωνομασαι' στε εν τη των ιδιωτων συνηθεια τετριπται, αλλ' εοικε πεπλασθαι υπο των Ευαγγελισων' συνηνεχθησαν γαρ ο Ματθαιος και ο Λευκας, κ. τ. λ.* Hence it has been inferred, that in Origen's opinion St. Matthew *himself* used the word *επισσιος*, and therefore that he wrote in Greek. But that this inference is without foundation appears from what Origen says a few lines afterwards: *ισομοια τη Επισσιω προσηγορια εστι παρα Μωυση γεγραμμενη, υπο Θεου ειρημενη' Υμεις δε εσεσθε μοι λαος περισσιος.* These Greek words are taken from the Septuagint, Exod. xix. 5. which Origen certainly did not suppose were written by Moses. If Origen then could quote these *Greek* words, and call them *προσηγορια παρα Μωυση γεγραμμενη*, his quotation of *επισσιος* from St. Matthew's Gospel no more proves that in Origen's opinion St. Matthew himself (and not his translator) used that word, than his quotation of *περισσιος* from Exod. xix. 5. can prove that in Origen's opinion Moses himself used *περισσιος*. In like manner the Latin fathers, when they quote the words of the Vulgate, speak of them as the words of the Evangelists. But if a Latin father should say, that in the Lord's Prayer both St. Matthew and St. Luke have the expression, '*panis supersubstantialis*,' or an English commentator, that they have the expression '*daily bread*,' no man would conclude that in the opinion of the former the Evangelists wrote in Latin, or that in the opinion of the latter they wrote in English. It is a lax mode of speaking adopted by writers of every age and nation, and is very admissible, when

the question does not immediately relate to the original language of the Gospels.

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6. The Greek text of this passage has been quoted in Note 1.

7. Our author's mode of reasoning on the passage, which he has quoted from Origen, is very unsatisfactory: and he himself appears to be not quite satisfied with it, if we may judge from the doubtful manner, in which he expresses himself in the last sentence. The real cause, why Origen did not appeal to the Hebrew Gospel καθ' Ἑβραίων has been already assigned in Note 5: where it has been likewise shewn that no inference can be deduced in favour of the opinion, that St. Matthew wrote in Greek.

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8. Origen's own words (Tom. III. p. 932. ed. Delarue) are, Ματθαῖος ἔκ ἐπεχειρήσεν ἀλλ' ἐγράψεν ἐξ ἁγίου κινούμενος πνεύματος· ὁμοίως καὶ Μάρκος καὶ Ἰωάννης, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ Λῦκας· τὸ μὲντοι ἐπιγέγραμμενον κατ' Αἰγυπτίως εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ τὸ ἐπιγέγραμμενον τῶν δώδεκα εὐαγγέλιον οἱ συγγραψάντες ἐπεχείρησαν. This is the text of the Benedictine edition: but in the text quoted by Simon (Hist. des Comment. ch. v. p. 82.) from Greek manuscripts, the words ἐπιγέγραμμενον κατ' Αἰγυπτίως εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὸ are omitted. Perhaps, however, the omission arose from a mere oversight, and was occasioned by the homœoteleuton.

9. See Note 3.

10. The Gospel according to the Hebrews, and the Gospel according to the Twelve were, according to Jerom, one and the same Gospel: and that Origen did not consider the Gospel according to the Hebrews as St. Matthew's original, appears from Note 5.

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11. In the Dissertation on the origin of our three first Gospels, ch. xv. it is shewn that a Hebrew document, which is there denoted by \aleph , formed the basis of our three first Gospels. It is not improbable that the same document was the ground-work of the Gospel καὶ Ἑβραῖς, and that this Gospel was afterwards confounded with the Hebrew Gospel written by St. Matthew, because both of them were used by inhabitants of Judæa, were written in the same language, and contained, probably, much matter in common with each other. On the other hand, it is not impossible that the Gospel καὶ Ἑβραῖς was, as used by the Nazarenes in the first century, St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel itself: but that so many alterations and additions had been made in the copies of it before the time of Origen, that it ceased to deserve the title, which was originally due to it, and that on this account Origen did not consider it as St. Matthew's original.

12. The same argument had been used by Lardner. See his Works, Vol. IV. p. 264. ed. 1788.

SECTION VI.

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1. The second and improved edition of our author's Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews was published at Francfort in two volumes, 4to. in 1780 and 1786, under the title Erklärung des Briefs an die Hebräer. To the first volume is prefixed an Introduction to this Epistle. In § 11. to which he alludes, he first quotes the Chaldee words סאבאχθאני, Matth. xxvii. 46. καλιθα, Mark v. 41. אבבא, Mark xiv. 36. Βηθεσδα, John v. 2. Γαββαθα, John xix. 13. Γολγοθα, ver. 17. to prove that Chaldee was spoken in Palestine in the time of Christ and his Apostles. (We may add, likewise, that the Evangelists themselves have expressly testified, that

Christ, in his familiar conversation with the Jews, used the Aramæan language. For instance, Mark v. 41. *Λεγει αυτη· Ταλιθα κεμι.* Mark vii. 34. *Λεγει αυτω, Εφφαθα.* Mark iii. 17. *Επεθηκεν αυτοις ονοματα· Βοανεργες.* But if Christ in his familiar conversation with the Jews used the Aramæan, it necessarily follows that this was their vernacular language at that time.) He further observes, that two Chaldee paraphrases, those of Onkelos and Jonathan, were then in use in Palestine : and that when St. Paul addressed a large assembly of the Jews at Jerusalem, he addressed them, not in Greek, but as St. Luke expressed it, Acts xxi. 40. xxii. 2. *τη Ἑβραϊδι διαλεκτῳ*, that is, not in the ancient Hebrew, of the Old Testament, but in the dialect, which was called Chaldee, or East Aramæan. He then confutes the arguments, which had been alleged by Isaac Vossius, to prove that the vernacular language of Palestine at that time was Greek. These arguments are five in number. 1. The Romans endeavoured to extirpate the language of every country, which they conquered. 2. The Jews could not dispense with the Greek language in contracts, testaments, and courts of justice. 3. Two living languages cannot exist at the same time, in the same place : therefore the old vernacular language must have become extinct. 4. The dominion of the Macedonian kings in Syria, had introduced the Greek language into that country, whence it spread into Palestine. 5. Theodoret relates, that no Jewish children learnt to speak Hebrew, but the language of the country where they were born.—To the two first arguments our author very properly replies, that, if they proved any thing, they would prove, not that Greek, but that Latin was substituted in place of the Chaldee. The third is no new argument, but contains only an inference, founded on the supposition, that Greek was become the vernacular language of Palestine. Besides, it is not true that two living languages cannot exist at the same time, in the same place, as every man who has travelled

knows by experience. The fourth argument shews only that Greek was the language spoken at the court of the Seleucidæ, and the principal towns of Syria: but Syriac still continued to be spoken in the country. Much less did the Greek supersede the vernacular language of Palestine. As to the fifth argument, what Theodoret says of the Jewish children, relates only to the age, in which he himself lived, and moreover to Jewish children born in foreign countries. The arguments therefore of Isaac Vossius are of no value whatsoever. For further information on this subject see Simon Hist. Crit. du Texte du N. T. ch. vi. and Walton's Prol. xiii. In the year 1767, Diodati published a short tract at Naples, entitled, *De Christo Græce loquente exercitatio, qua ostenditur, græcam sive hellenisticam linguam cum Judæis omnibus, tum ipsi adeo Christo nativam ac vernaculam fuisse.* But Diodati's arguments are neither new nor solid: and they have been fully confuted by Ernesti in his *Neueste theologische Bibliothek*, Vol. I. p. 269—278. That the Greek Bible was sometimes read in the synagogues of Judea, cannot be denied, as appears from the following passage quoted by Buxtorf in his *Lexicon Talm. Rabbinicum*, from the Talmud of Jerusalem. "Rabbi Levi ivit Cæsaream, audiensque eos legentes lectionem 'Audi Israel,' Deut. vi. Hellenistice, voluit impedire ipsos." But nothing more appears from this passage, than that the Greek Bible was read in Cæsarea, which was a sea-port town, the resort of strangers of all nations: and the very surprize and displeasure expressed by Rabbi Levi proves, that he had not been accustomed to hear it in other synagogues of Judea. In fact the Targum, or Chaldee version, was to the Jews of Jerusalem, what the Septuagint was to the Jews of Alexandria.

2. Even if it be true, that there were synagogues in Jerusalem, where the Old Testament was read, not in the Chaldee, but in the Greek version, we cannot thence

infer, that Greek was generally spoken in Jerusalem. We might as well conclude that German was universally understood in London, because there are German chapels there.

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3. The Syriac version itself is an additional proof: for if Greek was become the vernacular language of Syria, there could have been no necessity for a Syriac translation of the Greek Testament. Greek was the language of the court of Antioch under the reign of the Seleucidæ: but the common people still retained the language of their ancestors. It was the same in Egypt, where the Greek spoken at Alexandria did not eradicate the language of the country. Hence it was necessary to make a Coptic version. But if in Syria and Egypt, where Greek princes reigned, the Greek language did not become universal, how can it be expected to have become so in Palestine? With respect to the sacred writers, it must be observed, that St. Paul was a native of Tarsus, where Greek was spoken, that St. John spent the latter part of his life either at Ephesus or in some other Greek town, that St. Luke, if not born in a Greek country, spent at least the greater part of his life where Greek was spoken, that St. Mark and St. Peter travelled likewise in Greek countries. But St. Matthew never travelled into countries, where Greek was the vernacular language.

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4. On this subject see the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 15. Note *q*.

SECTION VII.

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1. This whole section is in the German original so very prolix, and so abounds with repetitions, and with answers to objections, which are not worth examination, that I have taken the liberty of giving only an abridgement of it. Nothing however of the least importance is omitted.

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2. In the place to which our author refers his readers for further information on this subject, we find hardly any thing that is satisfactory. The true reason, why the Syrians translated the Gospel of St. Matthew from the Greek, is that the canon, or collection of writings, which constitute the New Testament, had been formed, before the Syriac version was made : and this canon contained, not the Hebrew, but the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew.

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3. Thus in the Latin Vulgate, Apoc. ix. 11. where the Greek text is, *ονομα αυτω εβραισι Αβαδδων, και εν τη ελληνικη ονομα εχει Απολλυων*, the Latin translator, after having rendered these words by ‘*cui nomen Hebraice Abaddon, Græce autem Apollyon*,’ has added, for the benefit of Latin readers, *Latine habens nomen Exterminans*.

4. Some years ago were published in London two volumes of sermons without the author’s name on the title page. In these sermons the texts of scripture are quoted in the words of the established version : yet this will not prove, that the sermons were written originally in English, for they were translated from the German

of Zollikofer. On the same ground likewise might be argued that my translation of Michaelis is an original, because I have used the words of the established English version, in places where the author himself had quoted that of Luther.

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5. When the Latin fathers quoted the Gospel of St. John, for instance, in the Latin version, they considered the words which they quoted, as words of holy scripture, as much as the Greek fathers did, when they quoted the words of the Greek original. And the same is true likewise when an English divine quotes a passage from St. John's Gospel in the English version. When the Greek fathers therefore confidently quote the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew as a part of Holy Scripture, we can no more infer that they therefore supposed it to have been written originally in Greek, than we can infer, that the Gospel of St. John was supposed by the Latin fathers to have been written originally in Latin.

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6. That this solution is the true one, appears from the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 15. A minute examination therefore of the various reading in Zech. iii. 7. Matth. xxvi. 31. Mark xiv. 27. is unnecessary.

SECTION VIII.

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1. In the place, to which our author refers, he conjectures that St. Matthew wrote **בַּנֶּשֶׁף שַׁבָּת** in ch. xxviii. 1.; that he used **נֶשֶׁף** in the sense of 'the morning twilight,' and thus agreed with the other Evangelist; but that his translator understood it of 'the evening twilight,' which sense it likewise bears, and thus rendered it by **οψε**. Bolten, in his Note to this passage, supposes, that the words of the original were **שַׁבָּתוֹת מְקֻצָּה**, which is literally 'a fine sabbatorium,' and agrees with the expression used by St. Mark **διαγενομενος τε σαββατου**.

2. Our author here observes that **δικαιωματα** is used 1 Maccab. i. 13. 51. ii. 21. and also Heb. ix. 1. 10. to denote 'religious ceremonies.'—Perhaps the word acquired this sense in Hellenistic Greek from the supposition that the Jews were rendered just and good men merely by their religious ceremonies.

3. **קִר**, which signifies a 'religious ordinance,' is very frequently translated in the Septuagint by **δικαιωμα**, but never by **δικαιοσυνη**.

4. See Schleusner's Lexicon on this word.

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5. It is difficult to comprehend in what our author's explanation differs from the common one.

6. The difference is merely in the punctuation: Sing. emph. **דַּמּוֹנִי**; **דַּמּוֹנִיָּא**: Plur. emph. **דַּמּוֹנִיָּא**; **דַּמּוֹנִיָּא**.

7. But in Chaldee the plural emphatic ends in Aleph, as well as in Syriac.

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8. מָתָה 3 sing. perf. foem. signifies 'mortua est :'
מָתָה part. foem. signifies 'moriens.'

9. Not both of the other two Evangelists, namely, St. Mark and St. Luke, have used the present tense. The former alone has εσχατως εχει: the latter, though he has not ετελευτησε, as in the Greek text of St. Matthew, has the perfectly synonymous expression απεθνησκε.

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10. Our author's object is to explain in what manner a Chaldee expression might have given rise to the two Greek readings, οξος μετα χολης μεμιγμενον, Matth. xxvii. 34. and ονος εσμυρνισμενος, Mark xv. 23. But his conjecture מֵרִירָא בְּחֵלִיא by no means answers the purpose, for which it was made. For though חֵלִיא signifies 'dulcis,' yet when used without מֵרִירָא, it does not signify 'vinum dulce;' and מֵרִירָא does not signify 'myrrha,' but only 'fel.' His supposed Chaldee reading, therefore, cannot possibly have given rise to ονος εσμυρνισμενος in St. Mark's text. Nor is his construction of חֵלִיא, so as to make it accord with the Greek text of St. Matthew, correct, though it is true that חֵלִיא signifies 'acetum.' Other critics have had recourse to מֵרִירָא חֵלִיא. But here the same objection to חֵלִיא occurs as before: and as to מֵרִירָא, which is substituted in the place of מֵרִירָא, though it might have given rise to the reading εσμυρνισμενος in St. Mark's text, it cannot well have been rendered by χολη in the Greek text of St. Matthew, because מֵרִירָא does not signify 'fel,' but 'myrrha.' Appeal indeed has been made to the following passages in the Septuagint, Deut. xxix. 18. xxxii. 32. Jerem. viii. 14. ix. 15. (compared with xxix. 18.) Lament. iii. 13. Now it is true that χολη is used in these passages of the Septuagint: but that it is a translation of מֵרִירָא is a mistake, for in every

one of them is a translation of שֶׁנֶּאֱמָר.—If the different expressions οἶνος εἰς μυρρινισμένον, and οἶκος μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον, are to be explained on the supposition of a common Chaldee original, we must endeavour to find a Chaldee word for οἶνος, which may be easily mistaken for one that denotes οἶκος, and likewise a Chaldee word, which signifies σμύρνα, which may be easily mistaken for one that denotes χολή. Now חֲמֵר, or חֲמֵרָא, really denotes οἶνος, and חֲמֵץ or חֲמֵץָא really denotes οἶκος. Again, חֲמֵרָא really signifies σμύρνα, and חֲמֵרָא really signifies χολή. If then we suppose, that the original Chaldee text was חֲמֵרָא חֲלִיט בְּחֵרָא, ‘vinum mixtum myrrha,’ οἶνος εἰς μυρρινισμένον, which is not at all improbable, as it is the reading of the Syriac version at Mark xv. 23. חֲמֵרָא חֲלִיט בְּחֵרָא, it might easily have been mistaken for חֲמֵרָא חֲלִיט בְּחֵרָא, ‘acetum mixtum felle,’ and translated οἶκος μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον.—If an objection be made to the supposed exchange of חֲמֵרָא for חֲמֵץָא, though no one can object to the supposition that חֲמֵרָא was mistaken for חֲמֵרָא, on account of the great similarity between ו and ר, letters which have been very frequently confounded, another conjecture may be proposed, namely, that the Chaldee text was חֲמֵרָא בְּחֵרָא. Now בְּחֵרָא may be either the participle Pehil of the verb חֲמֵר, in which case it denotes ‘aromatibus conditus,’ or it may be taken as a noun substantive, in which case it has the sense of ‘acetum.’ If it be taken in the former sense, the Chaldee text will be rendered by ‘vinum conditum myrrha,’ which is again οἶνος εἰς μυρρινισμένον. If it be taken in the latter sense, and ו be mistaken for ר in the last word, חֲמֵרָא בְּחֵרָא will be rendered by ‘cetum cum felle,’ or οἶκος μετὰ χολῆς. Again, though חֲמֵר, when read חֲמֵר, and used as a substantive, signifies ‘vinum,’ yet if it be read חֲמֵר, it is the participle Benoni of the verb חֲמֵר, which signifies ‘turbidum fieri,’ to which the idea expressed by μιγνύσθαι is closely allied. But no translator, who took בְּחֵרָא in the

sense of 'acetum,' could at the same time take **יין** in the sense of 'vinum.'—Which of the two conjectures is the most probable, or the least improbable, I leave to the learned to determine.

SECTION IX.

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1. The German title of this work is, Walch's Vollständige Historie der Ketzereyen. Göttingen, 1762—1780. 10 Vols. 8vo.

2. This derivation was given by Epiphanius Hæres. XXX. 1. : but it does not appear, that he had any historical authority for it.

3. Some few perhaps, as Symmachus for instance, but certainly not the generality of them : and therefore to the Ebionites in general a Greek Gospel would have been unintelligible.

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4. We ought rather to say, they were denounced as heretics in the second century : for the Nazarenes at least *existed* without doubt in the first century.

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5. See the latter part of Note 5. to Vol. III. Ch. ii. Sect. 6. of this Introduction.

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6. Jerom (De vir. illustr. Cap. 2.) speaking of the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes, says, 'quo et Origines sæpe utitur.'

7. He translated it both into Greek and into Latin : for he says in the place quoted in the preceding note, 'a me nuper in Græcum Latinumque sermonem translatum est.' That he translated into Greek appears also from the passage quoted by our author in Note *b*.

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8. Eriphanii Hæres. XXIX. 9. οὐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ καὶ τὰς γενεαλογίας τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἀχρὶ Χριστοῦ περιέχον.

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9. It is true that in the Hebrew of the Old Testament, Judah and Judæa are both expressed by יְהוּדָה. But if the term 'Hebrew' be-applied to the Gospel of the Nazarenes, it is equivalent to the term 'Chaldee': and in Chaldee and Syriac, Judah and Judæa were distinguished, the former being written ܝܗܘܕܐ, the latter ܝܗܘܕܝܐ, without Aleph. At least in the Syriac version of the New Testament, ܝܨܕܐ is always expressed by ܝܨܕܐ and ܝܨܕܝܐ is always expressed by ܝܨܕܝܐ, (See for instance Matth. ii. 1. 22. iii. 1. 5. iv. 25. xix. 1. xxiv. 16.) except in one single instance, namely, Matth. ii. 5. where there is ܝܨܕܐ: ܒܗܬܠܝܝܡ, as if the Greek were, not Βηθλεέμ της ܝܨܕܝܐ, but Βηθλεέμ ܝܨܕܐ. In Matth. ii. 6. where the Greek is γῆ ܝܨܕܐ, we again find ܝܨܕܐ in the Syriac.

10. This is impossible: for Jerom's observation is made not on γῆ ܝܨܕܐ, ver. 6. but on Βηθλεέμ της ܝܨܕܝܐ, ver. 5. where he proposed likewise to read ܝܨܕܐ, and really altered the Latin version to Bethlehem Judæ, which is the reading of the Vulgate at this very day. Since therefore Jerom expressly declares that where Βηθλεέμ ܝܨܕܝܐ was the reading of the Greek text, Βηθλεέμ ܝܨܕܐ was the reading of the Hebrew (that is, Chaldee) text; since ܝܨܕܐ and ܝܨܕܝܐ are distinctly expressed in Syriac and Chaldee; and since the Syriac version at Matth. ii. 5. has the very reading, which Jerom says he saw in the Chaldee, (for 'in ipso Hebraico,' here signifies 'in ipso Chaldaico'), there is no necessity for having recourse to violent conjectures; and we may safely conclude, that Jerom really meant the Chaldee (or, as the fathers call it, Hebrew) Gospel of the Nazarenes, and consequently that this Gospel contained at least the second, if not the first chapter of St. Matthew.

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11. It is really doing violence to the construction to refer the relative 'quo' to any other antecedent than 'volumine', which immediately precedes it; and the only reason, why a doubt has arisen on this subject, is that a full stop has been falsely placed after 'fuit', whereas there ought to be only a comma. If the passage were pointed thus, no one would remain in doubt. *Mihi quoque a Nazaræis, qui in Beræa, urbe Syriæ, hoc volumine utuntur, describendi facultas fuit, in quo animadvertendum, quod ubicunque Evangelista, &c.* Another reason for referring 'quo' to 'volumine' is, that Jerom has used the relative 'quod' in the sentence immediately preceding, and referred it to 'evangelium.'—This passage therefore, as well as the preceding, affords a proof that Jerom found at least the second chapter of St. Matthew in the Gospel of the Nazarenes.

12. Where our author has not mentioned the place in Jerom's works, the quotations from the Gospel of the Nazarenes must be sought in the respective places of his commentary on St. Matthew.

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13. The words of the Hebrew, 2 Chron. xxiv. 17. are כְּחֻבִּים עַל־מִדְּרַשׁ סֵפֶר הַמְּלָכִים, scripta in commentario (Medrash) libri regum.

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14. Namely, no where in the Old Testament: but then we must not forget that Zacharias the son of Barachias, and the eleventh of the minor Prophets, lived after the captivity, at a time when the history of the Old Testament had ceased. The Jews however had a tradition, that *this* Zacharias was likewise murdered in the temple, as appears from the Targum at Lament. ii. 20. 'Interfecistis Zachariam, filium Iddo, summum sacerdotem et prophetam fidelem, in domo sanctuarii, die expiationis.' See Wetstein's Note to Matth. xxiii. 35. It

is true that Iddo was the father of Barachias, and therefore in strictness the grandfather of Zacharias, the eleventh of the minor Prophets (Zach. i. 1): but this lax mode of expression in genealogies was very common among the Jews. Now if it be true, that Zacharias, the son of Barachias, and the eleventh of the minor Prophets, was murdered in the temple, it was more suitable to Christ's purpose to instance the murder of *him*, than that of Zacharias, the son of Jehoida, who lived three hundred years before: for when he said, 'from the blood of Abel to the blood of Zacharias,' he evidently meant to give the *first* and the *last* instance of murder committed on the holy persons, whose names are mentioned in the Old Testament.

15. It might have been well known, though not recorded in the Old Testament. Indeed our author himself, as appears from the Note *u*, seems to have altered his opinion.

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16. Our author himself has given only a German translation, for which I have substituted the Greek of Epiphanius.

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17. The passage in question is quoted by Epiphanius in the very next section, with the addition of *ἐπὶ ἀρχιερεὺς Καϊάφα*, after *Ἡρώδης βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἰσδαίας*, which seems to render the mistake, of which our author complains, still more extraordinary. But it is really incredible, that any such mistake should have existed in the Hebrew Gospel used by the Ebionites: for no inhabitant of Judæa, whether an Ebionite, or of any other sect, who undertook to write a life of Christ, could have imagined, that Herod the Great, the king of Judæa, who died soon after the birth of Christ, was alive thirty years afterwards, when John the Baptist began to preach. In the Ebionite Gospel therefore *Ἡρώδης βασιλεὺς* must have been used to denote, not Herod the Great, but

Herod Antipas, who though properly only *Tetrarch* of Galilee, is frequently called βασιλεως even in our canonical Gospels. See for instance Matth. xiv. 9. Mark vi. 14. 22. 25—27. Our author's supposition therefore that the present passage in the Ebionite Gospel was put together from Luke i. 5. iii. 1—3. is devoid of foundation: and in other respects it cannot be supposed that a *Hebrew* Gospel was compounded of scraps from a *Greek* Gospel. With respect to Ισδαιας which follows βασιλεως, it is certainly a mistake, since Herod Antipas was sovereign of Galilee, and not of Judæa. But no dependance can be placed on the quotation of Epiphanius, not only because he quotes the same passage differently within the compass of two sections, but because he quotes the Ebionite Gospel, not for a critical, but for a polemical purpose, and, as he himself acknowledges §. 14, merely in order to expose it.

18. Such a minute and anxious composition of single words from different places is highly improbable. Though in the Greek Testament the expressions πνευμα Θεσ and πνευμα ἁγιον are generally used singly, and we do not meet with πνευμα Θεσ ἁγιον, yet this compound expression was not unusual in Chaldee. See for instance Daniel ch. iv. where קדושין קדושין occurs several times, and is rendered in the Septuagint by πνευμα Θεσ ἁγιον.

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19. But Justin Martyr has twice quoted them from the Απομνημονευματα των Αποστολων. Dialog. cum Tryphone p. 316. 331. ed. Colon. They are quoted also by Clement of Alexandria, Lib. I. pædag. cap. 6. Even in the Codex Bezae they are found, a prima manu, at Luke iii. 22. though not at Matth. iii. 17.

20. Perhaps the Greek text given by Epiphanius was ὁ ἰδων.

21. In the Ebionite Gospel are recorded three exclamations as uttered at the baptism of Christ: 1. Σὺ μὲν εἶ ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ ἠυδακῆσα. 2. Ἐγὼ σημερον γεγενῆκα σε. 3. Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς μὲν ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐφ' οὗ ἠυδακῆσα.

On the other hand, according to St. Matthew and St. Luke, only *one* exclamation was uttered, which the latter has delivered in the second person as in the Ebionite Gospel No. 1, the former in the third person as in the Ebionite Gospel No. 3. But does it thence follow, that the Ebionite Gospel was put together from the texts of St. Matthew and St. Luke? At any rate the exclamation No. 2. cannot have been taken from those Gospels.

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22. He does not declare that it was really St. Matthew's *unadulterated* original. Indeed, if he had supposed so, he could not have used at other times the expressions 'quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum,' and, 'ut plerique autumant juxta Matthæum.'

23. *Επιστολος* exactly corresponds to *Ἐπιστολὴ*; if *αποτὸς ἐπιστολος* denotes *αποτὸς τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἡμερας*, as Fischer contends in his *Prolusiones de vitiis Lexicorum*. N.T. p. 314.

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24. Here likewise our author has given only a German translation, for which I have substituted Eusebius's own words, which it is absolutely necessary to know, in order to form a right judgment of them.

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25. Indeed it was wholly impossible that he should: for he expressly says in the place in question, that the books which he calls *αποπα κ. τ. λ.* had been quoted by no ecclesiastical writer, which is not true of the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

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26. On the contrary, it is highly improbable, if not impossible that the Nazarenes, who were unacquainted with Greek, should interpolate in their Hebrew (Chaldee) Gospel a passage from a *Greek* Epistle, and moreover from an Epistle to the people of Smyrna, which was so

far distant from Judæa, that the Nazarenes in all probability not only never saw, but never heard of the Epistle, which Ignatius sent hither.

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27. Our author here argues, as if he were acquainted with the original text of the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes at this passage, imagining that the Latin words used by Jerom are a literal translation of the Hebrew. But the Latin words used by Jerom, which our author has neglected to quote, are manifestly a translation of the Greek quotation of Ignatius. In his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, speaking of Ignatius and the Epistle to the Smyrnæans, he says, 'In qua (scil. epistola ad Smyrnæos) et de evangelio, quod nuper a me translatum est, super persona Christi ponit testimonium *dicens*: Ego vero et post resurrectionem in carne cum vidi, et credo quia sit. Et quando venit ad Petrum, et ad eos qui cum Petro erant, &c.' The word *dicens* clearly shews that Jerom gave a translation of the words used by Ignatius. Another proof that Jerom translated from the Greek words of Ignatius, is that he has used 'vidi,' where Ignatius has *ᾶδᾶ*. He confounded *εἶδew* 'scio' with *εἶδew* 'video,' whereas the dissimilarity between the Hebrew words for scio and video must have prevented any such mistake.—But though Jerom, when he wrote his account of Ignatius, in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, did not immediately examine the very words of the Gospel of the Nazarenes (provided he had then access to it,) still he might recollect, that the substance of the passage stood in that Gospel, and therefore his testimony is not to be rejected.

28. It was quoted by several of the early fathers. That it was quoted by Ignatius appears from the two preceding notes: and according to Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. 39. iv. 22.) it was quoted by Papias and Hegesippus. It was quoted also by Clement of Alexandria and Origen. See the quotations in Grabe's *Spicilegium Patrum*. Tom. I. p. 26. 27.

29. The Gospel of the Nazarenes was *become* unusual at the end of the fourth century : but in the second century it might have been, and probably was, very common in Palestine.

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30. See Notes 26. 27.

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31. On the present subject in general, see the Essay on the origin of our three first Gospels, ch. 15.

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32. Epiphanius expressly says (Hæres. XXX. 13.) that the Hebrew Gospel used by the Ebionites *began* with the words, Εγενετο εν ταις ημεραις Ηρωδς τς βασιλεως. Their Gospel therefore contained no part of Matth. i. ii. On the other hand, these chapters were *not* wanting in the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes. See Notes 10, 11, to this section.

33. Schoenleben in his Notitia codicis Ebneriani (Norimbergæ 1738. 4to.) p. 17. says, Primum caput his verbis incipit, Τς δε Ιησς, κ. τ. λ. Now since no book can well begin with the particle δε, we may conclude that in the more ancient Greek MS. from which the Codex Ebnerianus was copied, something preceded, namely, the genealogy, as in other Greek manuscripts.

PAGE 193.

34. The Greek text of the Septuagint at Ruth iv. 22. according to the Vatican manuscript does *not* differ from the Hebrew : for it has Ιεσσαί εγεννησε Δαβιδ, without the addition of τον βασιλεα. Matth. i. 6. therefore can no more be said to have been taken from the Septuagint than from the Hebrew Bible, and consequently we could not infer a diversity of authors, even if it were true, that quotations from the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel were generally taken from the Hebrew. But this position is again inaccurate : for in our *Greek*

Gospel of St. Matthew, the quotations from the Old Testament agree more frequently with the text of the Septuagint, than with the Hebrew text, as Eichhorn has very clearly shewn in his universal library of biblical literature, Vol. II. p. 952—980. Though St. Matthew, like every other author of an Hebrew work, had no recourse to the Septuagint for passages of the Old Testament, yet his Greek translator frequently, though not always, had recourse to it.—After all, as our Greek Gospel of St. Matthew is a translation, a comparison of the Greek text in the two first chapters with that of the rest of the Gospel, whether we have respect to the mode of quoting the Old Testament, or to the style in general, can affect only the question, whether the whole was *translated* by the same person, not whether the whole was originally composed by the same person.

35. It appears from the Notes 10, 11. to this section, that the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes, contained at least the second chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. We must conclude therefore from the connexion of the subject, that it contained likewise the eight last verses of the first chapter, which are so closely connected with the second chapter, that no separation can well take place. The only doubt therefore is, whether it contained the genealogy. Matth. i. 1—17.

PAGE 194.

36. That the name of Rahab, who is mentioned Matth. i. 5. as the wife of Salmon, and the mother of Boaz (or Booz), does not appear either in the genealogy of David, which is given in Ruth iv. or in that which is given 2 Chron. ii. is by no means extraordinary, since in those genealogies the females are not recorded. As to the circumstance that Rahab, who is mentioned in the book of Joshua (ch. ii. 1.), and there called the harlot Rahab, is not said there to have been the wife of Salmon and the mother of Boaz, it really affords no argument whatever against the accuracy of the account given in Matth. i. 5. : for it is a mistake, that by Rahab

Matth. i. 5. was meant the harlot Rahab, who could not have been the mother of Boaz, the husband of Ruth, since it is evident from the book of Ruth, that Boaz lived in a later age than the harlot Rahab, who was a contemporary of Joshua. And even if the harlot Rahab *could* have been the mother of Boaz, we have no authority whatever for supposing that she *was*, since many Jewish women may have borne the name of Rahab.

27. Here again our author argues as if by Rahab Matth. i. 5. were meant the harlot Rahab. Into whatever tribe the harlot Rahab married, if she married at all, still the father of Boaz may have married another Rahab: and though *this* Rahab is not mentioned in the Old Testament, her name may have been preserved in Jewish genealogies.

38. In examining the question, whether a passage of the Greek Testament be genuine, or not, the first question to be asked is; What is the evidence of the Greek manuscripts, of the ancient versions, and of the ancient fathers? Now there have been not less than three hundred and fifty-five Greek manuscripts of the Gospels collated, every one of which contains the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, with exception to the single Codex Ebnerianus. But even this manuscript contains the second chapter, and the more ancient manuscript contained probably the whole of the first. See Note 33. The evidence of the Greek manuscripts therefore is decidedly in favour of the authenticity of the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel. Equally decisive is the testimony of the ancient versions; for these chapters are contained in all of them. That in some few Latin manuscripts the genealogy is separated from the remaining part of the first chapter, and that St. Matthew's Gospel is made to begin with ch. i. 18. is a circumstance, which is not only much too trivial to be opposed to the weight of evidence on the other side, but at the furthest can effect only the genealogy, and not the *whole* of the two first chapters. In fact, such writers

of Latin manuscripts, as wrote the genealogy apart from the rest of the Gospel, were actuated not by critical, but theological motives. They found difficulty in reconciling the genealogy in Matth. i. with that of Luke iii. and therefore wished to get rid of it. Consequently it is highly uncritical to take *their* manuscripts even into consideration. With respect to the quotations of ancient writers, which form the third kind of evidence, it is sufficient to observe, that both Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, have quoted from the two chapters in question, without signifying any suspicion of their want of authenticity. And what is still more, even Celsus, the great enemy of the Christian religion in the second century, has quoted from them. See Griesbach's *Symbolæ criticæ*, Tom. II. p. 241. We must set therefore all the laws of criticism at defiance; if we assert that the *Greek Gospel of St. Matthew*, to which alone the preceding arguments relate, began with *ch. iii. εν δε ταῖς ἡμεραις ἐκεναις*. That the Greek Gospel ever began in this manner is in itself likewise incredible, since no writer, unless something had preceded, would say 'in *those* days.'

On the other hand, however evident it may be, that the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, from its very first existence, contained the two first chapters, yet, as this Gospel is a translation from the Hebrew (that is, Chaldee) of St. Matthew, it is still possible, that they were not contained in the original, that the original began, as Epiphanius says the Gospel used by the Ebionites began, with the words, 'it happened in the days of Herod the king, &c.' that the Greek translator prefixed a translation of some other Chaldee document containing an account of Christ's birth, and that, in order to connect it with the commencement of his original, he altered 'the days of Herod' to 'those days.' All this is possible: but it would be a very difficult matter to render it probable. It appears indeed from the Dissertation on the origin of

our three first Gospels, ch. 15. that before any of our canonical Gospels was composed, there existed an Hebrew (that is, Chaldee) narrative of Christ's transactions, which contained only so much matter, as is common to the three first Evangelists, and therefore did not contain what is related in Matth. i. ii. But then it is further shewn in the same chapter, that this document formed only the basis of St. Matthew's Gospel, and that the Evangelist himself made very considerable additions and improvements. There is no improbability therefore in the supposition, that the two first chapters were added by the Evangelist himself, especially since the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes really contained them, as appears from Notes 10. 11.: and there is great reason to believe that the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes approached much nearer to St. Matthew's genuine original, than that which was used by the Ebionites, since the Nazarenes were descendants of the first converts to Christianity, the Christians of Judæa being called Ναζωραῖοι, Acts xxiv. 5. while the Greek Christians were called Χριστιανοί, Acts xi. 26. Absolute certainty on this subject is indeed not to be obtained for want of sufficient data: but the same want of data makes it impossible to prove that St. Matthew was *not* the author of the chapters in question.—Among the various writers on this subject, no one has displayed more critical judgment than Professor Rau of Erlangen, in a short Latin dissertation published at Erlangen in 1793, entitled *Symbolæ ad quæstionem de authentia i. et ii. cap. Evangelii. Matthæi discutiendam.*

SECTION X.

PAGE 198.

1. Where *συναγω* is used in the Septuagint, *הקל* is generally used in the Hebrew. Our author therefore very improperly calls *הקל* an ill-chosen expression for *συναχθῆσαν*.

2. Our author's mistake in regard to this word in the Syriac version has been already noticed in Note 4. to Vol. I. Ch. iv. Sect. 10. and Note 1. to Vol. II. Ch. vii. Sect. 7.

3. See also the Notes 41—51. to that section.

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4. The German title of this work is, *Kritisch-historische Nachrichten von der Braunschweigischen Bibel-Sammlung*.

PAGE 201.

5. This description, of which Michaelis spoke even in his third edition published in 1777, has not yet appeared, and probably therefore never will. But Bolten in the preface to his German translation of St. Matthew's Gospel, p. xvii. has signified an intention of giving one.

CHAPTER V. OF ST. MARK'S GOSPEL.

SECTION I.

PAGE 202.

1. Compare Acts xii. 25. with ver. 12.

PAGE 203.

2. See 1 Tim. i. 1. and 2 Tim. i. 1.
3. See Acts iv. 36.

PAGE 204.

4. See Luke i. 36.

SECTION II.

1. In this, and several of the following passages, our author has given only a German translation, for which I have substituted the Greek text.

PAGE 205.

2. If Irenæus had intended to signify their departure from Rome, he would probably have used, not *ἐξοδος*, but *ἀφοδος*.—St. Peter, in his second Epistle, ch. ii. 15. expresses 'after my death' by *μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐξοδὸν*.

3. The words *Μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἐξοδὸν—εγγράφως* seem to preclude this interpretation, and to denote that St. Mark *wrote* after their death. And according to the account of Papias himself, St. Mark wrote from *memory* what he had heard from St. Peter: *ὅσα ἐμνημονεύσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψε*. Consequently, according to Papias, he did not write in the presence of St. Peter.

PAGE 207.

4. It is to be observed that in Eusebii Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. cap. 15. the words γνόντα δε το πραχθεν φασι τον αποστολον—ταις εκκλησαις, immediately follow the words last quoted, and that immediately after ταις εκκλησαις, Eusebius adds, Κλημης εν εκτῳ των ὑποτυπωσεων παρατεθειται την ιστοριαν· συνεπιμαρτυρει δε αυτῳ ὁ Ἱεραπολιτικος επισκοπος, ονοματι Παπιας. One should suppose therefore that Eusebius intended to signify that Clement of Alexandria and Papias had related what he had *last* mentioned, namely, from γνόντα to εκκλησαις, and to give them as examples of persons, whom he had in view, when he used the word φασι. And that he really alluded to what he had *last* mentioned, appears from the verb παρατεθειται, which must denote the *additional* account. Further, Jerom expressly says (De Vir. Illus. cap. 8.) ‘Quod cum Petrus audisset, probavit, et ecclesiis legendum sua auctoritate tradidit *sicut Clemens in sexto Υποτυπωσεων scribit.*’ That Eusebius meant to include likewise the former part of the account is perhaps not quite so clear: but if he did, it was certainly not to the exclusion of the latter. Yet our author understands the appeal of Eusebius to Clement and Papias, as relating to the former part *alone*. His reason probably for so doing is, that in the passage, which Eusebius (Lib. VI. cap. 14.) likewise quotes from the Hypotyposes, Clement gives a different account. But it is really less admissible to do such violence to the plain construction of the passage in Eusebius, Lib. II. cap. 15. than to suppose, that Clement has in different places given contradictory reports in regard to the part supposed to have been taken by St. Peter, relative to St. Mark’s Gospel, especially since the ancients themselves are very much at variance on this subject.

5. Whoever appeals to 2 Pet. i. 15. as an argument that St. Peter took part in the composition of St. Mark’s Gospel, must first prove, that in this passage

St. Peter really alluded to St. Mark's Gospel. But there is nothing in the whole Epistle, which warrants us even to suppose it, since we find not the least allusion there to a narrative of Christ's transactions. In fact, when St. Peter says 'I will endeavour, after my decease, that ye may have these things always in remembrance,' it is at least possible that he alluded to no *written* document whatsoever, and that he meant only to say, he would take care to leave behind him proper teachers, who should remind the community, to which he was then writing, of the doctrines, which he had taught. On the other hand, if he really alluded to a written document, we may conclude that he meant the epistle, which he was then writing, and which has really been a lasting monument of his doctrines. It is true that he uses *παρασσω* in the future: but this word may surely apply to all that he was then *preparing* to write, or to all the following part of the Epistle, after ch. i. 15.

PAGE 209..

6. It is true that Lardner, in the place mentioned, has quoted a passage from Chrysostom, in which it is said, that St. Mark wrote his Gospel at Alexandria: but our author has neglected to mention, that Lardner, in the very same place, has quoted another passage from Chrysostom, in which the Greek father delivers his own opinion, and says he could not determine with certainty in what place any one of the three Evangelists wrote. Chrysostom therefore, though he recorded the report, that St. Mark wrote his Gospel at Alexandria, did not place much confidence in it.—On the other hand, if it cannot be determined with *certainty*, in what place St. Mark wrote his Gospel, yet the accounts given by the ecclesiastical writers, when compared with each other, produce at least the *probable* result, that he wrote it in Rome.

PAGE 210.

7. If St. Mark had either written his Gospel at Alexandria, or even if he had published it there, though written in some other place, the Alexandrine fathers would certainly not have neglected to make frequent mention of a circumstance, which they would have considered as redounding so much to the honour of their city. Since then neither Clement nor Origen, even where they expressly speak of the composition of St. Mark's Gospel, have put in any claim for Alexandria, but on the contrary Clement has related, that it was written at the request of the Christians in Rome, and delivered into their hands, we may be assured that Alexandria was not the place, where St. Mark's Gospel was either first written, or first made public.

8. Professor Birch's account of the omission of Mark xv. 9—20. in the celebrated Codex Vaticanus, is now generally known from his edition of the four Gospels. That Eusebius at least doubted the authenticity of the passage is inferred from the circumstance, that he did not include it in his canons, as appears from several ancient manuscripts, of which an account may now be seen in Birch's Note to this passage. See also Griesbach's observations on it, in his last edition of the Greek Testament.

PAGE 211.

9. But if they did not make their report *at the instant*, does it follow that they *never* made it? In fact our author's mode of arguing at this place is not very intelligible.

10. The hypothesis of a two-fold edition of St. Mark's Gospel by the Evangelist himself is not wholly improbable, but the argument here used by our author is unfavourable to it: for it is really an argument in favour of the opinion, that the passage in question was added, not by the Evangelist himself, either at Alexandria, or at any other place, but by some person, who

did not pay sufficient attention to what the Evangelist had already related. And if this argument be valid, we must infer that the original conclusion of St. Mark's Gospel, since it is incredible that it ever ended with the words *εφοβοντο γαρ*, was lost in a very early age, and that its place was supplied with the conclusion, which is now extant. On the other hand, Dr. Storr, in his *Dissertatio exegetica in librorum N. T. historicorum aliquot loca* (Tubingæ, 1790, 4to.) p. 50—67. has given a very learned and ingenious defence of its authenticity.

SECTION III.

PAGE 212.

1. This argument loses the greatest part of its weight from the circumstance, that both St. Matthew and St. Luke are equally silent with St. Mark, in regard to the name of the Apostle, who cut off the ear of the high priest's servant. Besides, if St. Mark *purposely* concealed the name of St. Peter, lest the Romans should take offence at it, that motive would probably have induced him, if he wrote at Rome, to have acted with the same caution, even after the death of the Apostle: for though his person was then no longer in danger, the memory of him was still exposed to the danger of reproach.

PAGE 214.

2. In regard to the reason why the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke contain so much important matter, which is not contained in the Gospel of St. Mark, see the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 15.

SECTION IV.

1. It is not true, that *all* the fathers represent St. Mark as having written from the preaching of St. Peter : for Augustin (*De consensu evangelistarum*, Lib. I. cap. 4.) gives it as his opinion, that St. Mark derived the principal materials of his Gospel from that of St. Matthew.

2. The reason, why St. Mark and St. Luke agree with each other in the arrangement of their facts, in opposition to the arrangement observed by St. Matthew, is assigned in the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 17.

SECTION V.

PAGE 216.

1. On the questions, whether St. Mark copied from St. Matthew, or whether he copied from St. Luke, or whether St. Luke copied from St. Mark, which our author examines in this and the two following sections, see the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 3. where the cause is tried by a new criterion.

SECTION VI.

PAGE 222.

1. It is true, that according to Coloss. iv. 10. 14. both the Evangelists, St. Mark and St. Luke, were with St. Paul at Rome, when St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Colossians, if the Mark mentioned at Coloss. iv. 10. be the same person with St. Mark the Evangelist. Consequently, if St. Luke had at that time

already written his Gospel, and St. Mark had not, it may be thought probable that St. Mark had seen St. Luke's Gospel, before he wrote his own. This however is a mere hypothetical argument, and therefore not conclusive. Besides, since the Gospel of St. Luke, as appears from the preface to it, was written for the private use of Theophilus, it is probable, that some time elapsed before it was generally known. Be this however as it may, it is useless to examine what is probable, or what is improbable under assumed circumstances, when, whatever the circumstances may have been, the *fact*, that St. Mark made *no* use of St. Luke's Gospel, may be proved by positive and unanswerable arguments. Our author indeed is of opinion that the variations between St. Mark and St. Luke are reconcileable with the supposition, that the former used the Gospel of the latter. Yet, in the preceding section, where he examined the question, whether St. Mark copied from St. Matthew, and that too on the very same ground, he came to a very different conclusion: and if the argument be decisive in the one case, it certainly is so on the other. But whether it be decisive, or not, there are other phænomena in the two Gospels, which are absolutely incompatible with the supposition, that the one was used in the composition of the other. See the above-quoted Dissertation, ch. 8.

PAGE 223.

2. This phænomenon may be better explained on another hypothesis. Ib. ch. 17.

SECTION VII.

1. Here our author rejects the notion that one Evangelist copied from the other, and thinks that their agreement may be best explained on the hypothesis of a common document.—It is to be observed, that this is the *last* opinion of Michaelis, for it was delivered *after* the publication of the fourth edition of his Introduction to the New Testament, which contains several contradictions in regard to the question, whether the succeeding Evangelists used the writings of the preceding. Formerly Michaelis adopted every where the affirmative: but, though he has since altered his opinion, as appears from ch. iii. of the present volume, where he says, that St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke appears *not* to have read each other's writings, yet he has neglected in his fourth edition to make such alterations as were necessary, in order to make the author consistent with himself.

SECTION VIII.

PAGE 226.

1. It was published at Prague in 1778, 4to.

2. To the opinion, once entertained, that St. Mark wrote in Latin, may be added the conjecture of Professor Wahl, that he wrote in Coptic, a conjecture founded on the supposition that St. Mark wrote his Gospel in Egypt, for the immediate use of the Christians of that country. But it appears from Note 7. to sect. ii. of this chapter, that the supposition itself is devoid of foundation: and even if it were not, we have no reason to suppose, that St. Mark was able to write in the Coptic language. Besides, the conjecture is not only improbable in itself, but militates against

historical evidence: for had St. Mark's Gospel been written in Coptic, the Alexandrine fathers must have known it, and would therefore have hardly neglected to mention it.

PAGE 227.

3. No one, who rejects the arrangement adopted by St. Mark, can follow that which is adopted by St. Luke, because both these Evangelists have the same arrangement of facts, where that of St. Matthew is different. But on this subject see the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 15.

CHAPTER VI.

OF ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL.

SECTION I.

PAGE 229.

1. This epithet is likewise used in the parallel passage of St. Mark's Gospel, ch. i. 23. though without *δαιμονιον*. St. Mark has *πνευμα ακαθαρων*; St. Luke *πνευμα δαιμονις ακαθαρς*. It is probable therefore that in the common Hebrew document some word was used expressive of *ακαθαρς*, and that this was the reason why St. Luke, as well as St. Mark, has this epithet in the present instance. Besides, if the circumstance that *δαιμονιον* in the classic writers may denote either *αγαθοδαιμων* or *κακοδαιμων*, had been the motive, which induced St. Luke to add *ακαθαρς* as a mark of distinction, it is extraordinary, that he has never done so on any other occasion, though the word *δαιμονιον* occurs more than twenty times in his Gospel.

PAGE 230.

2. Let the expression *τρίτην ἡμέραν αὔρι*, or *τετάρτην ἡμέραν αὔρι*, or the like, occur as often as it will in the writings of Galen, yet as it is not a medical expression, and is far from being confined to the writings of physicians, the use of it at Luke xxiv. 21. cannot be owing to the circumstance, that St. Luke himself was a physician.

SECTION II.

PAGE 231.

1. To translate all that our author has said on this subject in the place, to which he refers, would be tedious: and a mere extract would be of no use. I must beg leave therefore to refer the reader to the valuable Notes on the passage in question in Archbishop Newcome's Harmony of the Gospels.

PAGE 232.

2. The moral tendency of the precept, as delivered by St. Luke, does not appear to be so very different from its tendency, according to the form, in which it is delivered by St. Matthew. The latter says nothing more about a *just* claim to the under garment, as our author's interpretation implies, than the former does in respect to the outer garment: the exchange therefore of the words *χιτων* and *ιματιον* is of no great importance. Besides, the objections, which have been made to the passage, are founded on the supposition, that Christ delivered the precept as an absolute *command*, whereas he gave it only as a rule of *prudence*, to be applied as occasion required. And cases certainly may and do occur, in which it is more prudent to submit even to an *unjust* demand, than to enter into a contest about it.

PAGE 283.

3. Here again the purport of the precept, as it is delivered by St. Luke, is really the same, as the purport of it, as it is delivered by St. Matthew. It was the intention of Christ to signify, 'forgive thy brother as often as he offends thee, however frequent his offences may be.' One Evangelist has expressed this by saying, 'forgive him, if he offends thee, not merely seven, but seventy times;' the other by saying, 'forgive him, if he offends thee even seven times in the same day.' Since then the purport of both forms is the same, there is no necessity for supposing that St. Luke derived his information in this instance from dubious authority, a supposition, which his preface by no means warrants. See the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 15.

4. Our author's objection to the expression δέκα μνας is grounded on the supposition, that this sum contained the *whole* treasure, and that this treasure was a *royal* treasure. But in the parable recorded by St. Luke, the ten minas are by no means represented as the whole treasure: on the contrary, they are represented only as a certain portion intrusted to certain servants, in order to try their fidelity: and it was so far from being a royal treasure, that St. Luke calls the proprietor of it only *ἄνθρωπος τις ἐγγενής*. St. Luke adds indeed that this person was *going* to take possession of a kingdom: but then till he was in actual possession, his property was only that of a private man. In the parable therefore, as it is related by St. Luke, there is no absurdity attending the sum intrusted to the ten servants: and consequently there is no necessity for supposing, that an error has here taken place in translating from the Hebrew. But even if there had, our author's conjecture would not satisfactorily account for it. For, though the words מנה and מנה may be mistaken, the one for the other, in the singular manner, when written without points, yet no such confusion can take place

in the plural number, the one having מנות, the other מיני : and the plural number must have been used, because the question relates, not to *one* (whether mina or portion) but to *ten*.

SECTION III.

PAGE 236.

1. To our author's argument, which appears to be very satisfactory in favour of the opinion that Ασκας and Ασκιος in the Greek Testament, do not denote the same person, may be added the following. If it be true, that one and the same person was called by one man Ασκιος, by another Ασκας, yet St. Paul, when speaking of this person in his Epistles, would probably have been uniform in regard to the name which he gave him, that he would have constantly adhered either to the one, or to the other, and that he would not have used the names indifferently, because such an indiscriminate use of them might, and probably would, have induced his hearers to suppose, that he meant two different persons, where he really meant only one. But St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, ch. xvi. 21. sends a salutation from a person, whom he calls Ασκιος, and in his Epistle to the Colossians, ch. iv. 14. in his second Epistle to Timothy, ch. iv. 11. and in his Epistle to Philemon, ver. 24. he speaks of a person, whom he calls Ασκας. Consequently the supposition, that Ασκας and Ασκιος were names of one and the same person must be ungrounded.

Another question has been started, which our author has not noticed, namely, whether Silas, who is mentioned in several places of the Acts of the Apostles, be not the same person with the Evangelist St. Luke. In defence of the affirmative, it has been said, that Silas is a contraction of Silvanus, and Lucas of Lucanus ; that the *meaning* of the words 'Silvanus' and

'Lucanus' are the same, the one being derived from 'sylva,' the other from 'lucus:' and therefore that Silas and Lucas must denote the same *person*. Now we might just as well argue, that if in one part of an English book we met with the name of Allworthy, and in another with the name of Goodall, those names denoted the same person, because they both signify *παγκalos*. Besides, it is evident from other reasons, that the author of the Acts of the Apostles did not mean by the name *Σιλας* to denote himself. As far as Acts xvi. 8. he always speaks of St. Paul and his companions (among whom Silas had been already mentioned) in the third person plural, and this verse is *παρελθούσης δε την Μυσίαν κατέβησαν εἰς Τρωάδα*. But the departure from Troas, ver. 10, is described in the *first* person plural, *ἐζητήσαμεν ἐξέλθαι*: consequently, we may infer, that the author of the Acts of the Apostles joined company with St. Paul for *the first time* at Troas, and therefore that he could not be the same with Silas, who was with St. Paul *before* he came to Troas. See Acts xv. 22—40. Again, in describing the journey from Troas to Samothrace, Neapolis, and Philippi, he continues the use of the first person plural, ch. xvi. 10—16. At ch. xvi. 19. he begins to speak of some transactions, in which not St. Paul and his companions in general, but only St. Paul and Silas were concerned: and here the author of the Acts re-assumes the *third* person plural, which is continued through several chapters, in which the name of Silas frequently occurs. At ch. xx. 5, 6. the *first* person plural is again assumed, and is continued to the end of the book. It is clear therefore that the author of the Acts of the Apostles was a different person from the Silas so frequently mentioned in them.

SECTION IV.

PAGE 236.

1. As this section is very diffuse in the original, I have taken the liberty of compressing it, without omitting however any thing of the least consequence.

PAGE 237.

2. Κατηχεω signifies literally '*viva voce doceo*,' and St. Luke opposes it to γραφω, which he had used in the preceding verse. It appears then that Theophilus at that time had been only *verbally* instructed in Christianity, and that St. Luke wrote his Gospel, that Theophilus might have an authentic *written* document on the subject. But that the verbal instructions which Theophilus had received were so very imperfect, that they did not entitle him even to the name of Christian, is an inference, for which there is no foundation. Theophilus may perhaps in some respects have been even wrongly informed, as is the case with many Christians at the present day: but it does not therefore follow, that he was not a Christian at all, when St. Luke wrote his Gospel.

3. The antithesis, which our author endeavours to discover in the expression εν ημιν, Luke i. 1. is wholly imaginary. See what is said on this expression in the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 15.

SECTION V.

PAGE 241.

1. See the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 15. Note *g*.

PAGE 244.

2. In general the ancient Latin MSS. arrange the four Gospels in the following order: St. Matthew, St. John, St. Luke, St. Mark. This is also the arrangement in the Codex Bezae, as well of the Greek, as of the Latin.

SECTION VI.

PAGE 248.

1. To these nine opinions may be added a tenth; for, according to the subscription of some Greek manuscripts quoted by Mill, it was written at Rome.

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2. On the contrary, the circumstance that the epithet is found in the Syriac version, as well as in some Greek manuscripts, warrants rather the conclusion, that it was *not* a later addition. But whether it was, or not, such anonymous subscriptions are of no authority whatsoever.

3. Upon the whole however it is very improbable, that St. Luke wrote his Gospel at Troas before he joined company with St. Paul, or indeed that he wrote it any where before he had accompanied St. Paul to Palestine, where he had the best opportunity of making those diligent inquiries, of which he speaks in his preface,

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4. See Note 2. to Sect. iv.

5. But if St. Luke during his stay at Philippi, while St. Paul was travelling in other parts of Greece, had written his Gospel for the use of a man of distinction whether he lived in the town itself, or in the neighbourhood, or whether he was acquainted with any of

the Christian converts at Corinth, or not, it seems probable that St. Paul would have taken some notice of him, at least in his Epistle to the Philippians. On the other hand, it may be said, that since St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Philippians, has greeted no one by *name*, and says only in general terms, ch. vi. 21. *ασπασαθε παντα αγιον εν Χριστω*, the omission of the name of any one person in particular is the less extraordinary.

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6. In Acts xx. 2. where this journey is mentioned, St. Luke says only in general terms *ηλθεν εις την Ελλαδα*, without naming Corinth in particular. But as he adds in ver. 3. that St. Paul spent three months on that journey, it is probable, that he did not finish it without paying a visit to the Christians at Corinth.

7. That St. Luke was not with St. Paul, when the Apostle returned at that time from Hellas to Macedonia, appears, first, from his having used the *third* person as far as ver. 4. of ch. xx. and his commencing with the *first* person plural in ver. 5.; secondly, from the circumstance, that in ver. 4. he has particularly named the persons, who came away with St. Paul. But from what he says in ver. 5. we may conclude, that St. Luke again joined company with St. Paul, not at Troas, but at Philippi: for having mentioned Sopater, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius, Timothy, Tychicus, and Trophimus, he adds, '*they* going before waited for *us* at Troas.' This implies, not that St. Paul went on with those persons from Macedonia to Troas, and that St. Luke alone followed them, but that St. Paul staid behind, and came afterwards in company with St. Luke. Our author likewise has adopted this interpretation in his Note to 2 Cor. viii. 18. Vol. III. p. 367. of his Annotations to the New Testament, published three years after the last edition of his Introduction.

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8. The Hebraisms in St. Luke's Gospel afford a sufficient proof, that the author was acquainted with Hebrew. Besides we know, not only that he understood Hebrew, but that he made use of Hebrew documents in the composition of his Gospel. See the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 15.

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9. Dr. Storr supposes that St. Mark's Gospel was written first, and that it was used both by St. Matthew and St. Luke. But that St. Matthew copied likewise from St. Luke's Gospel, I have not found asserted in any of his writings. He supposes only, that the *Greek translator* of St. Matthew's Gospel made use of the Gospel of St. Luke. See his Design of the Evangelical History, p. 360.

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10. See the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 15. Note *q*.

SECTION VII.

PAGE 267.

1. See the interpretation given of St. Luke's preface, in the above-mentioned Dissertation, ch. 15.

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2. The expression used by St. Luke, ch. xii. 33. is *τὰ ὑπαρχοντα ὑμῶν*, which our author interprets by Aaecker, that is, 'lands,' and on this interpretation he founds an argument. But since *τὰ ὑπαρχοντα* denotes property in general, and the persons, to whom Christ

then addressed his discourse had probably little or no landed estates, the interpretation rests on a very precarious foundation.

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3. Were this conjecture true, it would directly contradict the notion, that St. Luke wrote *against* the Essenes.

4. I here use the words of Sale, in his translation of the Koran.

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5. Of this passage our author had given only a German translation, for which I have substituted the words of the original.

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6. It has been very generally believed, on the authority of Tertullian and Epiphanius, that Marcion wilfully corrupted the Gospel of St. Luke. Now it is true that the long catalogue of Marcion's quotations, which Epiphanius has preserved in his forty-second Heresy, exhibits readings, which materially differ from those of the corresponding passages in St. Luke's Gospel. Consequently, *if* Marcion really derived those quotations from a copy of St. Luke's Gospel, that copy must have contained a text, which in many places materially differed from our genuine text, though the question will still remain undecided, whether the alterations were made by Marcion himself, or whether he used a manuscript, in which they had been already made. But that Marcion used St. Luke's Gospel at all, is a position, which has been taken for granted, without the least proof. Marcion himself never pretended that it was the Gospel of St. Luke, as Tertullian acknowledges, saying, 'Marcion Evangelio suo *nullum ascribit autorem*.' Adv. Marcion. Lib. IV. cap. 2. It is probable therefore, that he used some apocryphal

Gospel, which had much matter in common with that of St. Luke, but yet was not the same. On this subject see Griesbach *Historia textus epistolarum Paulinarum*, p. 91, 92. and Loeffler's dissertation entitled *Marcionem Pauli epistolas et Lucæ evangelium adulterasse dubitatur*, which is printed in the first volume of the *Commentationes theologicæ*.

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

ORIGIN AND COMPOSITION

OF OUR

THREE FIRST CANONICAL GOSPELS.

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DISSERTATION

ON THE

ORIGIN

OF OUR

THREE FIRST CANONICAL GOSPELS.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE QUESTION.

THAT our three first canonical Gospels, or the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, have a remarkable similarity to each other, and that these three Evangelists frequently agree, not only in relating the same things in the same manner, but likewise in the same words, is a fact, of which every one must be convinced, who has read a Greek Harmony of the Gospels. To mention at present only a few instances. The parable of the sower, Matth. xiii. 3—9. Mark iv. 3—9. : Christ's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, Matth. xxiv. 3—36. Mark xiii. 5—32. : the description of Christ's celebration of the last passover, and of the treachery of Judas, Matth. xxvi. 20—48. Mark xiv. 17—44. Further, Christ's discourse on the message of John the Baptist, Matth. xi. 3—19. Luke vii. 19—35. : the woe denounced to Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, Matth. xi. 21—27. Luke x.

13—15. 22. 24.: Christ's censure of certain persons who required of him a sign, Matth. xii. 41—45. Luke xi. 24—26. Again, the benediction of children, who were brought to Christ, with Christ's answer to the question, by what means salvation was to be obtained, Mark x. 14—25. Luke xviii. 16—25.: Christ's censure of certain Pharisees, Mark xii. 38—40. Luke xx. 46, 47. From these examples, some of which are very long, it appears, that sometimes St. Matthew and St. Mark, at other times St. Matthew and St. Luke, at other times again St. Mark and St. Luke agree in relating the same things in the same manner, and, with a very few exceptions, in the same words. In some cases likewise all the three Evangelists agree word for word, of which the most remarkable instance is, Matth. xxiv. 33—35. Mark xiii. 29—31. Luke xxi. 31—33.

These phænomena are inexplicable on any other, than one of the two following suppositions: either, that St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, copied the one from the other: or that all three drew from a common source. For it is wholly impossible, that three historians, who have no connexion, either mediate or immediate with each other, should harmonize as St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, do. Even eye-witnesses to the same facts, if they make their reports independently of each other, will never relate them in the same manner, and still less in the same words. Different observers regard the same facts from different points of view, the one pays attention to one circumstance, the other to another circumstance; and even the circumstances, which they observe in common, they will arrange and combine in their own minds in such a manner, as to produce two representations, which, though upon the whole the same, widely differ in the choice and the position of the respective parts. This case is parallel to that of different historical painters, who represent on canvas the same subject: and whoever has compared, for instance, Christ's de-

scent from the cross by Rubens with his descent from the cross by a painter of the Italian school, knows how greatly the representations differ from each other. Consequently, when eye-witnesses to the same facts relate those facts, their *mode* of narration will be very different; the one will mention circumstances, which the other omits, the one will combine the parts of his narrative in this, the other in that manner. If therefore St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke agreed only in the *mode* of relating the same facts, we should conclude that there was some connexion, either mediate or immediate, between their writings, even had St. Mark and St. Luke, as well as St. Matthew, been eye-witnesses to the facts, which they relate: and, since they were not eye-witnesses, we may draw the inference with still greater reason. Further, this inference is corroborated by the circumstance, that, though St. John, as well as St. Matthew, was present at the transactions, which he has recorded, his mode of relating the few facts, which he has in common with St. Matthew, is very different from St. Matthew's mode of relation. The similarity therefore of St. Mark and St. Luke to St. Matthew, is the more remarkable: and since they likewise agree in numerous instances in the use of the same words, there cannot exist a doubt that their Gospels had some connexion, either mediate or immediate, with each other. It is true, that the examples of verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke, are far from being either so numerous or so long, as those between St. Matthew and St. Mark, and between St. Matthew and St. Luke: but this deficiency in the argument, as applied to St. Mark and St. Luke, is amply compensated by another circumstance, namely, that the numerous facts, which are common to St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, are arranged by St. Mark and St. Luke precisely in the same order, though several of them have received a different arrangement from St. Matthew. And on the other hand, if St. Matthew's dif-

ferent arrangement of several of the facts, should be considered as an argument that the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke had no connexion with that of St. Matthew, the remarkable verbal agreement of St. Matthew's Gospel with those of St. Mark and St. Luke is fully sufficient to confute it*. Since then it is certain that our three first canonical Gospels had some connexion either mediate or immediate, we are reduced to this dilemma: Either the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding; or, all the three drew from a common source.

But though the most eminent critics are at present decidedly of opinion, that one of these two suppositions must necessarily be adopted, and that the notion of an absolute independence, in respect to the composition of our three first Gospels, is no longer tenable, yet the question, which of these two suppositions ought to be adopted in preference to the other, is still in agitation, and each of them has such able advocates, that, if we were guided by the authority of names, the decision would be extremely difficult. Besides, so much learning and ingenuity have been displayed on both sides, and the arguments, which each party has advanced, have been alternately declared in literary journals, which are regarded as oracles of criticism, to be so satisfactory, that not only great labour is requisite for a full investigation of the respective proofs, but no small share of critical ability is required on the part of him, who attempts a decision. And the difficulty is still further increased by the circumstance, that the advocates of each party are at variance among themselves.

* In Mark xiii. 13—32, there is such a close verbal agreement for twenty verses together with the parallel portion in St. Matthew's Gospel, that the texts of St. Matthew and St. Mark might pass for one and the same text, in which a multiplication of copies had produced a few trifling deviations. At least they do not differ more from each other, than each differs from itself in different manuscripts. The same may be said of Luke vii. 22—35. compared with Matth. xi. 4—19.

For they, who agree in the opinion, that one Evangelist copied from the other, differ on the question, which was the copied, and which was the copying Evangelist: and on the other hand, they, who contend for a common source, differ from each other, both in respect to the source itself, and to the use, which was made of it by the Evangelists. The easiest and the most prudent part therefore, which I could take on the present occasion, would be merely to relate the opinion of others, without hazarding an opinion of my own: but as I have already collected many materials for this purpose, and have discovered several remarkable phenomena in the verbal harmony of our three first Gospels, which will probably bring the main question nearer to a decision, than it has been hitherto brought, I shall venture, with deference to the eminent critics of both parties, to make known the fruits of my researches.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE AUTHORS, WHO SUPPOSE, THAT THE SUCCEEDING EVANGELISTS COPIED FROM THE PRECEDING.

If we attempt to account for the verbal harmony of the Evangelists on the supposition that the one copied from the other, we must necessarily assume, not only that one of them copied from the other two, but that these two likewise copied the one from the other: for otherwise we shall not be able to explain the verbal harmony of all three. This hypothesis therefore resolves itself into six possible cases.

1. St. Matthew copied from St. Mark: and St. Luke copied both from St. Matthew and from St. Mark.

2. St. Matthew copied from St. Luke: and St. Mark copied both from St. Matthew and from St. Luke.

3. St. Mark copied from St. Matthew: and St. Luke copied both from St. Matthew and from St. Mark.

4. St. Mark copied from St. Luke: and St. Matthew copied both from St. Mark and from St. Luke.

5. St. Luke copied from St. Matthew: and St. Mark copied both from St. Matthew and from St. Luke.

6. St. Luke copied from St. Mark: and St. Matthew copied both from St. Mark and from St. Luke.

The first case has been partly, but not wholly assumed by Storr^b: for, though he contends, that St. Matthew copied from St. Mark, and likewise that St. Luke copied from St. Mark, he does not assert that St. Luke copied also from St. Matthew^c.—The second case is assumed by Büsching^d, who contends that St. Luke's Gospel was written first, that St. Matthew

^b In his *Design of the Evangelic History and Epistles of St. John* (Zweck der Evangelischen Geschichte und Briefe Johannis, Tübingen, 1786.) sect. 58—62. and in a Latin Essay, entitled, *De fonte Evangeliorum Matthæi et Lucæ*, printed at Tübingen in 1794, and reprinted in the third volume of the *Commentationes theologicæ*, published at Leipzig in 1796.

^c He leaves it undetermined, p. 360, whether St. Luke copied from St. Matthew, or whether the translator of St. Matthew's Gospel, on the supposition that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, made use of St. Luke's Gospel: but he seems to favour the latter opinion.

^d In the preface to his *German Harmony of the Evangelists*, (Hamburg, 1766, 8vo.) p. 109—119.)

made use of it, and that St. Mark made use of both. —The third case was assumed by Grotius, who in his Note to Matth. i. 1. says, *Usum esse Marcum Matthæi Evangelio apertum facit collatio*; and in his Note to Luke i. 1. *Lucas ita Matthæi et Marci historiam auxit, ut, ubi res easdem narrat, eadem quoque verba non raro usurpet.* Mill also speaking of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark says, Prol. § 109. *Facta collatione singulorum utriusque Evangelii, quæ quidem idem argumentum tractant, capitum, inevitabili plane necessitate coactus sum ut credam, ne quidem aliter fieri potuisse quin Marcus, qui cum Matthæo in plurimis exacte ac veluti ad verbum convenit, Matthæi Evangelium habuerit ad manum cum suum appararet, ex eoque nonnulla pro instituti sui ratione describeret, idque propemodum αυτολεξει*: and § 116. he says, *nihil evidentius, quam Lucam Evangeliorum Matthæi et Marci ipsas ρησεις, phrases et locutiones, imo vero totas periochas, in suum nonnunquam αυτολεξει traduxisse.* Wetstein is of the same opinion: for in his Preface to St. Mark's Gospel he says, *cum Marcus Matthæi Evangelium ante oculos haberet, quod ex harmonia manifestum est, &c.*: and in his Preface to St. Luke's Gospel he says, *Lucam multa ex Matthæo, ex Marco plura descripsisse ex collatione patet.* Dr. Townson, in his Discourses on the four Gospels (Oxford, 1788, 8vo, 2d. ed.) adopts the same opinion: for he says, p. 70. that 'the succeeding Evangelists had seen the former Gospels,' and p. 85. 93. 139. he asserts that St. Mark wrote after St. Matthew, and St. Luke after both St. Matthew and St. Mark. The same opinion has been adopted also either wholly or in part* by many other persons, whom it is unnecessary

* That part especially, which relates to St. Mark's having copied from St. Matthew has been adopted by very many writers since the time of Augustin, who, speaking of St. Matthew, says (*De Consensu Evangelistarum, Lib. I. cap. 4.*) *Marcus eum subsequutus, tanquam pedissequus et breviator ejus, videtur.* But many

to mention.—The fourth case has been assumed, as far as I know, by no critic: for, though some suppose that St. Mark copied from St. Luke^f, others that St. Matthew copied from St. Mark^g, others again that St. Matthew copied from St. Luke^h, yet no writer has maintained all three positions of the fourth case.—The fifth case is assumed by Owen and Griesbach. The former in his *Observations on the four Gospels* (London, 1764, 8vo.) after having quoted p. 32—49. many passages, in which the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke have a verbal agreement, explains this agreement on the supposition, that St. Luke copied from St. Matthew: and after having quoted p. 53—75. many passages, in which St. Mark's Gospel verbally agrees, sometimes with that of St. Matthew, sometimes with that of St. Luke, he concludes, that both these Gospels were used by St. Markⁱ. Griesbach in a Latin Essay published at Jena in two parts in 1789 and 1790, and reprinted with additions in the first

of those critics, who agree with Augustin in the opinion, that St. Mark copied from St. Matthew, differ from him, in respect to the question, whether St. Mark ought to be called the *abbreviator* of St. Matthew. In fact however, the dispute is a mere verbal one: for if St. Mark copied from St. Matthew, he may in one sense be called an abbreviator, in another sense an amplifier of St. Matthew's Gospel. He may so far be called an abbreviator, as he wholly omitted ch. i. ii. v. vi. vii. and many other parts of the Gospel of St. Matthew: and on the other hand he may be called an amplifier, since many of the facts which are common to the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, are related by St. Mark more circumstantially, than they are by St. Matthew.

^f For instance, Owen and Griesbach, whose opinions will be mentioned presently.

^g Storr.

^h Büsching.

ⁱ In this respect, Büsching, as appears from what has been already said, agrees with Owen. The anonymous author (supposed to be Stroth) of a German Essay on the Gospel of St. Matthew published in the ninth volume of Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, asserts likewise p. 144, that St. Mark used the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke.

volume of the *Commentationes theologicae* (Lipsiae, 1794) contends, not only that St. Mark copied both from St. Matthew and from St. Luke, but that the *whole* of St. Mark's Gospel is nothing more, than a compilation from those of St. Matthew and St. Luke, as appears from the very title of his dissertation, which is *Commentatio, qua Marci Evangelium totum e Matthæi et Lucæ commentariis decerptum esse monstratur*. And that he supposes also, that St. Luke copied from St. Matthew, appears from a dissertation, which he published at Jena in 1784, entitled, *De fontibus unde Evangelistæ suas de resurrectione Domini narrationes hauserint*.—The sixth case has been hitherto adopted by no critic, with whose works I am acquainted.

This diversity of opinion, which prevails among those, who are agreed on the general principle, that the verbal harmony of the Evangelists must be explained on the supposition, that the one copied from the other, arises from the diversity of opinion, in respect to the time, when the Gospels were written: for, if the order, in which the Gospels were written, could be proved a priory on the authority of indubitable historical evidence, there could be no doubt, as soon as the principle itself was admitted, as to the mode of applying it. It was formerly the common opinion that the Gospels were written in the order, in which they are placed in our canon, namely, that St. Matthew wrote first, then St. Mark, and then St. Luke. For this reason, Grotius, Mill, Wetstein, and several other critics concluded, that St. Mark copied from St. Matthew and St. Luke both from St. Matthew and from St. Mark^k. But that our three first Gospels

^k Whoever draws this conclusion, and yet supposes that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, must likewise suppose, either that it had been already translated into Greek, when St. Mark and St. Luke wrote, and that St. Mark and St. Luke used the Greek translation; or, if the Greek translation was made after

were really written in the order, in which they are placed in our canon, is a matter which it is impossible to prove from historical evidence: for ecclesiastical writers themselves are at variance on this subject, and it is evident that even they, who lived in the second and third centuries, had no certain knowledge in respect to the order, in which the Gospels were written. If then the premises themselves are uncertain, all conclusions, which are deduced from them, must be likewise uncertain. Later critics, knowing on what precarious grounds the opinion rests, that our three first Gospels were written in the same order, in which they are placed in our canon, have ventured to desert it: but then the opinions, which they have substituted in its stead, are equally incapable of historical proof with the opinion, which they have abandoned, and consequently the conclusions, which they have drawn, are exposed to all that uncertainty, which attends the inference deduced by Grotius, Mill, and Wetstein. The opinion of Storr, that St. Mark's Gospel was written, not only before that of St. Luke, but even before that of St. Matthew, is still less capable of support, than that, which was formerly adopted: for in favour of Storr's opinion no ecclesiastical writer whatsoever can be alleged. It is in fact a mere conjecture of the learned author; for the arguments, which he alleges in its support, do not raise it even to the lowest degree of probability. He argues thus¹. Barnabas was sent with St. Paul to Antioch, to bring to the Christian converts in that city the decree of the Apostolic council held in Jerusalem, Acts xv. St. Mark was a cousin of

the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke were written, that their Gospels were consulted by the translator: for without one of these two suppositions the verbal harmony of St. Matthew's *Greek Gospel* with those of St. Mark and St. Luke will remain unexplained on the principle in question. Similar remarks are applicable to the five other cases.

¹ See sect. 59. of the work above quoted.

Barnabas, and, as appears from Acts xv. 37. was likewise at that time in Antioch. Consequently St. Mark had, at that time, a very proper occasion for the composition of a Gospel; and, as he was the favourite disciple of St. Peter, who had taken the lead in the council at Jerusalem, St. Peter could not have assigned to a more proper person the task of writing a Gospel. —Now it may be readily admitted, that *if* St. Mark had written his Gospel at Antioch, and at so early a period, as that, for which Storr contends, the undertaking would have been a very proper one: but the converse of the proposition, which Storr adopts, is unwarrantable, since no man can argue from the propriety of a fact to the existence of it. Besides, if the question is to be decided on the ground of propriety, we may with equal reason say, it was proper that the first Gospel should be written by an Apostle. The opinions of Owen and Büsching, though each of them is much more probable than that of Storr, are still exposed to the same uncertainty, as the opinion, which both of them abandoned. For, when Owen contends, that St. Matthew wrote before St. Luke, and Büsching, on the other hand, that St. Luke wrote before St. Matthew, so much may be said on both sides, that it is really difficult to determine which is the true one. Both of these critics agree in respect to St. Mark, and conclude, that he used the Gospels both of St. Matthew and of St. Luke, a conclusion which they deduce from the previous supposition, that St. Mark wrote after St. Luke. But if Grotius, Mill, and Wetstein, were now alive, they might answer, '*We* previously suppose, and, as well as you, can allege authorities in favour of our supposition, that St. Mark wrote before St. Luke, and therefore have as much right to conclude, that St. Luke used the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, as you have to conclude that St. Mark used the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke.' Such is the uncertainty, which has hitherto attended the explanation of the verbal harmony of our three first

Gospels on the hypothesis, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding. From the verbal harmony between St. Matthew and St. Mark, one writer concludes that St. Mark copied from St. Matthew, while another concludes, that St. Matthew copied from St. Mark; from the verbal harmony between St. Matthew and St. Luke, one writer concludes, that St. Luke copied from St. Matthew, while another concludes, that St. Matthew copied from St. Luke: and, lastly, from the verbal harmony between St. Mark and St. Luke, one author concludes, that St. Luke copied from St. Mark, while another concludes, that St. Mark copied from St. Luke. This contrariety of conclusion from the same premises, is occasioned by the circumstance, that each critic sets out with a previously assumed opinion, in respect to the time when the Gospels were written, and as this opinion is different in different persons, the conclusions, which they deduce, must be likewise different.

CHAPTER III.

OF GRIESBACH'S HYPOTHESIS IN PARTICULAR.

GRIESBACH, whose critical penetration the difficulties above stated could not easily escape, has acted on a different plan; and instead of commencing the inquiry, by supposing that St. Mark wrote after both St. Matthew and St. Luke, he deduces this inference from the very statement, by which he endeavours to prove, that St. Mark's Gospel is a compilation from those of St. Matthew and St. Luke. It appears, namely from the statement^m which he has made of the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke,

^m Comment. Theol. p. 374—381.

that the *whole* of St. Mark's Gospel, if we except four and-twenty verses, is contained either in the Gospel of St. Matthew or in the Gospel of St. Luke; or, in other words, that, with the exception of these four-and-twenty verses, there is no fact recorded in St. Mark's Gospel, which is not recorded either in the Gospel of St. Matthew, or in the Gospel of St. Luke. Consequently, St. Mark's Gospel *may* be a compilation from those of St. Matthew and St. Luke: and therefore whoever adopts the principle, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding, must further conclude, not only that St. Mark's Gospel *may* be a compilation from those of St. Matthew and St. Luke, but that it really *is* so. The question, therefore, to be examined, is: Are the arguments, which Griesbach has alleged in favour of the opinion, that St. Mark *did* copy from St. Matthew and from St. Luke, sufficient to warrant the principle, which so many other critics have rejected? To render this subject perspicuous to those, who have not the *Commentationes theologicae* at hand, it will be necessary to copy here Griesbach's Table of the contents of St. Mark's Gospel compared with those of St. Matthew and St. Luke. The middle column contains the whole of St. Mark's Gospel: those to the right and left, contain the portions of St. Matthew's and St. Luke's, which correspond to the stated portions of St. Mark's Gospel.

ST. MATTHEW.	ST. MARK.	ST. LUKE.
iii. 1—4. 22.	i. 1—20. 21—39. 40—iii. 6.	iv. 31—44. v. 12—vi. 11.
xii. 15, 16.	iii. 7—12. 13—19. 20, 21. 22—30. 31—35.	vi. 12—16.
22, 23. 24—32. 46—50.	iv. 12—20. 21—25. 26—29. 30—32. 33, 34. 35—41.	viii. 16—18.
xiii. 1—23.	v. 1—43. vi. 1—6. 7—13. 14—16. 17—29. 30, 31. 32—44. 45—viii. 21.	22—25. 26—56.
24—30. 31, 32. 34, 35.	viii. 22—26. 27—ix. 50.	ix. 1—6. 7—9. 10. 11—17.
53—58.	x. 1—12. 13—xii. 38.	18—51.
xiv. 1, 2. 3—12.	xii. 38—44. xiii. 1—32. 33—36.	xviii. 15—xx. 45. xx. 45—xxi. 4. xxi. 5—seq.
13—21. 22—xvi. 12.	xiv. 1—xvi. 8. xvi. 9. 10—13. 14. 15—18. 19. 20.	
xvi. 13—xviii. 9.		xxiv. 10—35. 36—43.
xix. 1—12. 13—xxiii. 1.		50, 51.
xxiv. 1—36.		
xxvi. 1—xxviii. 8.		
xxviii. 18—20.		

This table is accompanied with notes, in which the learned and ingenious author endeavours to explain, why St. Mark (on the supposition that he used the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke) copied this portion from St. Matthew and that portion from St. Luke: why he sometimes attended to both: and why at other times certain portions of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke were wholly omitted by him.

The *possibility* that St. Mark compiled his Gospel from those of St. Matthew and St. Luke, being thus distinctly shewn, Griesbach proceeds^a to assign the reasons, which induced him to believe, that St. Mark really *did* compile his Gospel in that manner. These reasons comprise two principal arguments. The first is, that we can account for the arrangement of the facts in St. Mark's Gospel, on the proposed scheme of compilation: for if St. Mark copied sometimes from St. Matthew, and at other times from St. Luke, we perceive the reason why St. Mark's arrangement is always the same, either with that of St. Matthew, or with that of St. Luke. The other argument, on which Griesbach lays the greatest stress, is, that though St. Luke has recorded many facts which are unnoticed by St. Matthew, though St. John likewise has much matter, which is not in the Gospels either of St. Matthew, or of St. Luke, and Christ's ministry might have furnished a still greater number of facts, of which St. Mark must have heard, as his mother's house at Jerusalem was a place of assembly for the primitive Christians, St. Mark's Gospel, with the exception of four-and-twenty verses, contains no facts^o, which are not recorded, either in the Gospel of St. Matthew, or in the Gospel of St. Luke, and that even these four-and-

^a Comment. Theol. Tom. I. p. 381—384.

^o That is, no principal facts: for *circumstances* unnoticed by St. Matthew and St. Luke are frequently added by St. Mark to the facts which he has in common with the other two Evangelists.

twenty verses, as Griesbach afterwards endeavours to shew^p, might have been suggested by one of those two Gospels. Now, if we suppose that St. Mark's Gospel is nothing more than a compilation from the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, the reason why its contents are confined to those of the other two Gospels is obvious: whereas, if St. Mark had written by himself, or without the aid of any other Gospels, it would not have been in his power to confine the choice of his facts to those only, which St. Matthew and St. Luke have recorded. Griesbach further adds^q: *Sin denique contendas, alios aut plures quam hos duumviros modo laudatos eum habuisse duces, scire velimus, qui factum sit, ut hi nihil aliud, si versus excipias circiter 24, ipsi suggererent, quam quod æque e Matthæo et Luca mutuari potuisset.*

We see then, that Griesbach's opinion is an hypothesis, assumed to explain, not only St. Mark's verbal harmony with St. Matthew and St. Luke, which object it has in common with other hypotheses of this kind, but likewise and principally two other phenomena in St. Mark's Gospel, relative, first to the arrangement which is observed in it, and secondly, to its contents. Now that these two phenomena can be solved by the proposed hypothesis, may be readily granted: but before we exclude all other hypotheses, and adopt this as the true one, we must shew, that no other hypothesis can solve the phenomena as well as the proposed one. For, if we can account, in any easy and satisfactory manner, for the contents and the arrangement of St. Mark's Gospel, without having recourse to the supposition, that he compiled it from the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, the circumstance, that this supposition likewise explains the two above-mentioned phenomena, proves only that it *may be* true, not that it *is* so. But it will be shewn hereafter that the contents and the arrangement of St. Mark's Gospel are

^p Pag. 384—388.

^q Pag. 383.

capable of a very satisfactory solution on a totally different hypothesis: and therefore that very condition, which is requisite, in order to give weight to the proof, that St. Mark compiled his Gospel from those of St. Matthew and St. Luke, absolutely fails. Besides, there are other phænomena in St. Mark's Gospel, which it is necessary to explain, as well as the two above-mentioned. We must account not only for the matter which St. Mark's Gospel *does* contain, in common either with St. Matthew's, or with St. Luke's, but likewise for the matter, which it *does not* contain in common with the other two. But the supposition, that St. Mark had the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke before him, when he composed his own, cannot possibly account for the phænomenon, that those two Gospels have so much important matter, of which no traces are to be found in the Gospel of St. Mark. It is true that great ingenuity has been employed in the discovery of such reasons, as are supposed to have induced St. Mark to retain only certain portions of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, and to omit the rest'. But, even if these reasons be satisfactory, they shew nothing more than that the hypothesis is reconcileable with the phænomenon, that so much important matter contained in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke is not likewise contained in the Gospel of St. Mark: whereas every hypothesis, in order to answer the purposes for which it is assumed, must not only be reconcileable with the phænomena, but must likewise account for them. Lastly, there are

* It cannot be, nor indeed has it been, asserted, that St. Mark omitted so much matter, *because* it was already contained in the Gospel either of St. Matthew or of St. Luke: for whoever has recourse to this argument undermines the whole edifice. If St. Mark thought it unnecessary to record what St. Matthew and St. Luke had already recorded, it may be asked: Why then did he write a Gospel, which is almost wholly contained in the other two? On this ground therefore we might conclude that St. Mark had never seen the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke.

several remarkable phænomena in the verbal harmony of the Evangelists hitherto unknown, which are not only inexplicable on the supposition, that St. Mark used the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, but really incompatible with the supposition, as will be shewn hereafter.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE AUTHORS, WHO SUPPOSE, THAT OUR EVANGELISTS MADE USE OF A COMMON DOCUMENT, OR COMMON DOCUMENTS.

IN the two foregoing sections the opinions of those critics, who adopt the principle, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding, have been stated in such a manner, that, in order to do justice to the respective opinions, the principle itself has not been called in question. But this very principle, on which all the above-mentioned hypotheses depend, is liable to objections, which it is not very easy to surmount. For this reason other critics explain the verbal harmony observable in our three first Gospels, on the supposition, that they were derived from a common source. The first writer, to whom this thought occurred, was Le Clerc*, who in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Amstelodami, 1716, 4to.) Sæc. I. Ann. LXIV. sect. xi. p. 429. speaking of the verbal harmony of St. Luke's Gospel with those of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and the inference, which was thence deduced, that both these

* Even Epiphanius, as long ago as the fourth century, speaking of the verbal harmony of the Evangelists, which he calls *συμφωνία καὶ ἰσὺς κρυφαί*, *Hæres. LI. 6.* accounts for it by saying, *οὐκ αὐτὸς τῆς πηγῆς ἀφῆρηται*. But he has not explained what he meant by *αὐτὴ ἡ πηγή*.

Gospels were used by St. Luke, says : *Quod volunt, ex collatione Evangelii Lucæ cum Matthæi et Marci Evangeliiis, liquere Lucam ab iis loca integra verbaque et loquendi genera mutuatum esse; id vero minime perspicuum est, quidni enim credamus tria hæc Evangelia partim petita esse ex similibus aut iisdem fontibus, hoc est, e commentariis eorum, qui varios Christi sermones audiverant, aut actorum ejus testes fuerant, eaque, ne oblivioni mandarentur, illico scriptis mandarant.* Le Clerc however appears to have made no further use of this opinion, and it attracted so little notice, that it lay dormant upwards of sixty years, till it was revived by Michaelis in the third edition of his *Introduction to the New Testament* published in 1777. But in *this* edition Michaelis still retained the opinion that St. Mark copied from St. Matthew^a, and therefore united[•] the hypothesis, that the Evangelists used more ancient documents, with the principle, that the one copied from the other. In 1782 Professor Koppe at Göttingen published a short Latin dissertation entitled, *Marcus non epitomator Matthæi*, in which he explained, as Michaelis had done, the examples of verbal harmony in the three first Gospels, on the supposition, that in those examples the Evangelists retained the words which had been used in more ancient Gospels, such as those, of which St. Luke speaks in his preface: and he at the same time asserted that one Evangelist did not copy from the Gospel of the other. To this last assertion Michaelis has likewise subscribed in the

[•] Vol. II. § 125. In the fourth edition it is § 129: in the English translation Vol. III. ch. iii. Priestley has a similar thought in his *Observations on the Harmony of the Evangelists* (p. 73), which were likewise published in 1777.

^a Vol. II. § 137.

[•] This has likewise been done by other critics, as will appear in the sequel.

fourth edition of his *Introduction*², and abandoning his former opinion that St. Mark copied from St. Matthew, he attributes the verbal harmony of all three Evangelists to the use of the same documents. But as he assumes, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, he supposes, not that St. Matthew himself, but that his Greek translator had recourse to the same Greek document or, documents, which had been used both by St. Mark and St. Luke, and that hence arose the verbal harmony between the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, and the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke.

We see then that Michaelis had recourse to the supposition of a common *Greek* document, or documents: and in fact, when the *verbal* harmony of three Greek Gospels is to be explained on the hypothesis, that a common document was used, it is natural to conclude, that the common document was likewise written in Greek. But since our three first Gospels not only furnish numerous examples of a close verbal coincidence, but present at other times not less numerous examples, which have all the appearance of being different translations of the same Hebrew, or Chaldee, or Syriac original, other critics have supposed, that a common Hebrew, or Chaldee, or Syriac original³ was the ground-work, on which our three first Gospels were built. Semler, though in the early part of his life he had adopted the opinion that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding, and especially

² Vol. II. § 144. Vol. III. ch. v. sect. 5. of the translation.

³ The terms 'Hebrew,' 'Chaldee,' 'Syriac,' when applied to the document or documents supposed by various critics to have been used by our three first Evangelists, are in fact synonymous. For by Hebrew is not meant the language in which the Old Testament is written, but the language spoken in Palestine in the time of the Apostles, of which language Chaldee was one dialect, Syriac another. And these two differ so little from each other, that, with the exception of the Nun of the third person future, Syriac, when written with Chaldee letters, and without points, becomes itself Chaldee.

that St. Luke copied from the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark ^a, was the first writer, who assumed the hypothesis (or at least was the first who made it known to the public) that our three first Evangelists used in common a Hebrew or Syriac document, or documents, from which they derived the principal materials of their Gospels. This hypothesis he delivered in his Remarks on Townson's Discourses on the four Gospels ^a, which he published at Halle in 1783: but he has delivered it only in a cursory manner, and, as the thought was then new, he does not appear to have had any very determinate opinion on the subject.

The next year, namely in 1784, was published at Berlin a posthumous work of Lessing entitled Lessing's Theological Relicks ^b, in which is a short Essay ^c on the origin of our canonical Gospels. In this Essay, which was written in 1778, as appears from the date of the manuscript, and therefore five years before Semler published his remarks on Townson, the hypothesis of a common Syriac or Chaldee original is likewise asserted, but with much more precision, than was done by Semler. This original, according to Lessing, was no other than the Gospel, which was known by the name of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, or the Gospel according to the twelve Apostles, a Gospel, of which the ancients speak with great respect. From this Gospel Lessing supposes, that St. Matthew, (who in his opinion wrote not in Hebrew ^d but in Greek)

^a See his Preface to Baumgarten's Controversial Divinity (Halle, 1762.) p. 52. Note 20.

^a Especially in Vol. I. p. 146, 147. 221. 290.

^b Theologischer Nachlass.

^c Pag. 45—72.

^d The notion entertained by the ancients, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, is ascribed by Lessing to the following cause. St. Matthew, though he wrote in Greek, made use of a Hebrew or Chaldee document, namely the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Hence this document acquired the name of St. Matthew's Hebrew original, whence it was afterwards supposed, that St. Matthew was the author of it.

and also St. Mark and St. Luke, derived the principal materials of their own Gospels, and accordingly translated it more or less fully, more or less closely, into Greek*. Lessing's hypothesis was soon after opposed by two very eminent critics, Storr and Griesbach, who in the works above mentioned, the one published in 1786, the other in 1789, advanced very different hypotheses. But in 1790, it met with the approbation of Niemeyer, Professor of divinity in Halle, who in his *Conjecturæ ad illustrandum plurimorum N. T. scriptorum silentium de primordiis vitæ Jesu Christi*, says, p. 8. 'Jam si fides habenda est patrum auctoritati, antiquissima extitit de vita Jesu Christi narratio, in usum eorum, qui e Judæis Christiani facti erant, Palæstinensium imprimis scripta. Hæc narratio variis nominibus insignitur, quo pertinent Evangelium duodecim Apostolorum, Hebræorum, Nazaræorum, secundum Matthæum: eademque, nisi me omnia fallunt, *pro fonte habenda est, e quo reliqua id genus scripta, tanquam rivuli originem suam duxerunt.* Further, Niemeyer has not only adopted Lessing's hypothesis, but has improved it; and since he has in reality laid the foundation of the still greater improvements, which have been made on the hypothesis of a common Hebrew, or Chaldee original, it is but justice to transcribe what he has further said on this subject, p. 9, 10. 'Cum vero

* Adler, in a short Latin dissertation entitled '*Nonnulla Matthæi et Marci enunciata ex indole linguæ Syriacæ explicantur*,' published at Copenhagen in the same year in which Lessing's *Theological Relicks* were printed, likewise explains (p. 24.) the agreement between the Greek Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, on the supposition, that they were both derived from the same Hebrew or Chaldee original. But Adler has not extended the hypothesis to St. Luke's Gospel, though perhaps for no other reason, than because the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark were the only subjects of his inquiry. He differs however from Lessing in respect to the original itself: for he supposes, that St. Matthew wrote not in Greek, but in Chaldee, or as it is frequently said, Hebrew, that from St. Matthew's Chaldee original St. Mark made an extract, but that it was afterwards completely translated into Greek.

contineret hic liber, de quo quærimus, Apostolorum de vita Christi narrationes, non modo propter argumenti gravitatem credibile est, ejus exemplaria in plurimorum Christianorum manibus fuisse, quorum maxime debebat interesse divinam magistri sui imaginem intueri, verum etiam *singulis exemplaribus ea, quæ quisque aliunde de Christo comperta haberet, tanquam auctaria adscripta esse*^f: ita quidem ut vel Apostolorum ævo plures extiterint horum Memorabilium recensiones. Quod si sumitur, multa facillime explicari possunt, quæ, sublata ista hypothese, admodum obscuras reddunt Evangeliorum nostrorum origines. Primum intelligitur consensus Matthæi; Marci, Lucæ, per plures Evangeliorum suorum partes, non modo in *rerum* quas tractant similitudine, verum etiam *verborum* conspiratione perspicuus. Fac centum homines ejusdem facti fuisse testes, fac centum ipsos quod viderint mandasse literis: consentient re, different verbis, nec quisquam casu factum esse judicabit, si vel tres aut quatuor ex eorum numero rem ita narraverint, ut per plurimarum periodorum seriem verbum verbo respondeat. Hoc vero quis ignorat sexcentis observari in Evangelistarum commentariis? Atqui hoc mirum non est. *Nempe ex eodem hauserunt fonte.* Memorabilia Christi et dicta et facta Hebraice scripta, in usum Græce loquentium, Græce fecerunt. Qui vero factum est, ut Lucas alium sequeretur rerum ordinem, quam Matthæus; ut in Marco plura desiderentur, in Matthæo, cujus vestigia premere videtur, obvia? Ut in singulis partibus alter altero verbosior, in observandis rebus minutis diligentior reperiat? Quoniam, ut diximus, mira fuit *exemplarium*, quæ ista Apostolorum ἀπομνημονεύματα complectebantur, *diversitas*. Deinde, quoniam liberum fuit iis, quæ ex istis Commentariis sua Evangelia concinnabant, addere quæ sibi aliunde innotuissent, resecare quæ vel

^f This additional supposition, which was first made by Niemeyer, will be found to be of singular use in explaining many phenomena in our three first canonical Gospels.

sublestæ fidei, vel minus utilia lectoribus, et a suo scribendi consilio remota judicarent.

From the time that Niemeyer published this dissertation, the hypothesis of a common Hebrew or Chaldee original has been daily gaining ground in Germany. In the year following, namely in 1791, it was adopted by Mr. Webber of Tübingen, in his 'Contributions to the history of the canon of the New Testament',^{*} who likewise agrees with Lessing and Niemeyer in the opinion, that the common Hebrew or Chaldee document was no other than the Gospel according to the Hebrews. In the year 1792, was published at Halle in 8vo. a very ingenious work entitled, 'An attempt to illustrate the history of the Jewish and Christian canon',[†] in which the learned author derives our three first canonical Gospels from a common Hebrew original, but supposes, not only that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, but that the Hebrew Gospel written by St. Matthew was the original, from which our three first Greek canonical Gospels were derived.[‡] In 1793, the theological faculty at Göttingen, as the origin of our canonical Gospels was a subject which began to gain universal attention, and the decision of the question must necessarily lead to many important conclusions, proposed the following question for a prize dissertation: 'Quænam sit origo Evangeliorum Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ et Joannis? ex quibusnam fontibus eorum auctores hauserint: quibus maxime lectoribus et quo consilio singuli scripserint: quomodo denique et quo tempore factum sit, ut quatuor ista Evangelia majorem,

^{*} Beyträge zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons, Tübingen, 1791, 8vo. See especially, p. 21, 22.

[†] Versuch einer Beleuchtung der Geschichte des Jüdischen und Christlichen Bibelkanons. The author, who has not mentioned his name, is supposed to be Corodi, a clergyman in Switzerland, who died in 1793.

[‡] Vol. II. p. 150—152. J. E. C. Schmidt, professor at Giessen, has since adopted the same opinion, in a dissertation printed in the fourth volume of Henke's Magazine (Helmstadt, 1795.) p. 577.

quam Evangelia, quæ vocant apocrypha, et canonicam auctoritatem consequerentur?" The prize was adjudged in the following year to Halfeld^k, and the Accessit to Russwurm^l, both students at Gottingen: and both of them adopted the hypothesis that our three first canonical Gospels were derived from the same Hebrew or Chaldee document or documents, but with this difference, that in the opinion of Halfeld several documents were used by the Evangelists, whereas Russwurm supposes, that they used only different copies of one and the same document, which he calls the original Gospel. But Russwurm does not suppose, either with Lessing and Niemeyer that this original Gospel was the Gospel according to the Hebrews, or with the author of the Attempt to illustrate the Canon, that it was written by St. Matthew, since he considers St. Matthew's Gospel as derived from it.

CHAPTER V.

OF EICHHORN'S HYPOTHESIS IN PARTICULAR.

DURING the time that the dissertations were preparing for the prize at Gottingen, Eichhorn, whose lectures both Halfeld and Russwurm had attended, prepared likewise a dissertation on the origin of our three first Gospels, which he printed in 1794, in the fifth volume of his Universal Library of Biblical Litera-

^k Halfeld's Dissertation was published at Göttingen, in 1794, under the following title, *Commentatio de origine quatuor Evangeliorum, et de eorum canonica auctoritate*.

^l Russwurm did not publish his Latin dissertation, but translated it into German, and so considerably augmented it, as to make two small 8vo. volumes, the first of which was printed at Ratzeburg, in 1797.

ture^m. As this dissertation is by far the most important of all the essays, which have appeared in defence of the hypothesis of a common Hebrew or Chaldee original, it will be necessary to make such extracts from it, as will enable those readers, who are not acquainted with German, to judge of its merits. Eichhorn supposes that only *one* document was used by *all three* Evangelists, but he supposes that various additions had been made in various copies of it, and that three different copies, thus variously enriched, were respectively used by our three first Evangelists. Thus far Niemeyer had supposed; but then Eichhorn goes much deeper into the subject, than any of those, who had written before him. For by a very ingenious analysis of our three first Gospels, he has investigated both the contents of the assumed original document, as it existed in its primitive state, and the various additions, which were made to it in the copies, which he supposes were used by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke. The principle which he adopts in this investigation, is the following: that all those portions, which are common to all three Evangelists were originally contained in the common document; that the sections, whether great or small, which are common to St. Matthew and St. Mark but not to St. Luke, and at the same time occupy places in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, which correspond to each other, were additions made in the copies used by St. Matthew and St. Mark, but not in the copy used by St. Luke; and in like manner that the sections found in the corresponding places of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, but not contained in the Gospel of St. Matthew, were additions made in the copies used by St. Mark and St. Luke. Hence, according to Eichhorn, the original document contained the following

^m Pag. 759—996. The German title is Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Literatur. It is a periodical publication, which was begun in 1787, and contains a real treasure of biblical criticism.

sections, which are common to all the three Evangelists.

1. John the Baptist. Mark^a i. 2—8. Luke iii. 1—18. Matt. iii. 1—12.
2. Baptism of Christ. Mark i. 9—11. Luke iii. 21, 22. Matth. iii. 13—17.
3. Temptation of Christ. Mark i. 12, 13. Luke iv. 1—13. Matth. iv. 1—11.
4. Christ's return to Galilee, and arrival at Capernaum, Mark i. 14. Luke iv. 14. Matth. iv. 12, 13.
5. Cure of Peter's mother-in-law. Mark i. 29—34. Luke iv. 38—41. Matth. viii. 14—17.
6. Cure of a leper. Mark i. 40—45. Luke v. 12—16. Matth. viii. 2—4.
7. Cure of a person afflicted with the palsy. Mark ii. 1—12. Luke v. 17—26. Matth. ix. 1—8.
8. Call of St. Matthew. Mark ii. 13—22. Luke v. 27—39. Matt. 9—17.
9. Christ goes with his disciples through the corn fields. Mark ii. 23—28. Luke vi. 1—5. Matth. xii. 1—8.
10. Cure of a withered hand. Mark iii. 1—6. Luke vi. 6—11. Matth. xii. 9—15.
11. Preparation for the sermon on the mount. Mark iii. 7—19. Luke vi. 12—19. Matth. iv. 23—25.
12. Confutation of the opinion that Christ cast out devils by the assistance of Beelzebub. Mark iii. 20—30. Matt. xii. 22—45. (Perhaps formerly Luke also^o).

* Throughout all the following sections, which are common to all three Evangelists, St. Mark and St. Luke have precisely the same order. But St. Matthew, though he has the same arrangement as St. Mark and St. Luke, from sect. 19 to the end, has arranged several of the eighteen first sections in a different manner. In these sections, therefore, as St. Mark and St. Luke agree, Eichhorn follows their order. See what he says, § 12.

^o Eichhorn means only, as appears from what he says, p. 860, that this section was, perhaps, in St. Luke's copy of the common document, as well as in the copies used by St. Matthew and St. Mark,

13. Arrival of the mother and brethren of Christ. Mark iii. 31—35. Luke viii. 19—21. Matth. xii. 46—50.
14. Parable of the sower. Mark iv. 1—34. Luke viii. 4—18. Math. xiii. 1—34.
15. Christ crosses the sea, and undergoes a storm. Mark iv. 35—41. Luke viii. 22—25. Matth. viii. 18—27.
16. Transactions in the country of the Gadarenes. Mark v. 1—20. Luke viii. 26—39. Matth. viii. 28—34.
17. The daughter of Jairus restored to life. Mark v. 21—43. Luke viii. 40—56. Matth. ix. 18—26.
18. Christ sends out the twelve Apostles. Mark vi. 7—13. Luke ix. 1—6. Matth. x. 1—42.
19. The fame of Christ reaches the court of Herod. Matth. xiv. 1—12. Mark vi. 14—29. Luke ix. 7—9.
20. Five thousand men fed. Matth. xiv. 13—21. Mark vi. 30—44. Luke ix. 10—17.
21. Acknowledgment of the Apostles, that Christ is the Messiah. Matth. xvi. 13—28, Mark viii. 27. ix. 1. Luke ix. 18—27.
22. Transfiguration of Christ on the mount. Matth. xvii. 1—10. Mark ix. 2—9. Luke ix. 28—36.
23. Christ cures a demoniac, whom his Apostles were unable to cure. Matth. xvii. 14—21. Mark ix. 14—29. Luke ix. 37—43.
24. Christ foretels his death. Matth. xvii. 22, 23. Mark ix. 20—32. Luke ix. 43—45.
25. Dispute among the Apostles about precedence. Matth. xviii. 1—5. Mark ix. 33—37. Luke ix. 46—48.
26. Christ blesses children, who are brought to him, and answers the question by what means salvation is to be obtained. Matth. xix. 13—30. Mark x. 13—31. Luke xviii. 15—30.
27. Christ again foretels his death. Matth. xx. 17—19. Mark x. 32—34. Luke xviii. 31—34.

28. Blind men at Jericho restored to sight. Matth. xx. 29—34. Mark x. 46—52. Luke xviii. 35—43.
29. Christ's public entry into Jerusalem. Matth. xxi. 1—11. Mark xi. 1—10. Luke xix. 29—44.
30. Christ expels the buyers and sellers from the temple. Matth. xxi. 12—14. Mark xi. 15—17. Luke xix. 45, 46.
31. Christ called to account by the chief priests and elders for teaching publickly in the temple. He answers them, and then delivers a parable. Matth. xxi. 23—27. 33—46. Mark xi. 27. xii. 12. Luke xx. 1—19.
32. On the tribute to Cæsar, and marriage with a brother's widow. Matth. xxii. 15—33. Mark xii. 15—37. Luke xx. 20—40.
33. Christ's discourse with the Pharisees relative to the Messiah being called Lord by David. Matth. xxii. 41—46. Mark xii. 35—37. Luke xx. 41—45.
34. The Parisees censured by Christ. Matth. xxiii. 1, &c. Mark xii. 38—40. Luke xx. 45—47.
35. Christ foretels the destruction of Jerusalem. Matth. xxiv. 1—36. Mark xiii. 1—36. Luke xxi. 5—36.
36. Prelude to the account of Christ's passion. Matth. xxvi. 1—5. Mark xiv. 1, 2. Luke xxii. 1, 2.
37. Bribery of Judas : and the celebration of the Pass-over. Matth. xxvi. 14—29. Mark xiv. 10—25. Luke xxii. 3—23.
38. Christ goes to the mount of Olives. Matth. xxvi. 30—46. Mark xiv. 26—42. Luke xxii. 39—46.
39. He is seized by a guard from the chief priests. Matth. xxvi. 47—58. Mark xiv. 43—54. Luke xxii. 47—55.
40. Peter's denial of Christ, &c. Matth. xxvi. 69. xxvii. 19. Mark xiv. 66. xv. 10. Luke xxii. 56, xxiii. 17.

41. The crucifixion and death of Christ. Matth. xxvii. 20—66. Mark xv. 11—47. Luke xxiii. 18—56.

42. The resurrection. Matth. xxviii. 1, &c. Mark xvi. 1, &c. Luke xxiv. 1, &c.^p.

These were the contents, according to Eichhorn's hypothesis, of the original document supposed to have been used by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke. They contain a short but well connected representation of the principal transactions of Christ, from his baptism to his death^a: they are such as might be expected in the first sketch of a narrative of Christ's ministry: and that a document with these contents really existed before the composition of our three first Gospels, is a supposition, which is attended with no internal improbability.

But though St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, agree in each of these forty-two general sections, in relating the same principal fact, yet they are not always equally diffuse in the relation of the concomitant circumstances. For sometimes St. Matthew and St. Mark mention circumstances, which are unnoticed by

^p Of each of these forty-two sections, Eichhorn has given a very ingenious analysis, p. 801—920. The sections, which are common only to St. Matthew and St. Mark, are investigated, p. 921—950: those which are common only to St. Mark and St. Luke, p. 950—960: and those, which are common only to St. Matthew and St. Luke, p. 964—970.

^a Lardner likewise observed, in his *History of the Apostles and Evangelists*, Vol. I. ch. x. (Vol. VI. p. 288. ed. 1788), that, if all those sections, which are common to St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke, be separated from the other matter in their Gospels, 'they contain an entire Gospel, or a complete history of the ministry of Jesus Christ; or, to borrow St. Luke's expression, a history of all that Jesus both did and taught, until the day in which he was taken up into heaven.' Lardner then enumerates the principal materials, which are common to St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke, and concludes by saying: '*Here are all the integrals of a Gospel*' Though the thought, therefore, that these integrals even existed by themselves in a separate work, did not occur to Lardner, he was not far from it.

St. Luke; at other times circumstances are mentioned by St. Matthew and St. Luke, which are unnoticed by St. Mark, and at other times again by St. Mark and St. Luke, which are unnoticed by St. Matthew. Likewise each Evangelist frequently mentions circumstances, which are unnoticed by the other two. In these forty-two sections therefore, sometimes St. Matthew has the shortest text, at other times St. Mark, at other times St. Luke. But as the forty-two principal facts, which are common to all three Evangelists, are supposed to have been contained in the original document, we must likewise suppose, in order to be consistent, that this document in each of the forty-two sections contained only so much matter, as is common to all three Evangelists. Consequently all the circumstances, which are mentioned by two of the Evangelists, but not by the third, and also those, which are mentioned by one of them, but not by the other two, must be considered as additions. Those of the former kind, or the circumstances mentioned by two of the Evangelists in the same section, but not by the third, must have been already noted in the two copies of the common document, which were used by those two Evangelists, since their agreement in making the same addition in the same place, would otherwise remain unexplained. The same inference may likewise be deduced in respect to those sections, in which two Evangelists agree in inserting in the same place, in addition to those sections, which are common to all three. To the original text therefore of the common document, which in its primitive state contained only so much matter of the forty-two sections, as is common to all three Evangelists, various additions were made in the several transcripts, which were taken of it. The copy used by St.

* Namely, according to Eichhorn's hypothesis, the proprietors of different copies of this document added in the margin those circumstances, which had come to their knowledge, but which were unnoticed by the author or authors of the document, and these marginal additions were taken by subsequent transcribers into the text.

Matthew contained additions, some of which had been made likewise in the copy used by St. Mark, others in the copy used by St. Luke : St. Mark's copy contained additions, of which some had been made in St. Matthew's, others in St. Luke's copy : and accordingly St. Luke's copy contained additions, of which some had been made in St. Matthew's, others in St. Mark's copy. As to the additions, which each Evangelist has peculiar to himself, they may have been added either wholly or in part in the copy of the original document, which each Evangelist used, or he may have added them himself. In this manner, and not on the supposition, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding, Eichhorn accounts, 1st for the matter, which is common to all three, 2^{dly} for the matter, which is common to only two of them, and 3^{dly} for the matter, which is peculiar to each. And it must be granted that these three kinds of matter *may* be explained on Eichhorn's hypothesis, which the supposition, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding *does not* explain. For, if we suppose, that the latest of the three writers copied from the other two, the supposition is so far from explaining, why one or both of those two Evangelists have matter, which the third has not, that great ingenuity is requisite to produce even a reconciliation between the supposition and the phænomena to be explained by it. So far then the hypothesis of a common original deserves the preference, as it accounts for what the other hypothesis does not. And if it can be proved, that the succeeding Evangelists did not use the Gospels of the preceding, we are reduced to the necessity of adopting the other hypothesis*, since one of the two must be adopted, as has been already shewn in the first section. Now it

* But even then the question will remain to be determined : In what *form* shall we adopt the hypothesis of a common document ? For the forms, which this hypothesis is capable of assuming, are much more numerous, than any one at first sight would imagine.

cannot be denied that Eichhorn has used very strong arguments in favour of this position¹: but since certain phenomena in the verbal harmony of the Evangelists, which have been hitherto unnoticed, will be found to be of great importance in the decision of this question, and these phenomena cannot be stated, till the authorities have been produced, on which they are founded, the reader may suspend his judgment, till the authorities have been produced, and the phenomena stated, when this and every other opinion, which has been advanced in respect to the origin of our three first Gospels, will be put to the test.

The next question, which Eichhorn examines, relates to the language, in which the original document was written²: and he is decidedly of opinion that it was written, not in Greek, but in Hebrew or Chaldee. For if it be supposed, that our three first Evangelists drew from the same Greek source, the numerous examples in which different Greek words are used in their Gospels, to relate the same things, are incapable of explanation, since if the Evangelists agreed in relating the *matter* of their common document, no reason can be assigned for so frequent an alteration of the *words*. But, if we suppose, that the document was Hebrew or Chaldee, that our three first Greek Gospels, where they have matter in common with each other, contain translations of it, and that these translations were made independently of each other, the reason of the Evangelists having so frequently used different, but synonymous Greek expressions in relating the same things, is

¹ Pag. 766—775. and more particularly in his analysis of the forty-two general sections, in § 23. Also Halfeld, p. 9—39. and Russwurm, § 3—10. of the works above quoted have well argued on this question. See also what Lardner has said on the same side of the question, in his History of the Apostles and Evangelists, Vol. I. ch. x. of the edition printed in 1756, or Vol. VI. p. 223—233. of the edition of his works printed in 1788.

² Pag. 781.

obvious". Thus far the hypothesis appears to answer the purposes, for which it was assumed: but when we come to the examples, in which the Evangelists relate the same things in the *same words*, which must be likewise explained, as well as the examples, in which they relate the same things in different words, Eichhorn's hypothesis is liable to an objection similar to that, which was made above in Sect. 3. to Griesbach's hypothesis; namely, that there are phænomena, for which Eichhorn's hypothesis does not *account*, and that at the utmost nothing more can be attempted, than to *reconcile* with the hypothesis certain phænomena, which ought to be explained by it. Besides, even though it were possible for Greek translators, who translated from the same Hebrew or Chaldee original, and, according to Eichhorn's hypothesis, without any connexion whatsoever with each other*, to produce translations, which in such numerous and long examples agreed word for word, as we find especially in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and St. Matthew and St. Luke, it will appear hereafter that the phænomena in the verbal agreement of our three first Gospels are of such a particular description, as to be wholly incompatible with the notion of three independent translations of the same original.

* Eichhorn further adds, not only that difficulties frequently attend their Greek expressions, which can be removed only by re-translating them into Hebrew, but that examples may be produced, which betray even an inaccuracy of translation. On this subject see Halfeld, p. 48—51.

* Eichhorn says, § 14. 'We possess in our three first Gospels three translations of the above-mentioned short life of Christ, which were made independently of each other.'

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE AUTHORS, WHO HAVE UNITED BOTH OF
THE PRECEDING SUPPOSITIONS.

FROM what has been said in the preceding sections it appears, that some critics adopt the hypothesis, that the succeeding evangelists copied from the preceding, while others reject it, and adopt the hypothesis of a Hebrew or Chaldee document, as the basis of our three first canonical Greek Gospels. To these may be added a third class of critics, who unite both hypotheses, as Bolten and Herder have done, though the systems, which these two learned writers have framed, are upon the whole very different from each other.

Bolten assumes, not only that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, but that his Hebrew Gospel was the ground-work of our three first Gospels¹, and that these contain different Greek translations from it: that our *Greek Gospel* of St. Matthew is a translation of the whole of it, to which perhaps some additions were made, that St. Mark's Gospel contains a Greek extract from it, and that St. Luke's Gospel likewise contains a Greek translation of many parts of it, to which St. Luke himself made many additions, which he derived from other sources. Further Bolten supposes, that the Greek translation of St. Matthew's Hebrew original was made before the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke were written, and that both St. Mark and St. Luke had recourse to it². In this man-

¹ It has been already observed, that this opinion is likewise adopted by Corodî, and J. E. C. Schmidt.

² This hypothesis Bolten delivers in the preface to his German translation of St. Matthew's Gospel published at Altona in 1792, and in the prefaces to his German translation of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, published at the same place, the one in 1795, the other in 1796.

ner he explains not only those examples, which appear to be different translations of the same original, but likewise all those examples, in which there is a verbal coincidence. For it may be said, that wherever St. Mark and St. Luke relate the same thing, that is related by St. Matthew, but in words different from those, which are used in St. Matthew's Greek Gospel, they translated for themselves without consulting that Greek Gospel, that where they relate the same thing in the same words, they had recourse to it, and lastly, that where St. Mark and St. Luke themselves have the same words, St. Luke had recourse to St. Mark's Gospel. But then Bolten's hypothesis labours on the other hand under all those difficulties, to which every hypothesis is exposed, as soon as it implies, that one Evangelist copied from the other. Even the supposition, that it was St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, which was the basis of our three first Greek Gospels, is liable to objection, unless we at the same time suppose, that the Gospel written by St. Matthew was much more concise in its accounts, than the first of our Greek Gospels, and that this was not so much a translation of St. Matthew's Hebrew original, as a work, of which the latter served only as the basis. For if the document, which is supposed to be the ground-work of the Greek Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, was as full in its accounts, as the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, it is difficult to assign a reason, why St. Mark and St. Luke neglected so much important matter, to which in this case they might have had access, and which deserved their attention, as much as it deserved the attention of St. Matthew's Greek translator. Now it is not adviseable to adopt without necessity an hypothesis, which will almost oblige us to suppose that our first Greek Gospel is not so much the work of St. Matthew, as of some unknown person. Besides it will appear hereafter, that, if St. Matthew himself wrote in Hebrew, the common opinion that the first of our Greek Gospels is a close translation of it, and therefore

that it is justly entitled to the name, which it bears, will answer all the purposes, for which hypotheses have been invented, at least as well as any other opinion.

Herder, the latest writer on the origin of our three first Gospels^a, agrees with Eichhorn in assuming a common Hebrew or Chaldee Gospel (*Evangelium commune*) as the ground-work of our three first Greek Gospels^b, and likewise agrees with him in the opinion, that this common Gospel was neither the Gospel according to the Hebrews, as Lessing and Niemeyer suppose, nor a Hebrew Gospel written by St. Matthew, as Corodi, J. F. Schmidt, and Bolten suppose^c. But in most other respects Herder's opinion is different from that of Eichhorn. For according to Eichhorn, and indeed according to every other critic, who has adopted a similar hypothesis, the common Gospel was a *written document*: but according to Herder it was a mere *verbal* Gospel, and consisted only in the preaching (*κηρυγμα*) of the first teachers of Christianity^d. And according to the form of this oral Gospel, or preaching, the written Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke were regulated: whence arose their similarity. It is useless however, as Herder further asserts^e, to examine the *words* used in our three first Gospels, for this very reason, that they proceeded not from a written document, but from a mere oral Gospel, or preaching: and accordingly in his opinion^f, whoever attempts by an analysis of our three first Gospels to discover the contents of a supposed common document, can never succeed in the undertaking. Eichhorn how-

^a Herder's hypothesis is delivered in the third volume of his *Christliche Schriften*, that is, *Christian Writings*, (Riga, 1797, 8vo.) p. 303—416.

^b Pag. 398.

^c Pag. 320. He says also, p. 411, that it had been propagated verbally thirty years, when the substance of it was committed to writing in three different Gospels.

^d Pag. 396.

^e Pag. 397.

ever has not only made the attempt, but appears in his analysis to have been very successful. And if it be true, that a common Gospel was the basis of our three first canonical Gospels, it is hardly credible, that it should not have been committed to writing, since every Christian, who had once heard so important a relation, must have wished to write down at least the principal materials of it, had it been only to assist his own memory. Besides a mere oral narrative, after it had gone through so many different mouths in the course of so many years, must at length have acquired such a variety of forms, that it must have ceased to deserve the title of *Evangelium commune*: and therefore the supposition, that our three first Gospels were moulded in *one* form, is difficult to be reconciled with the opinion of a mere oral Gospel, which must necessarily have assumed a diversity of forms^c. Another difference between the hypotheses of Herder and Eichhorn consists in the relation, which our three first Greek Gospels are supposed to bear to the common Gospel: for according to Eichhorn, the text of the common Gospel is sometimes contained with the fewest additions in that of St. Matthew, at other times in that of St. Mark, at other times again in that of St. Luke: but Herder supposes that St. Mark's text in general approaches the nearest to that of the common original, and considers St. Mark's Gospel as little more than the oral Gospel committed to writing in Greek^d. Lastly, Eichhorn absolutely rejects the opinion that any one of our three first Evangelists used the Gospels of the others^e: but Herder supposes, that St. Luke used both the Greek

^c Though Herder has in so many places positively asserted that the *Evangelium commune* was propagated only by word of mouth, he seems to have been in one place aware of the objections here made: for in p. 378, but in that place alone, he uses the expression '*Privatschrift*,' which signifies a private writing. But if it was once committed to writing, the propagation of it was not merely oral, however private the copies of it may be supposed to have been kept.

^e Pag. 331. 339. 414.

^d Pag. 413—415.

Gospel of St. Mark, and the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, which in his opinion was the same, as that, which was called the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and of which our first Greek Gospel is not a close, but a free translation with alterations.

CHAPTER VII.

STATEMENT OF THE PARALLEL AND COINCIDENT PASSAGES OF THE THREE FIRST GOSPELS. RESULT OF THIS STATEMENT: AND AN ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL VERY REMARKABLE PHÆNOMENA IN THE VERBAL HARMONY OF THE THREE FIRST GOSPELS.

SUCH are the various opinions, which are entertained by the learned in respect to the origin of our three first Gospels. Each supposition has its advantages: but not one of all these, in the forms, in which they have been hitherto delivered, answers all the purposes, which ought to be answered by an hypothesis, for none of them accounts for *all* the phænomena, which are observable in our three first Gospels. The supposition, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding, even if it accounts for the matter, which is common to all three Evangelists, and for the examples of verbal agreement, does not account either for the important matter, which one Evangelist has less than the other, or for the examples of apparent disagreement, or for the examples, in which the same thing is related in different, but synonymous terms. On the other hand, if we reject the supposition, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding, and suppose that our three first Greek Gospels were derived from the same *Greek* document, this hypothesis, even if it ac-

counts both for the matter, which the Evangelists have in common with each other, and for the matter which they have not in common with each other, and also for the examples of verbal agreement, still leaves the numerous examples, in which the Evangelists relate the same things in different but synonymous terms, wholly unexplained. Further, if we adopt the hypothesis, that our three first Greek Gospels contain three independent translations of the same *Hebrew* or *Chaldee* original, however well we may be able to explain the other phenomena, we shall never be able to account for the numerous and long examples in which sometimes St. Matthew and St. Mark, at other times St. Matthew and St. Luke agree word for word¹. And, if in order to account for their verbal agreement, we suppose that the Evangelists used their common document, not in its original language, but only in a Greek translation², we shall be at a loss to explain their frequent use at other times, not of the same, but of synonymous expressions. Lastly, if we combine the hypothesis, that the Evangelists used a common Hebrew document, with the hypothesis, that they had recourse likewise, the one to the writings of the other, we shall find that several phenomena, which are explicable by the former hypothesis alone, are rendered inexplicable by its junction with the latter.

¹ Semler in his *Remarks on Townson's Discourses*, Vol. I. p. 222, 223, removes at once all difficulty on this head by attributing the verbal harmony of the Evangelists to later alterations made by transcribers of the Gospels. But it will appear hereafter that the verbal harmony of our three first Gospels is of such a particular description, that it lay not within the power of transcribers to have produced it.

² The author of the 'Attempt to illustrate the Canon,' adopts this opinion, Vol. II. p. 152. Also Professor Vogel at Altorf in his *Commentatio de conjecturæ usu in crisi Novi Testamenti* (Altorfi, 1795, 4to.) p. 14, where he speaks of the hypothesis of a common Hebrew or Chaldee document, says, 'Si libro usi sunt in Evangeliiis suis conscribendis, *Græca ejus versione* usos esse patet ex rarioribus verbis et dicendi formulis, quas in una re describenda singuli adhibent.'

But since the hypothesis of a common Hebrew or Chaldee original may be represented in a great variety of forms, and is capable of being combined with various other suppositions, it is not impossible, that some form and some combination, hitherto not made, may solve the phænomena of every description. In the following inquiry therefore an attempt will be made to discover, if possible, such a form and such a combination, as will answer the proposed end. For this purpose it will be necessary to state, in the first place, all the parallel passages of our three first Gospels, in which there is a verbal agreement, to analyse these passages, and to reduce the manifold phænomena in the verbal agreement and disagreement of our three first Gospels to certain classes. We shall then have a very accurate touchstone, by which not only any general hypothesis, but each particular form of it may be tried. That is, if we apply to it the hypothesis, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding, we shall be able to judge of each particular case of that general supposition. And if we apply to it the hypothesis, that a Hebrew or Chaldee document was the basis of our three first Gospels, we shall be equally well able to judge of the validity or invalidity of each particular form, in which this general supposition may be represented. We shall be able to determine, whether it is possible that our three first Gospels contain three translations from a Hebrew document made independently of each other : and, if it shall be found that they do not, we shall be able further to determine even the particular connexion, which subsisted between them. We shall be able to decide on the questions, whether the Evangelists themselves used copies of the supposed Hebrew document, or whether they had only Greek translations of it ; whether one of them used the original, and the other two a translation, or whether one only used a translation, and the other two the original,

with many others of the same kind¹. For the phenomena in the verbal harmony of the Evangelists, as will appear hereafter afford so severe a test, that no other assignable cause, than that by which the effects were really produced, can be expected to account for them. And if it shall appear on actual trial, that only one among the numerous forms of the general hypothesis answers our purpose, we may be certain that none of the others can be true. But whether that, which does explain the phenomena in the verbal agreement and disagreement^m of the Evangelists, is itself the true one, depends again on the question, whether it accounts for the contents and arrangement of the Gospels.

In the following Table of parallel and coincident passages, the statements will be made according to the sections adopted by Eichhornⁿ. It will consist of four divisions: in the first of which will be contained the sections which are common to all three Evangelists, in the second the sections which are common only to St. Matthew and St. Mark, in the third the sections common only to St. Mark and St. Luke, and in the fourth division will be contained the sections, which are common only to St. Matthew and St. Luke. But as the design of the following Table is to represent at one view the parallel passages, which have a verbal agreement, all those sections will of course be omitted, which furnish no examples of verbal agreement, and in the sections, which furnish such examples, those

¹ Even Eichhorn, who has displayed so much critical ability and penetration in his Analysis of our three first Gospels, leaves these questions undecided for want of sufficient data. The only determinate position which he assumes is, that the three translations were made independently of each other. See page 784.

^m By 'verbal disagreement' I understand the use of different words in relating the same things.

ⁿ Several sections however will be added to the catalogue of those, which are common only to St. Matthew and St. Luke.

examples only will be quoted. Consequently, in all those sections which are wholly omitted, and also in the omitted parts of the noticed sections, the matter which is common either to all three Evangelists, or to any two of them may be considered as delivered in different words°.

• Unless I have overlooked some examples of parallel passages delivered in the same words, which however I have endeavoured to avoid, as much as possible, having carefully compared our three first Gospels several times.

TABLE
*Of Parallel and Coincident Passages in the Gospels of
St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke.*

FIRST DIVISION.
**EXAMPLES IN THE XLII. SECTIONS COMMON TO
ALL THREE.**

SECTION I.
John the Baptist.

Matth. iii. 1—12.

3. Φωνη βοωντος εν τη ερη-
μω· ετοιμασατε την οδον κυρις,
ευθειας ποιετε τας τριβας αυτης.

6. Και εβαπτιζοντο εν τω
Ιορδανη υπ' αυτης εξομολογ-
μενοι τας αμαρτίας αυτων.

7. Γεννηματα εχιδνων τις
υπεδειξεν υμιν φυγειν απο της
μελλουσας οργης;

8, 9. Ποιησατε εν καρπες·
αξιος της μετανοιας· και μη
δοξητε λεγειν εν εαυτοις, πα-

Mark i. 2—8.

3. Φωνη βοωντος εν τη ερη-
μω· ετοιμασατε την οδον κυρις,
ευθειας ποιετε τας τριβας αυτης.

5. Και εβαπτιζοντο παν-
τες εν τω Ιορδανη ποταμω
υπ' αυτης εξομολογμενοι τας
αμαρτίας αυτων.

This part of the address
of John the Baptist to the
Pharisees and Sadducees is
not in St. Mark's Gospel.

TABLE

*Of Parallel and Coincident Passages in the Gospels of
St Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke.*

FIRST DIVISION.

EXAMPLES IN THE XLII. SECTIONS COMMON TO
ALL THREE.

SECTION I.

John the Baptist.

Luke iii. 1—18.

REMARKS.

4. Φωνη βοωντος εν τη ερη-
μῳ* ετοιμασατε την οδον κυρις,
ευθειας ποιετε τας τριβας
αυτῃ^a.

5, 6. A continuation of
the quotation from Isaiah
xl.

To this verse there is
nothing which corresponds
in St. Luke's text.

7. Γεννηματα εχιδνων τις
υπεδειξεν υμιν φυγειν απο της
μελλουσας οργης;

8. Ποιησατε εν καρπῳ
αξιῳ της μετανοιας* και μη
αρξησθε λεγειν εν εαυτοις, πα-

* In this quotation from Isai.
xl. 3. all three differ from the
LXX. and likewise from the He-
brew, and all three agree in the
same deviation. Instead of τας
τριβας αυτῃ, the LXX. has τας
τριβας τε θις ημων, and the He-
brew מַסְלֵה לְאַלְהֵינוּ. How-
ever it may be said that in the ori-
ginal Hebrew document, which
formed the basis of the three first
Gospels, מַסְלֵה was used, and
that hence arose their agreement
with each other, in their devia-
tion from the LXX. St. Luke
has continued the quotation from
Isaiah xl. and quoted not only
ver. 3. but also ver. 4, 5, agree-
ing throughout precisely with
the LXX. according to the Alex-
andrine MS. with the exception
of the words just noted, in which

he agrees with St. Matthew and St. Mark. Nor has the text
of the Vatican MS. any other difference, beside *ωιδας*, instead of
ιδας λαιας.

^b Griesbach's text is *Και βαπτίζοντο εν τῷ Ιορδανῇ.*

^c Griesbach's text is *καρπον αξιον.*

Matth. iii. 1—12.

τερα εχομεν τον Αβρααμ·
λεγω γαρ υμιν, οτι δυναται
ο Θεος εκ των λιθων τωτων
εγειραι τεκνα τῷ Αβρααμ.

10. Ηδη δε και ἡ αξινη
προς την ριζαν των δενδρων
κειται· παν εν δενδρον μη
ποιον καρπον καλον εκκοπτε-
ται και εις πυρ βαλλεται.

11. Εγω μεν βαπτιζω υμας
εν υδατι εις μετανοιαν· ο δε
οπισω με ερχομενος ισχυρο-
τερος με εστιν, ου εκ εμι ικα-
νος τα υποδηματα βαστασαι·
αυτος υμας βαπτισει εν πνευ-
ματι ἁγίῳ και πυρι.

12. Ου το πτυον εν τη
χειρι αυτε, και διακαθαριει
την αλωνα αυτε και συναξει
τον σιταν αυτε^d εις την απο-
θηκην, το δε αχυρον κατα-
καυσει πυρι ασβεσῳ.

Mark i. 2—8.

This part of the address
of John the Baptist to the
Pharisees and Sadducees is
not in St. Mark's Gospel.

7. ερχεται ο ισχυροτερος
με οπισω με, ου εκ εμι ικανος
κυψας λυσαι τον ιμαντα των
υποδηματων αυτε.

To this verse there is
nothing which corresponds
in St. Mark's Gospel

Luke iii. 1—18.

REMARKS.

τερα εχομεν τον Αβρααμ·
λεγω γαρ υμιν, οτι δυναται
ο Θεος εκ των λιθων τστων
εγειραι τεκνα τῷ Αβρααμ.

9. Ηδη δε και ἡ ἀξινη
προς την ριζαν των δενδρων
κειται· παν εν δενδρον μη
ποισιν καρπον καλον εκκοπτε-
ται και εις πυρ βαλλεται.

10—15. An insertion
made by St. Luke alone.

16. Εγω μεν υδατι βαπ-
τιζω υμας·
ερχεται δε ο ισχυροτερος μου,
ου εκ εμου ικανος λυσαι τον
ιμαντα των υποδηματων αυτου·
αυτος υμας βαπτισει εν πνευ-
ματι ἁγιῳ και πυρι.

17. Ου το πτυον εν τη
χειρι αυτου, και διακαθαριει
την ἄλωνα αυτου· και συναξει
τον σιτον εις την αποθηκην
αυτου*, το δε αχυρον κατα-
καυσει πυρι ασβεστω.

* Griesbach has rejected αυτου.
N. B. For the sake of abbrevia-
tion Griesbach's text will, in the
following remarks, be denoted
by G.

* Here αυτου is not contained
in D. 13. 19. Copt. Cant.

SECTION III.

Temptation of Christ.

Matth. iv. 4—11.

Mark i. 12, 13.

4. Γεγραπται, εκ επ' αρτω
μονω ζησεται ο ανθρωπος αλλ'
επι παντι ρηματι εκπορευομενω
δια στοματος Θεου.

5, 6. Τότε παραλαμβάνει
αυτον ο διαβολος εις την αγιαν
πολιν·
και ισησιν αυτον επι το πτε-
ρυγιον της ιερου⁸. Και λεγει
αυτω ει υιος ει της Θεου, βαλε
σεαυτον κατω· γεγραπται γαρ,
οτι τοις αγγελοις αυτου εντε-
λειται περι σου· και επι χει-
ρων αρσσει σε, μηποτε προσ-
κοψης προς λιθον τον ποδα
σου⁹.

10. Τότε λεγει αυτω ο
Ιησους υπαγε^d Σατανα·
γεγραπται γαρ κυριον τον
Θεον σου προσκυνησεις, και
αυτω μονω λατρευσεις^e.

To that, which is quoted
in this section from St.
Matthew and St. Luke,
there is nothing, which
corresponds in St. Mark^h.

SECTION III.

Temptation of Christ.

Luke iv. 1—13.

REMARKS.

4. Γεγραπται, ὅτι σκ σπ' αρω μονη ζησεται ὁ ανθρωπος αλλ' επι παντι ρηματι.

Θεσ

9, 10, 11. Και ηγαγεν αυτον εις Ιερουσαλημ,

και εσησεν αυτον επι το πτερυγιον τσ ιερσ και ειπεν αυτω, ει ὁ^b υιος ει τσ Θεσ, βαλε σεαυτον εντευθεν κατω· γεγραπται γαρ ὅτι τοις αγγελοις αυτς εντελειται περι σσ, τσ διαφυλαξαι σε·

και ὅτι^c επι χειρων αρσει σε μηποτε προσκοψης προς λιθον τον ποδα σσ.

8. Και αποκριθεις αυτω ειπεν ὁ Ιησες, ὑπαγε οπισω μου Σατανα^d. γεγραπται γαρ^e προσκυνησεις κυριον τον Θεον σσ^f και αυτω μονη λατρευσεις,

* The expression πτερυγιον τσ ιερσ deserves particularly to be noted. Πτερυγιον occurs in no other place, either in St. Matthew's or St. Luke's Gospel, nor indeed in any other passage throughout the whole N. T. It sometimes occurs in the LXX. but is never applied to a building: nor is it ever applied in this manner in any classic author. Is it credible then, that two independent translators should agree in translating the same Hebrew expression, in the same place, by the same Greek expression, πτερυγιον τσ ιερσ, when that Greek expression is so very unusual, that it has hitherto been discovered in no other author, either sacred or profane, and they themselves have never used it on any other occasion?

^b — ὁ G.

^c — ὅτι. G.

^d + οπισω μου. G.

^e — ὑπαγε οπισω μου Σατανα. G.

^f — μαρ. G.

* The words of the LXX. Deut. vi. 13. are Κυριον τον Θεον σσ φοβηθησθαι, και αυτη μονη λατρευσεις. Also, Deut. x. 20. Κυριον τον Θεον σσ φοβηθησθαι, και αυτη λατρευσεις. Both St. Matthew and St. Luke have προσκυνησεις instead of φοβηθησθαι: and thus not only differ from the LXX. but agree with each other in this difference. The other quotations in this section are of less consequence, because they agree with the LXX.

* It may be here observed once for all, that where a vacant space is left in any of the columns, and no particular mention is made, that the Gospel, which belongs to that column, has less there, than the other two, it may be inferred that the same thing is related, but in different words, and that on this account only no quotation is made.

SECTION VI.

Cure of a leper.

Matth. viii. 2—4.

2. Κυριε, εαν θελῃς δυνασαι με καθαρισαι.

3. Και εκτεινας την χειρα ἤψατο αὐτε ὁ Ἰησους, λεγων θελω καθαρισθητι.

και ευθεως εκαθαρισθη αὐτε ἡ λεπρα.

4. Και λεγει αὐτῳ ὁ Ἰησους, ὄρα μηδενι ειπῃς· ἀλλ' ὕπαγε σεαυτον δειξον τῷ ἱερει, και προσενεγκε το δωρον, ὃ προσεταξε Μωσης εις μαρτυριον αὐτοις.

Mark i. 40—45.

40. Εαν θελῃς δυνασαι με καθαρισαι.

41. Ὁ δε Ἰησους σπλαγχνισθεις εκτεινας την χειρα ἤψατο αὐτε, και λεγει αὐτῳ, θελω καθαρισθητι.

42. Και ειποντος αὐτε^a, ευθεως απηλθεν απ' αὐτε ἡ λεπρα, και εκαθαρισθη^b.

43. An addition in St. Mark, not contained either in St. Matthew or in St. Luke.

44. Και λεγει αὐτῳ ὄρα μηδενι μηδεν^c ειπῃς, ἀλλ' ὕπαγε σεαυτον δειξον τῷ ἱερει, και προσενεγκε περι τῃ καθαρισμῳ σε ὃ προσεταξε Μωσης εις μαρτυριον αὐτοις^d.

45. Here is an addition in St. Mark and St. Luke not contained in St. Matthew : but in this addition the words used by St. Mark are very different from those of St. Luke, ch. v. 15, 16.

SECTION VI.

Cure of a leper.

Luke v. 12—16.

REMARKS.

12. Κυριε, εαν θελης δυνα-
σαι με καθαρισαι.

13. Και εκτεινας την χειρα
ηψατο αυτη, ειπων, θελω καθ-
αρισθητι
και ευθως η λεπρα απηλθεν
απ' αυτης.

14.
αλλα απελθων δειξον σεαυτον
τω ιερει, και προσενεγκε περι
της καθαρismus ου καθως προσ-
εταξε Μωσης εις μαρτυριον
αυτοις.

15, 16.

^a Εισοδος αυτης is not in B.D.L.
69. 102. Syr. Ar. p. Pers. p.
Copt. cant. veron. vere. colb.
corb. 2. germ. 1.

^b In this verse St. Mark's text
contains partly that of St. Luke,
partly that of St. Matthew.

^c — μηδιν. A.D.L. 33. 69.
124. Ev. 19. al. 4. MS. e. x. x.
Syr. Arm. Vulg. It. Vict. Theo-
phyl.

^d Here St. Mark's text con-
tains partly St. Matthew's and
partly St. Luke's. He agrees
with St. Luke in περι της καθα-
ρισμου ου: in the rest of the
verse he agrees with St. Mat-
thew. Whether examples of this
kind prove that, St. Mark copied
partly from St. Matthew and
partly from St. Luke, or whe-
ther they may be explained even
on the hypothesis that none of
the three Evangelists saw each
other's writings, is a question to
be considered hereafter.

SECTION VII.

Cure of a person afflicted with the palsy.

Matth. ix. 1—8.

2. Καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν πίσιν αὐτῶν, εἶπε τῷ παραλυτικῷ, θάρσει τέκνον, ἀφεῶνται σοὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σὺ;

4, 5.

Τί γὰρ ἐστὶν ευκοπώτερον, εἰπεῖν ἀφεῶνται σοὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, ἢ εἰπεῖν, ἐγείραι,

καὶ περιπατεῖ;

6. Ἴνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφίεναι ἁμαρτίας, κ.τ.λ.

Mark ii. 1—12.

5. Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν πίσιν αὐτῶν, λέγει τῷ παραλυτικῷ, τέκνον, ἀφεῶνται σοὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σὺ;

8, 9. Τε ταῦτα διαλογίζεσθε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν; τί ἐστὶν ευκοπώτερον, εἰπεῖν τῷ παραλυτικῷ ἀφεῶνται σοὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, ἢ εἰπεῖν, ἐγείραι καὶ ἄρῃς σὺ τὸν κράββατον, καὶ περιπατεῖ;

10. Ἴνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀφίεναι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἁμαρτίας, κ.τ.λ.

SECTION VIII.

Call of St. Matthew to the apostleship.

Matth. ix. 9—17.

10. Καὶ ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς ἀνακείμενος ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, καὶ ἰδοὺ πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐλθόντες συνανέκειντο τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ.

Mark ii. 13—22.

15. Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ κατακεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ συνανέκειντο τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· ἦσαν γὰρ πολλοὶ, καὶ ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ.

SECTION VII.

Cure of a person afflicted with the palsy.

Luke v. 17—26.

REMARKS.

20. Και ιδων την πισιν αυτων ειπεν αυτω^b, ανθρωπε, αφεωνται σοι αι ἁμαρτιαι σς;

^a Griesbach's text is αφιωνται σε αι ἁμαρτιαι.

22, 23. Τι διαλογιζεσθε εν ταις καρδιαις υμων; τι εστιν ευκοπωτερον, ειπειν, αφεωνται σοι αι ἁμαρτιαι σς, η ειπειν εγειραι^f

^b Griesbach has rejected αυτω.

^c In Griesbach's text is ουκ

^d Εγειρει. G.

^e —και. G.

και περιπατει;

^f Εγειρει. G.

24. Ἵνα δε ειδητε οτι εξ-
σταν εχει ο υιος τς ανθρωπς
επι της γης αφιεναι ἁμαρ-
τιας, κ.τ.λ.

^g Επὶ της γης αφιεναι. G.

SECTION VIII.

Call of St. Matthew to the apostleship.

Luke v. 27—39.

REMARKS.

Matth. ix. 9—17.

11. Και ιδοντες οἱ φαρι-
σαιοι

ειπον τοις μαθηταις αυτε,
διατι μετα των τελωνων και
ἁμαρτωλων εσθιει ὁ διδασκα-
λος ὑμων;

12, 13. Ο δε Ιησους ακυ-
σας, ειπεν αυτοις· ε χρειαν
εχουσιν οἱ ισχυοντες ιατρος,
αλλ' οἱ κακως εχοντες· πορευ-
θεντες δε μαθετε, τι εστιν,
ελεον θελω, και ε θυσιαν· ε
γαρ ηλθον καλεσαι δικαιους,
αλλ' ἁμαρτωλους εις μετα-
νοιαν^b.

15. Ελευσονται δε ἡμεραι
ὅταν απαρθῇ^c απ' αυτων ὁ
νυμφιος, και τοτε νηστευσουσιν.

16. Ουδεις δε επιβαλλει
επιβλημα ρακας αγναφς επι
ἱματιῳ παλαιῳ· αιρει γαρ το
πληρωμα αυτε απο τς ἱματις,
και χειρον σχισμα γινεται.

17.

και αμ-
φοτερα^b συντηρουνται.

Mark ii. 13—22.

16. Και οἱ γραμματεις,
και οἱ φαρισαιοι ιδοντες αυτον
εσθιοντα μετα των τελωνων
και ἁμαρτωλων, ελεγον τοις
μαθηταις αυτε· τι οτι μετα
των τελωνων και ἁμαρτωλων
εσθιει και πινει^a;

17. Και ακυσας ὁ Ιησους
λεγει αυτοις· ε χρειαν εχουσιν
οἱ ισχυοντες ιατρος, αλλ' οἱ
κακως εχοντες.

εκ ηλθον καλεσαι δικαιους αλλ'
ἁμαρτωλους εις μετανοιαν^b.

20. Ελευσονται δε ἡμεραι
ὅταν απαρθῇ απ' αυτων ὁ
νυμφιος, και τοτε νηστευσουσιν
εν ἐκειναις ταις ἡμεραις^d.

21. Και^e εδεις επιβλημα
ρακας αγναφς επιρραπτει επι
ἱματιῳ παλαιῳ· ει δε μη,
αιρει το πληρωμα αυτε το
καινον τς παλαις, και χειρον
σχισμα γινεται.

22. Και εδεις βαλλει οινον
νεον εις ασκας παλαις· ει δε
μη, ρησσει ὁ οινος ὁ νεος τς
ασκας, και ὁ οινος εκχειται,
και οἱ ασκοι απολθενται· αλλα
οινον νεον εις ασκας καινους
βλητεον^f.

Luke v. 27—39.

REMARKS.

^a Ver. 15, 16. St. Mark's text is that of St. Matthew, with additions.

^b Griesbach has rejected *μετανοιας* from the text both of St. Matthew and of St. Mark.

^c All three Evangelists agree in this place in using the verb *απαρθω*, though they have never used it on any other occasion. But, what is most remarkable, they all agree in using it in the passive voice, though *απαρνω*, in the active voice, signifies 'discedo.' *Απαρνω* occurs nearly 100 times in the LXX. but is never used there in the passive: nor have I ever seen an instance quoted from a classic author. Is it probable then that *οταν απαρθη* would have been used in all three texts, if they contained three independent translations?

^d *Ες εκεινη τη ημερα.* G.

^e — *Και.* G.

^f In this section St. Mark's text agrees partly with that of St. Matthew, partly with that of St. Luke.

^g *Αμφοτεροι.* G.

35. Ελευσονται δε ημεραι και οταν απαρθη απ' αυτων ο νυμφιος, τοτε νηψουσιν εν εκειναις ταις ημεραις.

37, 38. Και σδεις βαλλει οινον νεον εις ασκας παλαιας· ει δε μηγε ρηξει ο νεος οινος της ασκας, και αυτος εκχυθησεται, και οι ασκοι απολυνται· αλλα οινον νεον εις ασκας καινους βλητεον· και αμφοτεροι συντηρουνται.

SECTION IX.

Christ goes with his disciples through the corn fields.

Matth. xii. 1—8.

3. Οὐκ ἀνεγνώτε τι ἐποίησε
Δαβὶδ, ὅτε ἐπεινάσεν αὐτὸς^α
καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ;

4. Πῶς εἰσηλθεν εἰς τὸν
οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ,
καὶ τὰς ἄρτας τῆς προθέσεως
ἐφαγεν, οὓς οὐκ ἔξουν ἢ αὐτῷ
φαγεῖν, ὅδε τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ, εἰ
μὴ τοῖς ἱερευσὶ μονοῖς ;

Mark ii. 23—28.

25. Οὐδεποτε ἀνεγνώτε τι
ἐποίησε Δαβὶδ, ὅτε χρεῖαν
ἔσχε, καὶ ἐπεινάσεν αὐτὸς καὶ
οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ;

26. Πῶς εἰσηλθεν εἰς τὸν
οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐπὶ Ἀβιαθάρ τοῦ
ἀρχιερέως, καὶ τὰς ἄρτας τῆς
προθέσεως ἐφαγεν οὓς οὐκ ἔξεστι
φαγεῖν^β,
εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἱερευσὶ ;

27, 28. Καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐ-
τοῖς.

Here follows a passage
not contained either in
St. Matthew or in St.
Luke.

ὥστε κύριος ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου καὶ τὸ σαββατοῦ^γ.

SECTION IX.

Christ goes with his disciples through the corn fields.

Luke vi. 1—5.

REMARKS.

^a — αὐτός. G.

5. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς,

^b Hitherto St. Mark's text is that of St. Matthew with additions: but in this place it has not αὐτὸ τοῖς μετ' αὐτῶν. However at the end of this verse St. Mark has added καὶ ἰδοὺ καὶ τοὶ συν αὐτῇ ὑσὶ.

ὅτι κύριος ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου.

^c In this section again St. Mark's text agrees partly with that of St. Matthew, partly with that of St. Luke.

SECTION X.

Cure of a withered hand.

Matth. xii. 9—15.

11. Similar question:
but very different words.

13. Τότε λέγει τῷ ἀνθρώ-
πῳ, ἐκτεῖνον τὴν χεῖρα σου·
καὶ ἐξέτεινε. καὶ ἀποκατεστάθη
ὑγιὴς ὡς ἡ ἄλλη.

Mark iii. 1—6.

4. Ἐξεῖτι τοῖς σαββάσιν
ἀγαθοποιῆσαι, ἢ κακοποιῆσαι;
ψυχὴν σῶσαι, ἢ ἀποκτείνει;

5. Καὶ περιβλεψάμενος
αὐτοὺς μετ' ὀργῆς, συλλυπε-
μένος ἐπὶ τῇ πῶρωσιν τῆς καρ-
δίας αὐτῶν, λέγει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ,
ἐκτεῖνον τὴν χεῖρα σου· καὶ
ἐξέτεινε· καὶ ἀποκατεστάθη ἡ
χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ὑγιὴς ὡς ἡ ἄλλη·.

SECTION X.

Cure of a withered hand.

Luke vi. 6—11.

REMARKS.

9. Εξέτι τοις σαββασιν
αγαθοποιησαι, η κακοποιησαι;
ψυχην σωσαι, η απολεσαι^a;

10. Και περιβλεψαμενος
παντας αυτους,

ειπε τω ανθρωπω,
εκτεινον την χειρα σου· ο δε
εποιησεν ουτω· και αποκατεσ-
ταθη η χειρ αυτου υγιης^c ως
η αλλη.

^a αποκτειναι. G.

^b —υγιης ως η αλλη. G.

^c —υγιης. G.

SECTION XIV.

Parable of the sower*.

Matth. xiii. 1—20. Mark iv. 1—20. Luke viii. 4—15.

Matth. xiii.

3. Ἰδὲ, ἐξηλθεν ὁ σπειρων,
τοῦ σπείρειν.

4. Καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐ-
τον, ἃ μὲν ἐπέσε παρὰ τὴν
ὁδὸν καὶ ἦλθε τὰ πετεινά, καὶ
κατέφαγεν αὐτά.

5. Ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐπέσεν ἐπὶ τὰ
πετρωδῇ, ὅπου οὐκ εἶχε γῆν
πολλήν· καὶ εὐθεὺς ἐξάνετειλε,
διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι βάθος γῆς,

6. Ἡλίου δὲ ἀνατείλαντος,
ἐκαυματίσθη, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ
εἶναι ρίζαν, ἐξηρανθῇ^c.

7. Ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐπέσεν ἐπὶ τὰς
ἀκανθὰς· καὶ ἀνεβῆσαν αἱ
ἀκανθὰι, καὶ ἀνεπνίξαν αὐτά.

8, 9. Ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐπέσεν ἐπὶ
τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν· καὶ ἐδίδου
καρπὸν·

ὁ μὲν ἑκατὸν, ὁ δὲ ἑξήκοντα,
ὁ δὲ τριακόντα.

ὁ ἔχων ὠτὰ ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω^b.

Mark iv.

3. Ἰδὲ, ἐξηλθεν ὁ σπειρων,
τοῦ σπείραι·

4. Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ σπεί-
ρειν, ὁ μὲν ἐπέσε παρὰ τὴν
ὁδὸν· καὶ ἦλθε τὰ πετεινά τοῦ
ὕρανος^a καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτό^b.

5. Ἄλλο δὲ ἐπέσεν ἐπὶ τὸ
πετρωδές, ὅπου οὐκ εἶχε γῆν
πολλήν· καὶ εὐθεὺς ἐξάνετειλε
διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι βάθος γῆς.

6. Ἡλίου δὲ ἀνατείλαντος
ἐκαυματίσθη, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ
εἶναι ρίζαν, ἐξηρανθῇ.

7. Καὶ ἄλλο ἐπέσεν εἰς τὰς
ἀκανθὰς· καὶ ἀνεβῆσαν αἱ
ἀκανθὰι, καὶ συνεπνίξαν αὐτό,
καὶ καρπὸν οὐκ ἔδωκε^d.

8, 9. Καὶ ἄλλο ἐπέσεν εἰς
τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν· καὶ ἐδίδου
καρπὸν

ἀναβαίνοντα καὶ αὐξάνοντα·
καὶ ἔφερεν^e

ἑνὶ τριακόντῃ, καὶ ἑνὶ ἑξήκοντῃ
καὶ ἑνὶ ἑκατὸν.

καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς^f,
ὁ ἔχων ὠτὰ ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω.

SECTION XIV.

Parable of the sower *.

REMARKS.

* This section, according to Eichhorn's statement, includes Matth. xiii. 1—34. Mark iv. 1—34. Luke viii. 4—18. But I have shortened these portions, because the parable of the sower, including even the explanation of it, extends no further, than Matth. xiii. 23. Mark iv. 20. Luke viii. 15. The remaining part of these portions relates to different subjects, which are moreover not common to all three Evangelists, for Mark iv. 21—25. Luke viii. 16—18. is peculiar to St. Mark and St. Luke. Mark iv. 26—32. Matth. xiii. 24—32 contains parables, which are not in St. Luke.

• —Τὸ ὑπερβ. G. and no doubt can be made that this addition was not originally contained in St. Mark's text.

• St. Mark uses throughout, the singular number *ὁ*, *αὐτο*, &c. instead of *οἱ*, *αὐτοι*, &c. as St. Luke has done, who has likewise the singular number. But in other respects the words of St. Luke are for the most part different from those of St. Matthew and St. Mark.

• To this verse there is nothing which corresponds in St. Luke's text.

• *Καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔστιν* is an addition made by St. Mark to St. Matthew's text.

• Another addition made by St. Mark.

• A third addition made by St. Mark. *Αὐτοῖς* however is rejected by Griesbach.

• The close agreement between St. Matthew and St. Mark throughout this whole relation, not only in the choice of the words, but likewise in their position (with the exception of the numbers 100, 60, 30, ver. 8. which St. Mark has in an ascending, St. Matthew in a descending series) is the more remarkable, because the words used by St. Luke, if we except a part of the first verse, and *ὁ ἄρτος αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλ' ὁ αὐτοῦ* at the close of the relation, are very different. St. Matthew's Greek text therefore and that of St. Luke may be two independent translations of the same Hebrew or Chaldee text: but this cannot be the case with that of St. Mark.

In the remaining part of this section, which contains the explanation of the parable, St. Matthew and St. Mark have the same words in only one or two detached places: and what is remarkable, though St. Mark had used ὁ, αὐτο, &c. where St. Matthew had ἃ, αὐτα, &c. he now uses the plural, and St. Matthew the singular number, as

Matth. xiii.	Mark iv.
<p>42. Καὶ ἡ μεριμνα τῆς αἰωνοῦ τῆς τῆς, καὶ ἡ ἀπατὴ τῆς πλῆθους συμπνίγει τὸν λόγον καὶ ἀκαρπὸς γίνεται.</p>	<p>19. Καὶ αἱ μεριμναὶ τῆς αἰωνοῦ τῆς τῆς^b καὶ ἡ ἀπατὴ τῆς πλῆθους an addition in St. Mark. συμπνίγῃσι τὸν λόγον καὶ ἀκαρπὸς γίνεται.</p>

SECTION XX.

Five thousand fed with five loaves and two fishes.

Matth. xiv. 13—21.	Mark vi. 30—44.
<p>19. Καὶ λαβὼν τρεῖς πεντε ἄρτους, καὶ τρεῖς δύο ἰχθύας, ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐβλόγησεν· καὶ κλάσας, κ.τ.λ.</p>	<p>41. Καὶ λαβὼν τρεῖς πεντε ἄρτους, καὶ τρεῖς δύο ἰχθύας, ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἐβλόγησεν· καὶ κατέκλασεν^a τρεῖς ἄρτους, καὶ ἐδίδετο τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῖς ἵνα παραθῶσιν αὐτοῖς· καὶ τρεῖς δύο ἰχθύας ἐμερίσεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς.</p>
<p>20. Καὶ ἐφαγον πάντες, καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν· καὶ ἦσαν τὰ περισσεύοντα τῶν κλάσματος δώδεκα κοφίνους πληρεῖς.</p>	<p>42, 43. Καὶ ἐφαγον πάντες, καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν. καὶ ἦσαν κλάσματα δώδεκα κοφίνους πληρεῖς^b.</p>

REMARK.

—Ters. G.

SECTION XX.

Five thousand fed with five loaves and two fishes.

Luke ix. 10—17.

16. Λαβων δε τες πεντε
αρτες, και τες δυο ιχθυας,
αναβλεψας εις τον ουρανον,
ευλογησεν αυτους· και κατε-
κλασε, και εδιδου τοις μαθηταις
παρατιθηναι τω οχλω.

17. Και εφαγον και εχορ-
τασθησαν παντες.

REMARKS.

* Κατεκλαω, used here both by St. Mark and St. Luke, occurs no where else in the whole N. T. though the simple verb κλαω frequently occurs in the N. T. and is particularly used with αρτος. St. Matthew has κλαω in this very instance.

† In this section St. Mark's text agrees partly with that of St. Matthew, partly with that of St. Luke.

SECTION XXI.

The Disciples of Jesus acknowledge that he is the Messiah.

Matth. xvi. 13—28.

13. Τίνα με λεγούσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου;

14. Ὅτι δὲ εἶπον· οἱ μὲν, Ἰωάννην τὸν βαπτιστὴν· ἄλλοι δὲ Ἡλίαν, ἕτεροι δὲ Ἰερεμίαν, ἢ ἓνα τῶν προφητῶν.

15, 16. Λέγει αὐτοῖς· ὑμεῖς δὲ τίνα με λέγετε εἶναι; ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Σίμων Πέτρος εἶπε, σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος.

21. Δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα· καὶ πολλὰ παθεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ ἀρχιερέων, καὶ γραμματέων, καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθῆναι.

22. Καὶ προσλαβόμενος αὐτὸν ὁ Πέτρος, ἤρξατο ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ·

23. Ὁ δὲ ἑρραφείς,

εἶπε τῷ Πέτρῳ· ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου, Σατανα· σκάνδαλον μου εἶ· ὅτι σὺ φρονεῖς τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Mark viii. 27—ix. 1.

Τίνα με λεγούσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι;

28. Οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίθησαν· Ἰωάννην τὸν βαπτιστὴν· καὶ ἄλλοι Ἡλίαν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἓνα τῶν προφητῶν.

29. Καὶ αὐτὸς λέγει αὐτοῖς· ὑμεῖς δὲ τίνα με λέγετε εἶναι; ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος, λέγει αὐτῷ, σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός.

31. Δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν· καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ ἀρχιερέων, καὶ γραμματέων, καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι· καὶ μετὰ τριῶν ἡμερᾶς ἀναστῆναι.

32. Καὶ προσλαβόμενος αὐτὸν ὁ Πέτρος ἤρξατο ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ.

33. Ὁ δὲ ἐπιστραφείς, καὶ ἰδὼν τὸς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ, ἐπιτιμήσε τῷ Πέτρῳ, λέγων· ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου, Σατανα· ὅτι σὺ φρονεῖς τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

SECTION XXI.

The Disciples of Jesus acknowledge that he is the Messiah.

Luke ix. 18—27.

REMARKS.

22. Δει τον υιον του αν-
θρωπου πολλα παθειν, και
αποδοκιμασθηναι απο των
πρεσβυτερων, και αρχιερων,
και γραμματεων, και απο-
κτανθηναι, και τη τριτη ημερα
εγερθηναι.

To these two verses
there is nothing which
corresponds in St. Luke's
text.

* In the last clause of this
verse, St. Matthew and St. Luke
exactly agree, but St. Mark
differs.

Matth. xvi. 13—28.

24. Εἰ τις θέλει ὀπισω με
ελθεῖν, ἀπαρνησάσθω ἑαυτόν,
καὶ ἀρατώ τον σταυρόν αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ἀκολουθεῖτω μοι.

25. Ὃς γὰρ ἀν θέλῃ την
ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ σῶσαι, ἀπολέσει
αὐτήν· ὃς δ' ἀν ἀπολέσῃ την
ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ,

εὕρησει αὐτήν.

26. Τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἀν-
θρώπος, εἰάν τον κόσμον ὅλον
κερδήσῃ, την δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ
ζημιωθῇ¹; ἢ τί δώσει ἀνθρώπος
ἀντάλλαγμα της ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ:

Here St. Matthew has
similar matter, but in very
different words.

Mark viii. 27—ix. 1.

34. Ὃσις θέλει ὀπισω μου
ελθεῖν^b, ἀπαρνησάσθω ἑαυτόν,
καὶ ἀρατώ τον σταυρόν αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ἀκολουθεῖτω μοι.

35. Ὃς γὰρ ἀν θέλῃ την
ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ σῶσαι, ἀπολέσει
αὐτήν· ὃς δ' ἀν ἀπολέσῃ την
ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ^c ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ, καὶ
του εὐαγγελίου, ὅτος^d σῶσει
αὐτήν.

36. Τί γὰρ ὠφελήσει ἀν-
θρώπον^b εἰάν κερδήσῃ τον κοσ-
μον ὅλον καὶ ζημιωθῇⁱ την
ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ.

37. Ἡ τί δώσει ἀνθρώπος
ἀντάλλαγμα της ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ;

38. Ὃς γὰρ ἀν ἐπαισ-
χυνθῇ με, καὶ τὸς ἐμὲς λόγους
ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ ταυτῇ τῇ μοιχα-
λίδι καὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς
του ἀνθρώπου ἐπαισχυνηθεῖ-
ται αὐτόν, ὅταν ἐλθῇ ἐν τῇ
δοξῇ του πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. μετὰ
των ἀγγέλων των ἁγίων.

Luke ix. 18—27.

23. Εἰ τις θέλει ὀπίσω μου
ελθεῖν^c, ἀπαρνησάσθω^d ἑαυ-
τον, καὶ ἀρατώ τον σταυρον
αυτου καθ' ἡμέραν^e καὶ ἀκο-
λουθῆτω μοι.

24. Ὃς γὰρ ἀν θέλῃ τὴν
ψυχὴν αὐτου σῶσαι, ἀπολέσει
αὐτήν· ὃς δ' ἀν ἀπολέσῃ τὴν
ψυχὴν αὐτου ἐνεκεν ἐμοῦ, ὅτος
σώσει αὐτήν.

25. Τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἀν-
θρώπος, κ.τ.λ.

26. Ὃς γὰρ ἀν ἐπαισχυν-
θῇ με, καὶ τοὺς ἐμούς λόγους,

τουτον ὁ υἱος
του ἀνθρώπου ἐπαισχυνθήσε-
ται, ὅταν ἐλθῇ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ
αὐτου, καὶ του πατρος, καὶ
των ἁγίων ἀγγέλων.

REMARKS.

^b Ἀκολουθῆν. G.

^c Ἐρχισθαι. G. But whatever
is the verb, which St. Mark and
St. Luke used, they agree with
St. Matthew in the Hebrew con-
struction ὀπίσω μου, which is the
more remarkable, as at other
times all three Evangelists have
much more frequently used the
common Greek construction
ἀκολουθεῖν τινι, with a dative, and
without ὀπίσω.

^d Ἀρνησάσθω. G.

^e — Καθ' ἡμέραν. In the three
first of these alterations we per-
ceive the attempts of transcribers
to augment the verbal harmony
of the Evangelists by altering
the one from the other. On
the other hand, the insertion of
καθ' ἡμέραν, which is undoubtedly
spurious, produces the contrary
effect, as it is contained neither
in St. Matthew's nor in St. Mark's
text.

^f Τὴν ἑαυτου ψυχὴν. G.

^g — ὅτος. G.

^h Ἀνθρώπος. E. F. G. H. L.
M. al. 18.

ⁱ It is remarkable, that St.
Matthew and St. Mark here
agree in using ζημιώθη τὴν ψυχὴν,
instead of ἀπώλιση τὴν ψυχὴν,
though on other occasions they
have so frequently used ἀπώ-
λυμι, but never ζημιώσω. And
what renders it still more re-
markable is, that in the verse
immediately preceding, St. Mat-
thew has used ἀπώλιση τὴν ψυχὴν,
and there St. Mark also has ἀπο-
λίστη τὴν ψυχὴν. This agreement
in the variation of expression
could not be the effect of mere
accident. St. Luke also has used
ζημιώσω, ver. 25, but he has used
at the same time ἀπώλυμι, and
written ἀπολίστας ἢ ζημιώθεις.

Matth. xvi. 13—28.

28. Ἀμην λέγω ὑμῖν, εἰσι
τινες τῶν ὧδε ἐστηκότων^κ οἵτι-
νες οὐ μὴ γευσῶνται θανάτου,
ἕως ἀν ἰδῶσι, κ.τ.λ.

Mark viii. 27—ix. 1.

IX. 1. Ἀμην, λέγω ὑμῖν,
ὅτι εἰσι τινες τῶν ὧδε ἐστηκο-
τῶν, οἵτινες οὐ μὴ γευσῶν-
ται θανάτου, ἕως ἀν ἰδῶσι τὴν
βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐληλυ-
θυῖαν ἐν δυνάμει^ω.

Luke ix. 18—27.

REMARKS.

27. Λεγω δε ὑμιν αληθως,
 εἰσι τινες τῶν ὧδε ἐσηκοτῶν^κ
 οἱ οὐ μὴ γευσονται^ι θανάτου,
 ἕως ἀν ἰδῶσι τὴν βασιλειαν τοῦ
 Θεοῦ.

^κ Ἔσονται. G.

^ι Γευσονται. G.

^κ Εληλυθυῖαν ἢ δυναμει was added by St. Mark. In the former part of this verse his text is the same as St. Matthew's: but in ἕως ἀν ἰδῶσι τὴν βασιλειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, he agrees with St. Luke, and differs from St. Matthew, who has ἕως ἀν ἰδῶσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐρχομένον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ. Nor is this the only part of the section, in which St. Mark's text agrees partly with that of St. Matthew, partly with that of St. Luke.

Lastly, the expression γινώσκει θάνατον, in which all three agree in this place, though none of them has used it on any other occasion, is worthy of notice. However this phrase alone affords no proof, either that they copied here from each other, or that they drew from a common Greek source. For three independent translators of a Chaldee document, in which *ܡܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ*, gustavit mortem, (an expression which occurs in the Chaldee Paraphrase, Psalm xxiv. 1.) was used, could not well render it in any other manner.

SECTION XXII.

Transfiguration of Christ on the mount.

Matth. xvii. 1—10.

1, 2. Και μεθ' ἡμέρας ἑξ
 παραλαμβάνει ὁ Ἰησοῦς τον
 Πέτρον, και Ἰακώβον, και Ἰω-
 ἀννην τον ἀδελφον αὐτου,
 και ἀναφέρει αὐτους εἰς ὄρος
 ὑψηλον κατ' ἰδίαν.
 και μετεμορφώθη ἐμπροσθεν
 αὐτων.

4. Ἀποκριθεις δε ὁ Πέτρος
 εἶπε τῷ Ἰησοῦ κυριε, καλον
 ἔστιν ἡμας ὥδε εἶναι· εἰ θέλεις
 ποιήσωμεν ὥδε τρεις σκηνας,
 σοι μιαν και Μωσῆ μιαν, και
 ἡμῶν ἑκατὶ μιαν.

5. Καὶ ἰδου φωνὴ ἐκ τῆς
 νεφέλης λεγούσα· οὗτος ἐστὶν
 ὁ υἱος μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ
 ἠδοκῆσα· αὐτου ἀκουετε.

Mark ix. 2—9.

2. Καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ἑξ
 παραλαμβάνει ὁ Ἰησοῦς τον
 Πέτρον, και τον Ἰακώβον, και
 τον Ἰωαννην,
 και ἀναφέρει αὐτους εἰς ὄρος
 ὑψηλον κατ' ἰδίαν μονους.
 και μετεμορφώθη ἐμπροσθεν
 αὐτων.

5. Καὶ ἀποκριθεις ὁ Πέτρος
 λέγει τῷ Ἰησοῦ· ραββί, καλον
 ἔστιν ἡμας ὥδε εἶναι·
 ποιήσωμεν σκηνας τρεις,
 σοι μιαν, και Μωσῆ μιαν,
 και ἡμῶν ἑκατὶ μιαν.

7. Καὶ ἦλθε φωνὴ ἐκ τῆς
 νεφέλης λεγούσα· οὗτος ἐστὶν
 ὁ υἱος μου ὁ ἀγαπητός·
 αὐτου ἀκουετε.

SECTION XXII.

Transfiguration of Christ on the mount.

Luke ix. 28—36.

REMARKS.

35. Και φωνη εγενετο εκ
της νεφελης λεγουσα· ουτος
εστιν ο υιος μου ο αγαπητος·
αυτου ακουετε.

^a—Διγμσα. G.

SECTION XXVI.

Christ blesses children, who are brought to him : and answers the question, by what means salvation is to be obtained.

Matth. xix. 13—30.

To this verse there is nothing, which corresponds in St. Matthew's text.

Mark x. 13—31.

14. Αφετε τα παιδια ερχεσθαι προς με, και μη κωλυετε αυτα· των γαρ τοιουτων εστιν η βασιλεια του Θεου.

15. Αμην, λεγω υμιν, ος εαν μη δεξηται την βασιλειαν του Θεου ως παιδιον, ου μη εισελθη εις αυτην.

16. An addition not contained in St. Luke's Gospel.

17. Διδασκαλε αγαθε, τι ποιησω ινα ζωην αιωνιον κληρονομησω ;

18. Ο δε Ιησους ειπεν αυτω· τι με λεγεις αγαθον ; ουδεις αγαθος, ει μη εις, ο Θεος.

19. Τας εντολας οιδας·
μη μοιχευσης·
μη φονευσης·
μη κλεψης·
μη ψευδομαρτυρησης·
μη αποστερησης·
τιμα τον πατερα σου, και την μητερα².

SECTION XXVI.

Christ blesses children, who are brought to him: and answers the question, by what means salvation is to be obtained.

Luke xviii. 15—30.

16. Αφετε τα παιδια ερχεσθαι προς με, και μη κωλυετε αυτα· των γαρ τοιουτων εστιν η βασιλεια του Θεου.

17. Αμην, λεγω υμιν, ος εαν μη δεξηται την βασιλειαν του Θεου ως παιδιον, ου μη εισελθη εις αυτην.

18. Διδασκαλε αγαθε, τι ποιησας ζων αιωνιον κληρονομησω;

19. Ειπε δε αυτω ο Ιμσς· τι με λεγεις αγαθον; οδεις αγαθος, ει μη εις, ο Θεος.

20. Τας εντολας οιδας·
μη μοιχευσης·
μη φονευσης·
μη κλεψης·
μη ψευδομαρτυρησης·

τιμα τον πατερα σου, και την μητερα σου^a.

REMARKS.

^a In the LXX. these commandments are worded and arranged in the following manner:

Exod. xx. 12—17.

Τιμα τον πατερα σου, και την μητερα σου.

Ου μοιχευσεις.

Ου κλεψεις.

Ου φονευσεις.

Ου ψευδομαρτυρησεις.

In the Hebrew the commandment against theft is placed before that against adultery: in other respects the arrangement is the same as in the LXX. St. Mark and St. Luke therefore differ both from the Hebrew and the LXX. in their mode of arranging these commandments, and at the same time they agree with each other. It is true, that St. Mark has added μη αποστιγης, which St. Luke has not. St. Matthew's arrangement is somewhat different: for though he agrees with St. Mark and St. Luke in giving the command to honour one's parents the last place among these five commandments, he differs from them,

and agrees with the Hebrew, in placing the commandment against theft before that against adultery. In the Epistle to the Romans, ch. xiii. 9. the same arrangement is observed as in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke: but then it is remarkable that these two Evangelists agree in using μη and the subjunctive, μη μοιχευσης, μη φονευσης, &c. whereas in the LXX. in St. Matthew's Gospel, and the Epistle to the Romans, & with the indicative is used.

Matth. xix. 13—30.

29. Ακυσας δε ὁ νεανισκος
τον λυγον, απηλθε λυπεμενος·
ην γαρ εχων κτηματα πολλα.

Mark x. 13—21.

20. Ὁ δε αποκριθεις, ε-
πεν αυτω, διδασκαλε,
ταυτα παντα εφυλαξαμην εκ
νεοτητος μου.

21. Ὁ δε Ιησους εμβλεψας
αυτω ηγαπησεν αυτον, και ε-
πεν αυτω, εν σοι υστερει· υπαγε,
ὅσα εχεις πωλησον, καιδος
τοις πτωχοις, και εξεις θη-
σαυρον εν ουρανῳ· και δευρο
ακολουθει μοι, φρας τον θαν-
τον^b.

22. Ὁ δε συγνασας επι
τω λογω απηλθε λυπουμενος·
ην γαρ εχων κτηματα πολλα.

23. Και περιβλεψαμενος
ὁ Ιησους, λεγει τοις μαθηταις
αυτου·

πως δυσκολως^c οἱ τα χρημα-
τα εχοντες εις την βασιλειαν
του Θεου εισελουσονται;

Luke xviii. 15—30.

REMARKS.

21. Ὁ δὲ εἶπε

ταῦτα πάντα ἐφυλάξαμην ἐκ
νεότητος μὲν22. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ
Ἰησοῦς, εἶπεν
αὐτῷ, ἐτι ἐν σοὶ λείπει· πάντα
ὅσα ἔχεις πώλησον, καὶ διάδος
πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἔξεις θησαυρον
ἐν θρανῷ· καὶ δεῦρο ἀκολουθεῖ
μοι.24. Ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτον ὁ Ἰησοῦς
περιλυπον γενόμενον, εἶπε·πῶς δυσκολῶς οἱ τὰ χρήματα
ἐχόντες εἰσελευσονται εἰς τὴν
βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

^b Ἀκούσας τοῦ θανόντος, which is here added in St. Mark's text, is not found in the three perhaps most ancient MSS. now existing, viz. B. C. D.

^c The adverb *δυσκολῶς* used here both by St. Mark and St. Luke (and also by St. Matthew, ver. 23.) occurs no where else, either in the N. T. or in the LXX. or in the Greek Apocrypha. Nor is the adjective *δυσκολός* ever used in the N. T. except in the verse, which immediately follows in St. Mark's Gospel, where he has *πῶς δυσκοῦλον*, an expression, which was undoubtedly occasioned by the use of *πῶς δυσκολῶς* in the present instance. Is it probable then that two (in fact three, for the same word is here used also in St. Matthew's Gospel), independent translators should agree in the same place, in rendering the same Hebrew or Chaldee word by the

very same Greek word, when neither they themselves, nor any other of the writers of the N. T. have ever used that Greek word on any other occasion? Nor does either *δυσκολός* or *δυσκολῶς* occur any where in the versions of Aquila, Symmachus or Theodotion. It is true that the adjective *δυσκολός* is once, but once only, used in the LXX. viz. Jer. xlix. 8. (xxix. 2. according to the Greek arrangement); but it is there used in a very different sense, the neut. pl. *δυσκόλα* being the translation of *כָּלָה* 'calamitas,' whereas our Evangelists have used it as equivalent to *χαλῖπας*. Further, though the classic writers sometimes use *δυσκολός*, (though it properly signifies *difficilis in sumendo cibo*, from *δύς* and *κόλος* *cibus*) as synonymous to *χαλῖπας*, as in the proverb *δυσκόλα τὰ καλὰ*, yet the adverb *difficulter* is usually expressed, not by *δυσκολῶς*, (which in the classic authors signifies 'morose') but either by *χαλῖπας* or *δυσχίμως*.

Matth. xix. 13—30.

25. Ακούσαντες δε οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξεπλησσοντο ὀφοδρα λέγοντες· τίς ἀρα δυνατόν σωθῆναι;

26. Ἐμβλέψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· παρὰ ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἀδύνατον ἐστὶ·

παρὰ δὲ Θεῷ πάντα δυνατόν ἐστι^ε.

27. Τότε ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς ἀφηκαμεν πάντα, καὶ ἠκολούθησάμεν σοι.

29. Πᾶς ὅς^δ ἀφηκεν οἰκίας, ἢ ἀδελφάς, ἢ ἀδελφάς, ἢ πατέρα, ἢ μητέρα, ἢ γυναῖκα, ἢ τέκνα, ἢ ἀγροὺς ἐνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος μου,

ἐκατοντάπλασιον ἀλφεισθῆναι, κ. τ. λ.

30. Πολλοὶ δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ πρῶτοι, ἐσχάτοι· καὶ ἐσχάτοι, πρῶτοι.

Mark x. 13—31.

25. Ευκοπώτερον ἐστὶ κάμηλον διὰ τῆς τρυμαλίας τῆς ραφίδος διελθεῖν^δ, ἢ πλῆστον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν.

26. Οἱ δὲ πηρὶ σὺν ἐξεπλησσοντο λέγοντες πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς· καὶ τίς δυνατόν σωθῆναι;

27. Ἐμβλέψας δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, λέγει· παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνατον, ἀλλ' ὃ παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ· πάντα γὰρ δυνατόν ἐστὶ παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ.

28. Καὶ ἠρξάτο ὁ Πέτρος λέγειν αὐτῷ· ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς ἀφηκαμεν πάντα, καὶ ἠκολούθησάμεν σοι.

29. Ἀμὴν, λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅστις ἀφηκεν οἰκίαν, ἢ ἀδελφούς, ἢ ἀδελφάς, ἢ πατέρα, ἢ μητέρα, ἢ γυναῖκα, ἢ τέκνα, ἢ ἀγροὺς, ἐνεκεν ἐμοῦ καὶ^ι τοῦ εὐαγγελίου,

30. Ἐάν τις λαβὴν ἑκατοντάπλασιον, νῦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ,

καὶ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τῷ ἐρχομένῳ ζῶναι αἰώνιον.

31. Πολλοὶ δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ πρῶτοι, ἐσχάτοι· καὶ οἱ ἐσχάτοι πρῶτοιⁱⁱⁱ.

Luke xviii. 15—30.

REMARKS.

25. Ευκοπωτερον γαρ εστι
καμηλον δια τρυμαλιας ρα-
φιδος^a εισελθειν, η πλυσιον εις
την βασιλειαν τς Θεσ εισελ-
θειν.

^a Griesbach prefers εισιλθαι,
but has not taken it into his text.

26.

^a Griesbach prefers βιλοτης,
but has not taken it into his text.

και τις δυνατος σωθηναι ;

¹ —Αυτη. G.

² —ισι. G.

29. Αμην, λεγω υμιν οτι
οδεις εστιν, ος αφηκεν οικιαν,
κ. τ. λ.

¹ + τς. G.

¹ + ιηκιν. G.

30. 'Ος ου μη απολαβη
πολλαπλασιονα, εν τω καιρω
τστψ,

² Here is an insertion in St.
Mark's text not contained either
in St. Matthew's or in St.
Luke's.

και εν τω αιωνι τω ερχομενω
ζωην αιωνιον.

¹ — οι. G.

² If we except those passages
of this section, which St. Mark
himself has added, he agrees
almost throughout, partly with
St. Matthew, and partly with St.
Luke, but chiefly with the latter.

SECTION XXVII.

Christ foretels his death.

Matth. xx. 17—19.

18, 19. Ἰδε αναβαινομεν εἰς Ἱεροσολυμα, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδοθήσεται τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι καὶ γραμματέεσι· καὶ κατακρινουσιν αὐτὸν θανάτῳ· καὶ παραδώσουσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.

Mark x. 32—34.

33. Ἰδὺν αναβαινομεν εἰς Ἱεροσολυμα, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδοθήσεται τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς γραμματέεσι· καὶ κατακρινουσιν αὐτὸν θανάτῳ· καὶ παραδώσουσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.

SECTION XXVII.

Christ foretels his death.

Luke xviii. 32—34.

REMARKS.



SECTION XXX.

Expulsion of the buyers and sellers from the temple.

Matth. xxi. 12, 13.

12. Και εισηλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τε Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐξέβαλε πάντας τοὺς πωλυντάς, καὶ ἀγοραζόντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ τὰς τραπέζας τῶν κολλυβιστῶν κατέσρεψε, καὶ τὰς καθέδρας τῶν πωλυντῶν τὰς περιτερας.

13. Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· γεγραπται, ὁ οἶκος μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται·

ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατε σπηλαιὸν ληπτῶν.

Mark xi. 15—17.

15. Καὶ εἰσελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· ᾤρξατο ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς πωλυντάς καὶ ἀγοραζόντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ τὰς τραπέζας τῶν κολλυβιστῶν, καὶ τὰς καθέδρας τῶν πωλυντῶν τὰς περιτερας κατέσρεψε^b.

16. A passage added by St. Mark, and contained neither in St. Matthew's nor St. Luke's Gospel.

17. Καὶ ἐδίδασκε λέγων αὐτοῖς· οὐ γεγραπται, ὅτι ὁ οἶκος μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσι τοῖς ἐθνεσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐποιήσατε αὐτὸν σπηλαιὸν ληπτῶν.

SECTION XXX.

Expulsion of the buyers and sellers from the temple.

Luke xix. 45, 46.

REMARKS.

45. Και εισελθων εις το
ιερον ηρξατο εκβαλλειν τους
πωλουντας εν αυτω, και αγο-
ραζοντας.

a — Ιησους. G.

b In the former part of this
verse St. Mark's text is that of
St. Luke : in the latter part it is
that of St. Matthew.

46. Λεγων αυτοις,
γεγραπται, ο οικος μου οικος
προσευχης εστιν

υμεις δε αυτον εποιησατε σπη-
λαιον λητων.

* In this quotation from Isai.
lvi. 7. St. Matthew and St.
Mark have the words of the
LXX. with this difference only,
that in St. Matthew's text τοις
σθουσι is omitted. In St. Luke's
text κληρονομια is exchanged for
εστ

SECTION XXXI.

Christ called to account by the chief priests and elders, for teaching publickly in the temple. He answers them, and then delivers a parable.

Matth. xxi. 23—27.
33—46.

23. Εν ποια εξεσια ταυτα ποιεις; και τις σοι εδωκε την εξεσιν ταυτην;

24. Αποκριθεις δε ο Ιησους, ειπεν αυτοις· ερωτησω υμας καγω λογον ενα, ον εαν ειπτε μοι, καγω υμιν ερω εν ποια εξεσια ταυτα ποιω.

25. Το βαπτισμα Ιωαννης ποθεν ην; εξ υραν, η εξ ανθρωπων;

Οι δε διελογιζοντο παρ' εαυτοις, λεγοντες, εαν ειπωμεν, εξ υραν, ερει ημιν· διατι ουν ουκ επισευσате αυτω;

26. Εαν δε ειπωμεν, εξ ανθρωπων, φοβουμεθα τον οχλον· παντες γαρ εχουσι τον Ιωαννην ως προφητην.

27. Και αποκριθεντες τω Ιησ, ειπον, ουκ οιδαμεν· Εφη αυτοις και αυτος· ουδε εγω λεγω υμιν εν ποια εξεσια ταυτα ποιω.

Mark xi. 27.—xii. 12.

28. Εν ποια εξεσια ταυτα ποιεις; και τις σοι την εξουσιαν ταυτην εδωκεν, ινα ταυτα ποιης;

29. Ο δε Ιησους αποκριθεις, ειπεν αυτοις· επερωτησω υμας καγω ενα λογον, και αποκριθητε μοι, και ερω υμιν εν ποια εξεσια ταυτα ποιω.

30. Το βαπτισμα Ιωαννης εξ υραν ην, η εξ ανθρωπων; αποκριθητε μοι.

31. Και ελογιζοντο προς εαυτους, λεγοντες· εαν ειπωμεν, εξ υραν, ερει· διατι ουκ επισευσате αυτω;

32. Αλλ' εαν ειπωμεν, εξ ανθρωπων, εφοβουντο τον λαον· απαντες γαρ ειχον τον Ιωαννην, οτι οντως προφητης ην.

33. Και αποκριθεντες λεγουσι τω Ιησ, ουκ οιδαμεν· και ο Ιησους αποκριθεις λεγει αυτοις· ουδε εγω λεγω υμιν εν ποια εξεσια ταυτα ποιω.

SECTION XXXI.

Christ called to account by the chief priests and elders, for teaching publickly in the temple. He answers them, and then delivers a parable.

Luke xx. 1—19.

REMARKS.

2. Εν ποια εξουσια ταυτα ποιεις ;

4. Το βαπτισμα Ιωαννου
εξ ουρανης ην, η εξ
ανθρωπων ;

5.

εαν ειπωμεν
εξ ουρανου, ερει· διατι ουν ουκ
επιστευσατε αυτω ;

6. Εαν δε ειπωμεν εξ αν-
θρωπων.

^a Διηλογιζομεν, B.C.D.K.L.M.
al. 43.

8. ουδε εγω
λεγω υμιν εν ποια εξουσια
ταυτα ποιω.

Matth. xxi. 23—27.
33—46.

42. Ουδεποτε ανεγνωτε εν ταις γραφαις ; Λιθον ὃν απεδοκιμασαν οἱ οικοδομουντες, οὗτος εγεννηθη εις κεφαλην γωνιας^b.

44. Και ὁ πεισων επι τον λιθον τειτον συνθλασθησεται· εφ ὃν δ'αν πεισῃ, λικμησει αυτον.

Mark xi. 27.—xii. 12.

xii. 9. Τι ουν ποιησει ὁ κυριος τς αμπελωνος ; ελευσεται και απολεσει τος γεωργος, και δωσει τον αμπελωνα αλλοις.

10. Ουδε την γραφην ταυτην ανεγνωτε ; Λιθον ὃν απεδοκιμασαν οἱ οικοδομεντες, οὗτος εγεννηθη εις κεφαλην γωνιας.

To this verse there is nothing which corresponds in St. Mark's Gospel.

Luke xx. 1—19.

REMARKS.

15, 16. Τι οὖν ποιήσει
αὐτοῖς ὁ κύριος τὸ ἀμπελῶνος;
ἐλευσεται καὶ ἀπολέσει τοὺς
γεωργὸς τῆς τῆς, καὶ δώσει τὸν
ἀμπελῶνα ἄλλοις.

17. Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμα-
σαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος
ἐγεννήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας.

18. Πᾶς ὁ πεσὼν ἐπ' ἐκει-
νον τὸν λίθον συνθλασθήσε-
ται· ἐφ' ὃν δ' ἂν πεσῇ λιξήσεται
αὐτόν.

• This quotation from Psalm cxviii. 22. literally agrees with the LXX. and therefore the agreement of the Evangelists with each other in this verse proves nothing in regard to our present inquiry.

• Here St. Matthew and St. Luke agree in the use of the two verbs συνθλασθῆναι and λιχθῆναι, which they have never used on any other occasion, and which occur in no other passage throughout the whole New Testament.

SECTION XXXIII.

Christ's discourse with the Pharisees, relative to the Messiah's being called Lord by David.

Matth. xxii. 41—46.

44. Εἶπεν ὁ κυριος τῷ κυριῷ μου· καθοῦ εκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως αν θῷ τες εχθρες σε ὑποποδιον των ποδων σου^b.

Mark xii. 35—37.

36. Εἶπεν^a ὁ κυριος τῷ κυριῷ ης· καθο εκ δεξιῶν μς, ἕως αν θῷ τες εχθρες σε ὑποποδιον των ποδων σε.

SECTION XXXIV.

The Pharisees censured by Christ.

Matth. xxiii. 1, &c.

In St. Matthew's Gospel the matter is very much dilated in this section, and therefore he agrees with St. Mark and St. Luke in only a part of ver. 6. and a part of ver. 7.

Mark xii. 38—40.

38, 39. Βλεπετε απο των γραμματεων, των θελοντων εν τολαις περιπατειν, και ασπασμους εν ταις αγοραις, και πρωτοκαθεδριας εν ταις συναγωγαις, και πρωτοκλισιας εν τοις δειπνοις.

40. Οἱ κατεσθιοντες τας οικιας των χηρων, και προφασει μακρα προσευχομενοι· οὔτοι ληφονται περισσοτερον κριμα.

SECTION XXXIII.

Christ's discourse with the Pharisees, relative to the Messiah's being called Lord by David.

Luke xx. 41—44.

REMARKS.

42, 43. Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μὴ καθῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν μὴ, ἕως ἂν ἴψ τες ἐχθροὶ σὺ ὑποποδίων τῶν ποδῶν σου.

* Διγμ. G.

† This quotation from Psalm cx. 1. likewise agrees literally with the LXX.

SECTION XXXIV.

The Pharisees censured by Christ.

Luke xx. 45—47.

REMARKS.

46. Προσεχετε ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων, τῶν θελοντῶν περιπατεῖν ἐν σολαῖς, καὶ φιλεντῶν ἀσπασμούς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς, καὶ πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς, καὶ πρωτοκλισίας ἐν τοῖς δειπνοῖς.

47. Οἱ κατεσθίουσι τὰς οἰκίας τῶν χηρῶν, καὶ προφασὶ μακρὰ προσευχόνται· οὗτοι ληφόνται περισσότερον κρίμα.

SECTION XXXV.

Christ foretels the destruction of Jerusalem.

Matth. xxiv. 1—36.

4. Βλέπετε μη τις ὑμᾶς πλανησῇ.

5. Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῇ ὀνομασίᾳ μου, λέγοντες, ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ Χριστός· καὶ πολλὰς πλανήσουσι.

6. Μελλησέτε δὲ ἀκθεῖν πολέμους, καὶ ἀκοᾶς πολέμων· ὁράτε μη θροεῖσθε· δεῖ γὰρ πάντα γενεσθαι· ἀλλ' εἰπὼ ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος.

7. Ἐγερθήσεται γὰρ ἔθνος ἐπὶ ἔθνος, καὶ βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν, καὶ ἐσονται λιμοὶ, καὶ λοιμοί², καὶ σεισμοὶ κατὰ τόπους.

9. Καὶ ἐσεσθε μισθμενοὶ ὑπὸ πάντων^b ἐθνῶν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα μου.

13. Ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος, οὗτος σωθήσεται.

15, 16. Ὅταν οὖν ἴδητε τὸ βδελύγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, τὸ ρηθὲν διὰ Δανιὴλ τῶν προφητῶν, ἕως ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ· ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοεῖτω· τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰσδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη.

Mark xiii. 1—36.

5. Βλέπετε μη τις ὑμᾶς πλανησῇ.

6. Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῇ ὀνομασίᾳ μου, λέγοντες, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι καὶ πολλὰς πλανήσουσιν.

7. Ὅταν δὲ ἀκθῇτε πολέμους, καὶ ἀκοᾶς πολέμων, μη θροεῖσθε· δεῖ γὰρ γενεσθαι· ἀλλ' εἰπὼ τὸ τέλος.

8. Ἐγερθήσεται γὰρ ἔθνος ἐπὶ ἔθνος, καὶ βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν, καὶ ἐσονται

σεισμοὶ κατὰ τόπους, καὶ ἐσονται λιμοὶ καὶ ταραχαί.

13. Καὶ ἐσεσθε μισθμενοὶ ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ τὸ ὄνομα μου

ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος, οὗτος σωθήσεται.

14. Ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε τὸ βδελύγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, τὸ ρηθὲν ὑπὸ Δανιὴλ τῶν προφητῶν^c, ἕως ὅπου ἔσθαι ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοεῖτω· τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰσδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη.

SECTION XXXV.

Christ foretels the destruction of Jerusalem.

Luke xxi. 5—36.

REMARKS.

9. Ὄταν δε ακυσητε πολε-
μους, κ. τ. λ.

10. Εγερωθησεται εθνος επι
εθνος, και βασιλεια επι βα-
σιλειαν.

11. Σεισμοι τε μεγαλοι
κατα τοπους, και λιμοι και
λοιμοι εσονται.

17. Και εσεσθε μισθμενοι
υπο παντων δια το ονομα μν.

^a The periphrasis λιμοι και
λοιμοι is also in St. Luke's text.

^b + των G.

^c — το γινειν υπα Δαβιδ το
προφητη. G.

21. τοτε οι εν τη
Ιερουσαλημ φευγετωσαν εις τα ορη.

Matt. xxiv. 1—36.

17. Ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς δωματός μὴ καταβαίνετω,

ἄραι τι ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτῆς.

18. Καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ ἀγρῷ, μὴ ἐπιστρέψατω ὀπίσω, ἄραι τὰ ἱμάτια⁴ αὐτῆς.

19. Οὐαὶ δὲ ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχθραῖς, καὶ ταῖς θηλαζούσαις ἐν ἐκεῖναις ταῖς ἡμέραις.

20. Προσευχέσθε δὲ ἵνα μὴ γενηται ἡ φυγὴ ὑμῶν χειμῶνος, μηδὲ ἐν σαββᾶτι⁵.

21. Ἔσται γὰρ τότε θλίψις μεγάλη, οἷα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου, ἕως τῆς νῦν, οὐδ' οὐ μὴ γενηται.

22. Καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐκολοβώθησαν⁶ αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πασα σὰρξ· διὰ δὲ τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς κολοβώθησονται αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι.

23. Τότε ἐὰν τις ὑμῖν εἴπῃ· ἰδοὺ ὧδε ὁ Χρῆστος, ἢ ὧδε, μὴ πιστεύσητε.

24. Ἐγερθήσονται γὰρ ψευδοχριστοί, καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται, καὶ δώσουσι σημεῖα μεγάλα καὶ τέρατα, ὥστε πλανησαί, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς.

25. Ἰδοὺ, προεῖρηκα ὑμῖν.

Mark xiii. 1—36.

15. Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς δωματός μὴ καταβαίνετω εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, μηδὲ εἰσελθετω, ἄραι τι ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτῆς.

16. Καὶ ὁ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν ὢν μὴ ἐπιστρέψατω εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, ἄραι τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτῆς.

17. Οὐαὶ δὲ ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχθραῖς, καὶ ταῖς θηλαζούσαις ἐν ἐκεῖναις ταῖς ἡμέραις.

18. Προσευχέσθε δὲ ἵνα μὴ γενηται ἡ φυγὴ ὑμῶν χειμῶνος.

19. Ἔσονται γὰρ αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι θλίψις, οἷα οὐ γέγονε τοιαυτὴ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως ἥς ἐκτίσεν ὁ Θεός, ἕως τῆς νῦν, καὶ οὐ μὴ γενηται.

20. Καὶ εἰ μὴ κύριος ἐκολοβώσε⁶ τὰς ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πασα σὰρξ· ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς, οὗς ἐξελέξατο, ἐκολοβώσε τῆς ἡμέρας.

21. Καὶ τότε ἐὰν τις ὑμῖν εἴπῃ· ἰδοὺ ὧδε ὁ Χρῆστος, ἢ ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ, μὴ πιστεύσητε⁷.

22. Ἐγερθήσονται γὰρ ψευδοχριστοί, καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται, καὶ δώσουσι σημεῖα, καὶ τέρατα, πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλανᾶν, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς.

23. Ὑμεῖς δὲ βλέπετε· Ἰδοὺ, προεῖρηκα ὑμῖν πάντα.

Luke xxi. 5—36.

REMARKS.

23. Ουαι δε ταις εν γαστρι
εχυσαις, και ταις θηλαζουσαις
εν εκειναις ταις ημεραις.

^d το ιματιον is preferred by
Griesbach.

To this passage there
is nothing which corres-
ponds in St. Luke's text.

^e Neither St. Matthew nor
St. Mark have used κολοβον in
any other instance than the pre-
sent: nor does it occur in any
other place throughout the whole
New Testament. It is used once,
and once only, in the LXX. viz.
2 Sam. iv. 12. where it is the
translation of γyp. Now γyp
occurs in sixteen places in the
Old Testament, and in these
sixteen places is rendered in the
LXX. by nine different Greek
words, and only in the instance
just mentioned by κολοβον. Is
it probable then, if the texts of
St. Matthew and St. Mark con-
tained two independent Greek
translations, that the same He-
brew word would have been ren-
dered in both by κολοβον.

^f σιγιστι. G.

^g To ver. 26—28. there is
nothing, which corresponds in
St. Mark's text.

Matth. xxiv. 1—36.

29. Ευθεως δε μετα την θλιψιν των ημερων εκεινων, ο ηλιος σκοτισθησεται, και η σεληνη ου δωσει το φεγγος αυτης· και οι αστερες πεισνται απο του ουρανου, και αι δυναμεις των βρανων σαλευθησονται.

†

30. Και οφονται τον υιον τς ανθρωπς ερχομενον επι των νεφελων του ουρανου, μετα δυναμews και δοξης πολλης.

31. Και αποτειλει τους αγγελς αυτς, μετα σαλπιγος φωνης μεγαλης, και επισυναξοσι τς εκλεκτς αυτς εκ των τεσσαρων ανεμων, απ' ακρων βρανων, εως ακρων αυτων.

32. Απο δε της συκης μαθετε την παραβολην· όταν ηδη ο κλαδος αυτης γενηται απαλος, και τα φυλλα εκφυη γινωσκετε οτι εγγυς το θερος.

33. Ουτω και υμεις, όταν ιδητε παντα ταυτα, γινωσκετε οτι εγγυς εστιν επι θυραις.

34. Αμην λεγω υμιν, ο μη παρελθη η γενεα αυτη, εως αν παντα ταυτα γενηται.

†

Mark xiii. 1—36.

24, 25. Αλλ' εν εκειναις ταις ημεραις μετα την θλιψιν εκεινην ο ηλιος σκοτισθησεται, και η σεληνη ο δωσει το φεγγος αυτης· και οι αστερες τς ουρανου εσονται εκπιπτοντες, και αι δυναμεις αι εν τοις ουρανοις σαλευθησονται.

26. Και τοτε οφονται τον υιον τς ανθρωπς ερχομενον εν νεφελαις, μετα δυναμews πολλης, και δοξης.

27. Και τοτε αποτειλει τς αγγελους αυτου,

και επισυναξει τς εκλεκτς αυτς εκ των τεσσαρων ανεμων, απ' ακρε γης εως ακρε βραν.

28. Απο δε της συκης μαθετε την παραβολην· όταν αυτης ηδη ο κλαδος απαλος γενηται, και εκφυη τα φυλλα, γινωσκετε οτι εγγυς το θερος εστιν.

29. Ουτω και υμεις, όταν ταυτα ιδητε γινομενα, γινωσκετε οτι εγγυς εστιν επι θυραις.

30. Αμην λεγω υμιν, οτι ο μη παρελθη η γενεα αυτη, μεχρις ου παντα ταυτα γενηται.

Luke xxi. 5—36.

REMARKS.

26.

αἱ γὰρ δυνά-
μεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σαλευθήσου-
νται.

† To the former part of ver.
30. there is likewise nothing,
which corresponds in St. Mark's
text.

27. Καὶ τότε ὄψονται τὸν
υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἐρχομένον
ἐν νεφέλῃ,
μετὰ δυνάμεως, καὶ δόξης
πολλῆς.

31. Οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὅταν
εἴδητε ταῦτα γινόμενα, γινώσ-
κετε ὅτι ἐγγύς ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία
τοῦ Θεοῦ.

32. Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι
οὐ μὴ παρελθῇ ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη,
ἕως ἃν πάντα γενῇται.

Matth. xxiv. 1—36.

35. Ὁ ουρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ
παρελευσονται^ε, οἱ δὲ λόγοι
μου οὐ μὴ παρελθῶσι.

36. Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας
ἐκείνης, καὶ τῆς^ι ὥρας οὐδεὶς
οἶδεν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἀγγελοὶ τῶν
ουρανῶν.
εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ μου^ι μόνος.

Mark xiii. 1—36.

31. Ὁ ουρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ
παρελευσονται^ε, οἱ δὲ λόγοι
μου οὐ μὴ παρελθῶσι.

32. Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας
ἐκείνης, καὶ^ε τῆς ὥρας οὐδεὶς
οἶδεν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἀγγελοὶ οἱ ἐν
ουρανῶν, οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός,
εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ.

Luke xxi. 5—36.

REMARKS.

33. Ὁ οὐρανός, καὶ ἡ γῆ
παρελευσονται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι
μου οὐ μὴ παρελθωσι.

To this verse there is
nothing, which corresponds
in St. Luke's text.

¹ παρελευσονται. G.

² παρελευσονται. G.

³ —της. G.

⁴ η. G.

⁵ —μυ. G.

SECTION XXXVII. XXXVIII. XXXIX.

Judas bribed. Christ eats the passover with his disciples. He goes to the mount of Olives: where he is seized by a guard from the chief priests.

Matth. xxvi. 14—29.
30—46.
47—58.

Mark xiv. 10—25.
26—42.
43—54.

14. Πᾶς ἐστὶ τὸ καταλυμα,
ὅπως τὸ πάσχα μετὰ τῶν μα-
θητῶν μου φάγω;

15. Καὶ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν δεῖξει
ἀνωγειον* μέγα, ἐστρωμένον,
ἐτοιμον· ἐκεῖ ἐτοίμασατε ἡμῖν.

16. Καὶ ἐξηλθον οἱ μα-
θηταὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν
πολιν, καὶ ἔντρον καθὼς εἶπεν
αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἠτοίμασαν τὸ
πάσχα.

17, 18. Καὶ οψίας γενομέ-
νης ἐρχεται μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα·
καὶ ἀνακειμένων αὐτῶν,
καὶ ἐσθιοντῶν, εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς·
ἀμην λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι εἷς ἐξ
ὑμῶν παραδώσει με, ὁ ἐσθίων
μετ' ἐμοῦ.

20, 21. Οψίας δὲ γενομέ-
νης ἀνεκείμετο μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα.

καὶ ἐσθιοντῶν αὐτῶν, εἶπεν·
ἀμην λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι εἷς ἐξ
ὑμῶν παραδώσει με

SECTION XXXVII. XXXVIII. XXXIX.

Judas bribed. Christ eats the passover with his disciples. He goes to the mount of Olives; where he is seized by a guard from the chief priests.

Luke xxii. 3—23.

39—46.

47—55.

REMARKS.

11. Πῃ εἶ το καταλυμα
ὅτε το πασχα μετα των μα-
θητων μου φαγω;

12. Κακεινος ὑμιν δειξει
αγωγειον^b μεγα ερωμενον.

εκει ετοιμασατε.

13. Απελθοντες δε

εἰρον καθως ειρηκεν
αυτοις^c και ἠτοιμασαν το
πασχα.

^a Αἰαγαιον. G.

^b Αἰαγαιον. G. Whatever orthography be adopted for this word, whether we write αἰαγαιον, as in the common text, or αἰαγαιον, as in the Codex Vaticanus, or αἰαγαιον, as in most other ancient manuscripts, neither St. Mark nor St. Luke have ever used it on any other occasion. Nor does it occur in any other instance, either in the N. T. or in the LXX. It denotes 'conclave superius,' and is equivalent to the Hebrew word מִלְּבָרָה: but this Hebrew word, which frequently occurs in the Old Testament, is invariably rendered in the LXX. by ἱεραγωγον, and St. Luke himself has likewise used ἱεραγωγον several times in the Acts of the Apostles. Is it probable then, that, if the texts of St. Mark and St. Luke contained two independent translations, the same Hebrew word (whether מִלְּבָרָה or not) should have been rendered by both translators, in the very same place, by αἰαγαιον?

Matth. xxvi. 14—29.

30—46.

47—58.

24. Ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει, καθὼς γεγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ· οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ, δι' οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδεται. καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐκεῖνος.

26. Ἐσθιοντων δὲ αὐτῶν, λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸν ἄρτον, καὶ εὐλογήσας ἐκλάσας, καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς, καὶ εἶπε· λαβετε, φαγετε· τούτο ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα μου.

27. Καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ποτήριον, καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων·

πιετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες.

28. Τούτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα μου τοῦ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον, εἰς ἀφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

29. Λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐ μὴ πῖω ἀπ' ἄρτι ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γεννηματος τῆς ἀμπέλου, ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω, μεθ' ὑμῶν καίνον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

30. Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν.

Mark xiv. 10—25.

26—42.

43—54.

21. Ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει, καθὼς γεγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ· οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ, δι' οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδεται. καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐκεῖνος.

22. Καὶ ἐσθιοντων αὐτῶν, λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἄρτον, εὐλογήσας ἐκλάσας, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς· καὶ εἶπε· λαβετε, φαγετε· τούτο ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα μου.

23. Καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς·

καὶ ἐπίον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες.

24. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·

Τούτο ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα μου τοῦ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον.

25. Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πῖω ἐκ τοῦ γεννηματος τῆς ἀμπέλου, ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω καίνον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

26. Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν.

Luke xxii. 3—23.

39—46.

47—55.

REMARKS.

19. Και
 λαβων αρτον,
 ευχαριστησας εκλάσε, και εδω-
 κεν αυτοις.

^c —φαγιτι. G.

18. Λεγω γαρ υμιν, οτι
 ου μη πτω απο του
 γεννηματος της αμπελου, εως
 οτου ...

η βασιλεια του Θεου ελθη.

Matth. xxvi. 14—29.

30—46.

47—58.

31. Τότε λέγει αυτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· πάντες ὑμεῖς σκανδαλισθησεσθε ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταυτῇ· γεγραπταὶ γάρ· πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα, καὶ διασκορπισθήσεται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποιμνῆς.

32. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ ἐγερθῆναι με, προαῶ ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.

33. Αποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· εἰ καὶ πάντες σκανδαλισθησονται ἐν σοὶ, ἐγὼ οὐδέποτε σκανδαλισθήσομαι.

38. Τότε λέγει αυτοῖς· περιλυπὸς ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἕως θανάτου· μείνατε ὧδε καὶ γρηγορεῖτε μετ' ἐμοῦ.

40. Καὶ ἐρχεται πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς, καὶ εὕρισκε αὐτοὺς καθευδοντας· καὶ λέγει τῷ Πέτρῳ· οὕτως οὐκ ἰσχυσατέ μιαν ὥραν γρηγορῆσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ;

41. Γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσευχεσθε, ἵνα μὴ εἰσελθῆτε εἰς πειρασμόν· τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα προθυμὸν, ἡ δὲ σαρὶς ἀσθενής.

45. Καὶ λέγει αυτοῖς· καθευδετέ το λοιπόν, καὶ ἀναπαυεσθε· ἰδοὺ ἤγγικεν ἡ ὥρα, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδεται εἰς χεῖρας ἁμαρτωλῶν.

46. Ἐγερεσθε, ἀγώμεν· ἰδοὺ, ἤγγικεν ὁ παραδίδως με.

Mark xiv. 10—25.

26—42.

43—54.

27. Καὶ λέγει αυτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ὅτι πάντες σκανδαλισθησεσθε ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταυτῇ· ὅτι γεγραπταὶ· πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα, καὶ διασκορπισθήσεται τὰ πρόβατα⁴.

28. Ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ ἐγερθῆναι με, προαῶ ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.

29. Ὁ δὲ Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτῷ, καὶ εἰ πάντες σκανδαλισθησονται, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγώ.

34. Καὶ λέγει αυτοῖς· περιλυπὸς ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἕως θανάτου· μείνατε ὧδε καὶ γρηγορεῖτε.

37. Καὶ ἐρχεται, καὶ εὕρισκε αὐτοὺς καθευδοντας· καὶ λέγει τῷ Πέτρῳ· Σίμων, καθευδεῖς; ἔκ ἰσχυσας μιαν ὥραν γρηγορῆσαι;

38. Γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσευχεσθε, ἵνα μὴ εἰσελθῆτε εἰς πειρασμόν· τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα προθυμὸν, ἡ δὲ σαρὶς ἀσθενής.

41. Καὶ λέγει αυτοῖς, καθευδετέ το λοιπόν, καὶ ἀναταυεσθε· ἀπεχει, ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα· ἰδοὺ, παραδίδεται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν.

42. Ἐγερεσθε, ἀγώμεν· ἰδοὺ, ὁ παραδίδους με ἤγγικε.

Luke xxii. 3—23.
39—46.
47—55.

REMARKS.

To these two verses
there is nothing which
corresponds in St. Luke's
text.

To this verse there is
nothing which corresponds
in St. Luke's text.

* This is a quotation from Zech. xiii. 7. where the words of the Hebrew text are, **קָהָה וְהָרַעָה וְתִפְּצֵין הֶעֱצָן**, 'percutite pastorem et dissipabitur grex': to which the text of the LXX. according to the Codex Alexandrinus, **καταξον τον ποιμνα και διασκορπισθησονται τα προβατα της ποιμνης**, corresponds; but the Codex Vaticanus has **καταξαι τις ποιμνας, και σκορπισονται τα προβατα**. St. Matthew and St. Mark agree in having **καταξω**, which is different both from the Hebrew, and the LXX. even according to the Codex Alexandrinus.

To this passage there
is nothing which corres-
ponds in St. Luke's text.

Matth. xxvi. 14—29.
30—46.
47—58.

Mark xiv. 10—25.
26—42.
43—54.

47. Και ετι αυτου
λαλουντος, ιδου Ισδας
εις των δωδεκα ηλθε, και μετ'
αυτου οχλος πολυς μετα μα-
χαιρων και ξυλων, απο των
αρχιερεων,

και πρεσβυτερων τς λαβ.

48. 'Ο δε παραδιδους αυ-
τον εδωκεν αυτοις σημειον,
λεγων ον αν φιλησω, αυτος
εστι κρατησατε αυτον.

55. 'Ως επι λητην
εξηλθετε μετα μαχαιρων και
ξυλων συλλαβειν με Καθ'
ημεραν προς υμας εκαθεζομην
διδασκων εν τω ιερω, και ουκ
εκρατησατε με.

43. Και ευθεως, ετι αυτου
λαλουντος, παραγινεται Ισδας
εις ων των δωδεκα, και μετ'
αυτου οχλος πολυς μετα μα-
χαιρων και ξυλων, παρα των
αρχιερεων, και των γραμμα-
τεων, και των πρεσβυτερων.

44. Δεδωκει δε ο παρα-
διδους αυτον συσημον αυτοις
λεγων ον αν φιλησω, αυτος
εστι κρατησατε αυτον.

48, 49. 'Ως επι λητην
εξηλθετε μετα μαχαιρων και
ξυλων συλλαβειν με Καθ'
ημεραν ημην προς υμας
εν τω ιερω διδασκων, και ουκ
εκρατησατε με.

Luke xxii. 3—23.
39—46.
47—55.

REMARKS.

Here St. Matthew and St. Mark agree in the use of the compound verb συλλαμβανειν, though it never occurs in any other part of their Gospels, and in other places they have both of them used the simple verb λαμβανειν in the sense of 'to seize,' or 'to apprehend,' which συλλαμβανειν expresses here. For instance, in the parable of the disobedient husbandmen, St. Matthew has twice used λαμβανειν in this sense, ch. xxi. 35, 39. and in this parable St. Mark has likewise λαμβανειν in this sense in the two corresponding places, ch. xii. 3. 8. Where the one therefore expresses the notion of 'to seize' by λαμβανειν, the other does the same, and where the one expresses this notion by συλλαμβανειν, the other does likewise the same.

SECTION XLI.

The Crucifixion.

Matth. xxvii. 20—66.

39, 40. Οἱ δὲ παραπο-
ρέυομενοι ἐβλάσφημον αὐτον,
κινούντες τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν,
καὶ λέγοντες· ὁ καταλύων τὸν
ναόν, καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις
οικοδομῶν, σῶσον σεαυτὸν· εἰ
υἱὸς εἶ τῆς Θεοῦ, καταβῇθι ἀπὸ
τοῦ σταυροῦ.

41, 42. Ὅμοιως δὲ καὶ οἱ
ἀρχιερεῖς ἐμπαίζοντες
μετὰ τῶν γραμματέων
καὶ πρεσβυτέρων
ἐλέγον· ἄλλες ἐσῶσεν, ἑαυτὸν
οὐ δύναται σῶσαι.

Mark xv. 11—47.

29, 30. Καὶ οἱ παραπο-
ρέυομενοι ἐβλάσφημον αὐτον,
κινούντες τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν,
καὶ λέγοντες· να, ὁ καταλύων
τὸν ναόν, καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις
οικοδομῶν, σῶσον σεαυτὸν·
καὶ καταβὰ ἀπὸ
τοῦ σταυροῦ.

31, 32. Ὅμοιως δὲ καὶ οἱ
ἀρχιερεῖς ἐμπαίζοντες πρὸς
ἀλλήλους μετὰ τῶν γραμματέων
ἐλέγον· ἄλλες ἐσῶσεν, ἑαυτὸν
οὐ δύναται σῶσαι.

SECTION XLI.

The Crucifixion.

Luke xxiii. 18—56.

REMARKS.

To these two verses
there is nothing, which
corresponds in St. Luke's
text.

SECTION XLII.

The Resurrection.

Matth. xxviii.

7. Εἰπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς
αὐτοῦ,

.....

προαγεῖ ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλι-
λαιαν· ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὀψεσθε.

Mark xvi.

7. Εἰπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς
αὐτοῦ,

.....

προαγεῖ ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλι-
λαιαν· ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὀψεσθε.

SECTION XLII.

The Resurrection.

Luke xxiv.

REMARKS.

To this passage there is
nothing which corresponds
in St. Luke's text.

SECOND DIVISION.

EXAMPLES OF VERBAL AGREEMENT IN THE SECTIONS COMMON ONLY TO ST. MATTHEW AND ST. MARK *.

SECTION I.

Call of Peter, Andrew, James, and John, to the Apostleship.

Matth. iv. 12. 17—21.

18. Περιπατων δε ὁ Ἰησοῦς^b
παρα την θαλασσαν της Γα-
λιλαιας, ειδε δυο αδελφους,
Σιμωνα, τον λεγομενον Πε-
τρον, και Ανδρεαν, τον αδελ-
φον αυτου βαλλοντας αμφι-
βλητρον εις την θαλασσαν·
ησαν γαρ ἁλεις.

19. Και λεγει αυτοις·
δευτε οπισω μου, και
ποιησω υμας ἁλεις
ανθρωπων.

20. Οἱ δε ευθεως αφεντες
τα δικτυα, ηκολυθησαν
αυτω.

21. Και προβας εκειθεν
ειδεν αλλους δυο αδελφους, Ια-
κωβον τον τω Ζεβεдайς, και
Ιωαννην τον αδελφον αυτου, εν
τω πλοιω μετα Ζεβεдайς τω
πατρος αυτων, καταρτιζοντας
τα δικτυα αυτων, και εκαλεσεν
αυτους.

Mark i. 14—20.

16. Περιπατων δε
παρα την θαλασσαν της Γα-
λιλαιας, ειδε
Σιμωνα,
και Ανδρεαν, τον αδελφον αυ-
του βαλλοντας· αμφιβλητρον^d
εν τη θαλασση· ησαν γαρ
ἁλεις.

17. Και ειπεν αυτοις ὁ
Ἰησοῦς· δευτε οπισω μου, και
ποιησω υμας γενεσθαι ἁλεις
ανθρωπων.

18. Και ευθεως αφεντες
τα δικτυα αυτων, ηκολυθησαν
αυτω.

19, 20. Και προβας εκει-
θεν ολιγον, ειδεν Ιακωβον τον
του Ζεβεдайου, και Ιωαννην
τον αδελφον αυτου, και αυτους
εν τω πλοιω

καταρτιζοντας
τα δικτυα· και ευθεως εκαλε-
σεν αυτους.

SECOND DIVISION.

EXAMPLES OF VERBAL AGREEMENT IN THE SECTIONS COMMON ONLY TO ST. MATTHEW AND ST. MARK^a.

SECTION I.

Call of Peter, Andrew, James, and John, to the
Apostleship.

REMARKS.

^a These sections are stated by Eichhorn, Allgem. Bibl. Vol. V. p. 922—924. He has not affixed numbers to them, as he has done to the sections common to all three Evangelists: but I shall number them in the following statement, that they may be better distinguished the one from the other.

^b — ἰ ἱεροῖ. G.

^c ἀμφιβαλλοτάς. G.

^d Here St. Matthew and St. Mark agree in the use of ἀμφιβαλλοτάς, a word, which they have never used on any other occasion. At other times they have expressed, 'net' by δατῶν.

SECTION IV.

Jesus crosses the sea, and comes to the land of Genesaret: where he reproves the Scribes and Pharisees on account of their traditions; cures the daughter of a Canaanite woman; feeds four thousand men with seven loaves and a few fishes; and censures the Pharisees and Sadducees, who required a sign from heaven.

Matth. xiv. 22—xvi. 12.

xiv. 22. Και ευθεως ηναγκασεν ὁ Ἰησους^a τες μαθητας αὐτου^b ἐμβῆναι εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, καὶ προαγεῖν αὐτον εἰς τὸ περαν, ἕως οὐ ἀπολυση τοὺς οὐλοὺς.

34. Καὶ διαπερασσαντες ηλθον εἰς τὴν γὴν Γεννησαρετ.

xv. 7, 8, Ὑποκριται καλως προεφητευσεν περὶ ὑμῶν Ἡσαιας, λεγων· ὁ λαος οὗτος τοῖς χεῖλεσι με τιμα^c, ἡ δὲ καρδια αὐτῶν πορρω ἀπεχει ἀπ' ἐμου.

9. Ματην δὲ σεβονται με διδασκοντες διδασκαλιας, ἐνταλματα ἀνθρωπων^d.

10. Καὶ προσκαλεσαμενος τὸν οὐλον εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ἀκουετέ, καὶ συνιετέ.

Mark vi. 45—vii. 31. viii. 1—26.

vi. 45. Καὶ ευθεως ηναγκασεν τοὺς μαθητας αὐτου ἐμβῆναι εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, καὶ προαγεῖν εἰς τὸ περαν πρὸς Βηθσαιδαν, ἕως αὐτος ἀπολυση τὸν οὐλον.

53. Καὶ διαπερασσαντες ηλθον ἐπὶ τὴν γὴν Γεννησαρετ. vii. 6.

Καλως προεφητευσεν Ἡσαιας περὶ ὑμῶν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν ὡς γεγραπται· οὗτος ὁ λαος τοῖς χεῖλεσι με τιμα, ἡ δὲ καρδια αὐτῶν πορρω ἀπεχει ἀπ' ἐμου.

7. Ματην δὲ σεβονται με διδασκοντες διδασκαλιας, ἐνταλματα ἀνθρωπων.

14. Καὶ προσκαλεσαμενος παντα τὸν οὐλον εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ἀκουετέ μου πάντες, καὶ συνιετέ.

SECTION IV.

Jesus crosses the sea, and comes to the land of Genesaret: where he reproves the Scribes and Pharisees on account of their traditions; cures the daughter of a Canaanite woman; feeds four thousand men with seven loaves and a few fishes; and censures the Pharisees and Sadducees, who required a sign from heaven.

REMARKS.

a — ὁ Ἰησοῦς. G.

b — αὐτοῦ. G.

c This is Griesbach's text. In the common text ἐγγιζὺ μοι has been interpolated before ὁ λαὸς ἔτος, and τῇ στοματὶ αὐτῶν καὶ after it.

d This is a quotation from Isaiah xxix. 13. which according to the text of the LXX. is Ἐγγιζέ μοι ὁ λαὸς ἔτος ἐν τῇ στοματὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς χιλιῶσιν αὐτῶν τιμῶσι με· ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πορρω ἀπὶ χειρὸς ἐμῆς ματηνὴ δὲ σιβόονται με, διδασκοῦντες ὑπολαβάναι ἀνθρώπων, καὶ διδασκαλίας. But St. Matthew and St. Mark have some variations from this text, and at the same time where they differ from the LXX. they agree with each other. Namely, they both omit ἐγγιζὺ μοι and ἐν τῇ στοματὶ αὐτῶν καὶ, for though these words are in the common text of St. Matthew's Gospel, they are certainly interpolations from the LXX. as may be seen on consulting the authorities quoted by Griesbach. Further, they agree in omitting ἐν before, and αὐτῶν after, χιλιῶσιν, and in substituting με τιμὰ for τιμῶσι με. Lastly, they agree in reading διδασκαλίας ὑπολαβάναι ἀνθρώπων instead of ὑπολαβάναι ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδασκαλίας.

Matth. xiv. 22—xvi. 12.

26. Ουκ ἐστὶ καλὸν
λαβεῖν τὸν ἄρτον τῶν τέκνων,
καὶ βαλεῖν τοῖς κύνεροις.

32. Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς προσκα-
λεσάμενος τοὺς μαθητάς
αὐτοῦ, εἶπε· σπλαγ-
χνίζομαι ἐπὶ τὸν ὄχλον ὅτι ἡδὴ
ἡμέρας¹ τρεῖς προσμένετε μοι,
καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσι τι φαγεῖν.

Mark vi. 45.—vii. 31.
viii. 1—26.

27. Οὐ γὰρ καλὸν ἐστὶ
λαβεῖν τὸν ἄρτον τῶν τέκνων
καὶ βαλεῖν τοῖς κύνεροις.

viii. 1, 2. Προσκαλεσα-
μένος ὁ Ἰησοῦς² τοὺς μαθητάς
αὐτοῦ, λέγει αὐτοῖς· σπλαγ-
χνίζομαι ἐπὶ τὸν ὄχλον ὅτι ἡδὴ
ἡμέρας³ τρεῖς προσμένετε μοι,
καὶ οὐκ ἔχετε τι φαγεῖν.

SECTION V.

Christ answers the Pharisees concerning divorces.

Matth. xix. 1—12.

5, 6. Ἐνεκεν τούτου κατα-
λείπει, ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα
καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ
προσκολληθήσεται τῇ
γυναικὶ αὐτῆς· καὶ ἔσονται οἱ
δύο εἰς σὰρκα μίαν· ὥστε
ἕκτετι εἰσι δύο, ἀλλὰ σὰρξ μία.
Ὁ οὖν ὁ Θεὸς συνέζευξεν, ἄν-
θρωπος μὴ χωρίζετω.

Mark x. 1—12.

7, 8, 9. Ἐνεκεν τούτου κατα-
λείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα
αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ
προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν
γυναῖκα αὐτῆς· καὶ ἔσονται οἱ
δύο εἰς σὰρκα μίαν· ὥστε
ἕκτετι εἰσι δύο, ἀλλὰ σὰρξ μία.
Ὁ οὖν ὁ Θεὸς συνέζευξεν, ἄν-
θρωπος μὴ χωρίζετω.

REMARKS.

• — ὁ Ἰησους. G.

† ἡμεραι. G.

‡ ἡμεραι. G.

SECTION V.

Christ answers the Pharisees concerning divorces.

REMARKS.

• Gen. ii. 24. Ἐκείνη τέτυ καταλείψει ἀνδραπος τον πατέρα αὐτου και την μητέρα, και προσκολληθήσεται προς την γυναικα αὐτου· και ἔσονται οἱ δύο ως σαρκος μίαν, which is precisely St. Mark's text ; and therefore this example is of no value in the present inquiry.

SECTION VI.

Christ answers to the request, that James and John, the sons of Zebedee, may obtain the first place in the kingdom of heaven.

Matth. xx. 20—28.

22, 23. Οὐκ οἰδατε τι αἰτεισθε. Δυνασθε πίνειν το ποτηριον ὃ ἐγὼ μελλῶ πίνειν, καὶ το βαπτισμα, ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθῆναι; Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, δυναμεθα. Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· το μεν ποτηριον μὲν πιεσθε, καὶ το βαπτισμα, ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθησεσθε· το δε καθισαι ἐκ δεξιῶν μὲν, καὶ ἐξ ευωνυμῶν μὲν ἢ ἐκ εἰς ἐμον δουναι, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡτοιμασαι ὑπο τῆ πατρος μὲν.

24. Καὶ ἀκυσαντες οἱ δεκα ἠγανακτησαν περὶ τῶν δυο ἀδελφῶν.

25. Ὁ δε Ἰησους παροσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοῖς, εἶπεν· οἰδατε, ὅτι οἱ ἀρχοντες τῶν ἐθνῶν κατακυριεύουσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι κατεξουσιάζουσιν αὐτῶν.

26. Οὐκ οὕτως δε εἶσιν ἐν ὑμῖν· ἀλλ' ὅς εαν θελήεν ὑμῖν μέγας γενεσθαι, ἐστω ὑμῶν διακονος.

Mark x. 35—45.

38—40. Οὐκ οἰδατε τι αἰτεισθε. Δυνασθε πίνειν το ποτηριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω, καὶ το βαπτισμα, ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθῆναι; Οἱ δε εἶπον αὐτῷ· δυναμεθα. Ὁ δε Ἰησους εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· το μεν ποτηριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω, πιεσθε καὶ το βαπτισμα, ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθησεσθε· το δε καθισαι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, καὶ ἐξ ευωνυμῶν μὲν ἢ ἐκ εἰς ἐμον δουναι, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡτοιμασαι.

41. Καὶ ἀκυσαντες οἱ δεκα ἠρξαντο ἀγανακτεῖν περὶ Ἰακῶβου καὶ Ἰωάννου.

42. Ὁ δε Ἰησους προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοῖς, λέγει αὐτοῖς· οἰδατε ὅτι οἱ δοκυντες ἀρχεῖν τῶν ἐθνῶν κατακυριεύουσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι αὐτῶν κατεξουσιάζουσιν αὐτῶν.

43. Οὐκ οὕτως δε εἶσιν ἐν ὑμῖν· ἀλλ' ὅς εαν θελήεν γενεσθαι μέγας ἐν ὑμῖν, εἶσιν διακονος ὑμῶν.

SECTION VI.

Christ answers to the request, that James and John, the sons of Zebedee, may obtain the first place in the kingdom of heaven.

REMARKS.

^a These words *καὶ τὸ βαπτισμὰ ὃ ἔγω βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθῆναι*, and presently after *καὶ τὸ βαπτισμὰ, ὃ ἔγω βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθῆναι* are wanting, in St. Matthew's text, in the Codex Vaticanus, Codex Bezae, Codex Stephani ⁿ, and the quotation of Origen, not to mention other good authorities quoted by Griesbach. It is therefore highly probable, if not certain, that these words in St. Matthew's text are an interpolation from that of St. Mark, made by transcribers, who fancied, that because St. Matthew's text was shorter, it was defective. However, if we deduct these words, St. Matthew's text is still that of St. Mark, though less full.

^b — *μὲν. G.*

^c — *δι. G.*

^d *ἵνα* is preferred by Griesbach.

^e *ὑμῶν δακρυόεις. G.*

Matth. xx. 20—28.

27. Καὶ ὅς εαν θελῇ ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι πρῶτος, εἶσθι ὑμῶν δούλος.

28. Ὡς περ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ ἦλθε διακονηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι, καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντι πολλῶν.

Mark x. 35—45.

44. Καὶ ὅς αν θελῇ ὑμῶν γενεσθαι πρῶτος, εἶσθι πάντων δούλος.

45. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ ἦλθε διακονηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι, καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντι πολλῶν.

REMARKS.

' Here likewise Griesbach prefers *mat.*

THIRD DIVISION.

EXAMPLE OF VERBAL AGREEMENT IN THE SECTIONS COMMON ONLY TO ST. MARK AND ST. LUKE.

SECTION I.

Christ cures a demoniac in the synagogue at
Capernaum.

Mark i. 21—28.

24. Εα, τι ἡμιν και σοι
Ιησὺ Ναζαρηνη; ηλθες απο-
λῆσαι ἡμας; οἶδα σε τις εἰ,
ὁ ἅγιος τῆ Θεοῦ.

25. Καὶ ἐπετιμήσεν αὐτῷ
ὁ Ιησὺς, λεγων· φιμωθητι, και
ἐξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

Luke iv. 31—37.

34. Εα, τι ἡμιν και σοι,
Ιησοῦ Ναζαρηνη; ηλθες απο-
λῆσαι ἡμας; οἶδα σε τις εἰ,
ὁ ἅγιος τῆ Θεοῦ.

35. Καὶ ἐπετιμήσεν αὐτῷ
ὁ Ιησὺς, λεγων· φιμωθητι, και
ἐξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

This is the only instance of verbal agreement, which I have observed in the sections common only to St. Mark and St. Luke: and in the rest even of this section St. Mark and St. Luke have expressed themselves very differently. A complete analysis of this section is given in Eichhorn's Allgem. Bibl. Vol. V. p. 957—960.

THIRD DIVISION.

**EXAMPLE OF VERBAL AGREEMENT IN THE
SECTIONS COMMON ONLY TO ST. MARK
AND ST. LUKE^a.**

SECTION I.

**Christ cures a demoniac in the synagogue at
Capernaum.**

REMARKS.

^a Eichhorn Allgem. Bibl. Vol. V. p. 950.

FOURTH DIVISION.

EXAMPLES OF VERBAL AGREEMENT IN THE SECTIONS COMMON ONLY TO ST. MATTHEW AND ST. LUKE^b.

SECTION 1.

Sermon on the mount^b.

Matth. v. vi. vii.

Luke vi. 20—49, &c.

v. 44. Αγαπατε τας
εχθρους υμων· ευλογειτε τας
καταρωμενους υμας· καλως
ποιειτε τας μισεντας· υμας·
και προσευχεσθε υμερ των
επηρεαζοντων^d υμας.

vi. 21. 'Οπως γαρ εστιν ο
θησαυρος υμων, εκει εστι και
η καρδια υμων.

22, 23. 'Ο λυχνος τς σω-
ματος εστιν ο οφθαλμος· εαν
εν ο οφθαλμος σε απλς η,
ολον το σωμα σε φωτεινον
εστι· εαν δε ο οφθαλμος σου
πονηρος η, ολον το σωμα σου
σκοτεινον εστι.

vi. 27, 28. Αγαπατε τας
εχθρας υμων· καλως ποιειτε
τοις μισοσιν υμας· ευλογειτε
τους καταρωμενους υμιν· και
προσευχεσθε υπερ των επηρε-
αζοντων^d υμας.

xii. 34. 'Οπως γαρ εστιν ο
θησαυρος υμων εκει και
η καρδια υμων εστι.

xi. 34. 'Ο λυχνος τς σω-
ματος εστιν ο οφθαλμος· οταν
εν ο οφθαλμος σε απλς η,
και ολον το σωμα σε φωτεινον
εστι· επαν δε πονηρος η, και
το σωμα σε σκοτεινον.

FOURTH DIVISION.

EXAMPLES OF VERBAL AGREEMENT IN THE SECTIONS COMMON ONLY TO ST. MATTHEW AND ST. LUKE^a.

SECTION I.

Sermon on the mount^b.

REMARKS.

^a Eichhorn Allgem. Bibl. Vol. V. p. 964. Eichhorn reckons among these sections the additional circumstances relative to Christ's temptation, which are recorded by St. Matthew, ch. iv. 1. &c. and by St. Luke, ch. iv. 1, &c. But I have omitted this section here, because it properly belongs to Sect. III. in the First Division, where the verbal agreement has been already stated. On the other hand, Sect. IV. VII. VIII. IX. X. XI. in the following list are not noted by Eichhorn, where he mentions the portions peculiar to St. Matthew and St. Luke.

^b In St. Matthew's Gospel the sermon on the mount takes up three whole chapters, v. vi. vii.: in St. Luke's Gospel only thirty verses, ch. vi. 20—49. But since many of the precepts, which St. Matthew has delivered in connexion, are found in scattered parts of the long portion, Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. I have brought into the present section those, which have a verbal coincidence with St. Matthew.

^c τοῦ μισθου. G. If we adopt this reading, which is undoubtedly the genuine one, the words used in this passage by St. Matthew and St. Luke are precisely the same. In the arrangement there is a small difference: for the second and third precepts are placed in a different order.

^d Neither St. Matthew nor St. Luke have used *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ* on any other occasion. It is a word, which never occurs in the LXX: and is used only in one other instance in the whole New Testament.

^e + ου. G.

Matth. v. vi. vii.

Luke vi. 20—49, &c.

24. Ουδεις δυναται δυσι κυριοις δελευειν· η γαρ τον ενα μισησει, και τον ετερον αγαπησει, η ενος ανδεζεται, και τς ετερς καταφρονησει· ε δυνασθε Θεω δελευειν και μαμμωνα.

25. Δια τστο λεγω υμιν· μη μεριμνατε τη ψυχη υμων τι φαγητε, και τι πιητε, μηδε τη σωματι υμων τι ενδυσησθε. Ουχι η ψυχη πλειον εστι της τροφης, και το σωμα τς ενδυματος;

26.

27. Τις δε εξ υμων μεριμνων δυναται προσθειναι επι την ηλικιαν αυτς πηχυν ενα;

28, 29. Καταμαθετε τα κρινα τς αγρς, πως αυξανει· ου κοπια, ουδε νηθει· λεγω δε υμιν, οτι ουδε Σολομων εν παση τη δοξη αυτς περιεβαλετο ως εν τςτων.

30. Ει δε τον χορτον του αγρς, σημερον οντα, και αυριον εις κλιβανον βαλλομενον, ο Θεος ουτως αμφιεννυσι, ε πολλω μαλλον υμας, ολιγοπιστοι;

31.

xvi. 13. Ουδεις οικετης δυναται δυσι κυριοις δελευειν· η γαρ τον ενα μισησει, και τον ετερον αγαπησει, η ενος ανδεζεται, και τς ετερς καταφρονησει· ε δυνασθε Θεω δελευειν και μαμμωνα.

xii. 22, 23. Δια τουτο υμιν λεγω· μη μεριμνατε τη ψυχη υμων, τι φαγητε, μηδε τη σωματι τι ενδυσησθε. Η ψυχη πλειον εστι της τροφης, και το σωμα τς ενδυματος.

24. The same subject, but in different words.

25. Τις δε εξ υμων μεριμνων δυναται προσθειναι επι την ηλικιαν αυτς πηχυν ενα;

26. Corresponds to the former part of Math. vi. 28. but the words are different.

27. Κατανοησατε τα κρινα, πως αυξανει· ου κοπια, ουδε νηθει· λεγω δε υμιν, οτι ουδε Σολομων εν παση τη δοξη αυτς περιεβαλετο ως εν τουτων.

28. Ει δε τον χορτον εν τη αγρ, σημερον οντα, και αυριον εις κλιβανον βαλλομενον, ο Θεος ουτως αμφιεννυσι ποσω μαλλον υμας ολιγοπιστοι;

29. The same subject, in different words.

REMARKS.

Matth. v. vi. vii.

32. Παντα γαρ ταυτα τα
εθνη ἐπιζητει·
οιδε γαρ ὁ πατηρ ὑμων ὁ
εβρανιος, ὅτι χρῆζετε τστων
ἀπαντων.

33. Ζητειτε δε πρωτον την
βασιλειαν τσ Θεσ, και την
δικαιοσυνην αυτσ· και ταυτα
παντα προστεθησεται ὑμιν.

vii. 1. Μη κρινετε, ινα
μη κριθητε.

2. Εν ᾧ γαρ κριματι, κρι-
νετε κριθησεσθε και εν ᾧ με-
τρῳ μετρειτε, αντιμετρη-
θησεται ὑμιν.

3. Τι δε βλεπεις το καρ-
φος το εν τῳ οφθαλμῳ του
αδελφσ σσ, την δε εν τῳ σῳ
οφθαλμῳ δοκον σ κατανοεις ;

5. Ὑποκριτα, εκβαλε
πρωτον την δοκον εκ τσ οφθαλ-
μσ σσ, και τοτε διαβλεψεις· εκ-
βαλειν το καρφος εκ τσ οφ-
θαλμσ τσ αδελφσ σσ.

7. Αιτειτε, και δοθησεται
ὑμιν· ζητειτε και εὔρησετε·
κρσετε, και ανοιγησεται ὑμιν.

8. Πας γαρ ὁ αιτων λαμ-
βανει, και ὁ ζητων εὔρισκει,
και τῳ κρουντι ανοιγησεται.

Mark vi. 20—49, &c.

30. Ταυτα γαρ παντα τα
εθνη τσ κοσμσ ἐπιζητει· ὑμων
δε ὁ πατηρ οιδεν,
ὅτι χρῆζετε τστων.

31. Πλην ζητειτε την
βασιλειαν τσ Θεσ·

και ταυτα
παντα προστεθησεται ὑμιν.

vi. 37. Μη κρινετε, και σ
μη κριθητε.

38.

τῳ γαρ αυτῳ με-
τρῳ ᾧ μετρειτε, αντιμετρηθη-
σεται ὑμιν.

41. Τι δε βλεπεις το καρ-
φος το εν τῳ οφθαλμῳ του
αδελφσ σσ, την δε δοκον την εν
τῳ ιδιῳ οφθαλμῳ σ κατανοεις ;

42. Ὑποκριτα, εκβαλε
πρωτον την δοκον εκ τσ οφθαλ-
μσ σσ, και τοτε διαβλεψεις εκ-
βαλειν το καρφος το εν τῳ οφ-
θαλμῳ του αδελφου σου.

xi. 9. Αιτειτε, και δοθησεται
ὑμιν· ζητειτε, και εὔρησετε·
κρσετε, και ανοιγησεται ὑμιν.

10. Πας γαρ ὁ αιτων λαμ-
βανει, και ὁ ζητων εὔρισκει,
και τῳ κρουντι ανοιγησεται.

THREE FIRST GOSPELS.

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REMARKS.

'Αιςλκς used here both by St. Matthew and St. Luke occurs no where else, either in the New Testament, or in the Septuagint, or the Greek Apocrypha. Nor has it been hitherto quoted from any classic author.

SECTION II.

Cure of the centurion's servant at Capernaum.

Matth. viii. 5—13.

8. Κυριε,
εκ εimi ικανος ινα με υπο την
τεγην εισελθης·

αλλα μονον ειπε λογον*, και
ιαθησεται ο παις με.

9. Και γαρ εγω ανθρωπος
εimi υπο εξουσιαν,
εχων υπ' εμαυτον στρατιωτας·
κα λεγω τστω, πορευθητι,
κα' ι πορευεται· και αλλω,
ερχσ και ερχεται· και τω
δωλω με, ποιησον τστω, και
ποιει.

10. Ακουσας δε ο
Ιησους εθαυμασε· και
ειπε τοις ακολουθουσιν· αμην
λεγω υμιν, ουδε
εν τω Ισραηλ τοσαυτην πισιν
ευρον.

Luke vii. 1—10.

6, 7. Κυριε, μη σκυλλσ· σ
γαρ εimi ικανος ινα υπο την
τεγην με εισελθης διο σδε
εμαυτον ηξιωσα προς σε ελθειν·
αλλα ειπε λογω και
ιαθησεται ο παις μου.

8. Και γαρ εγω ανθρωπος
εimi υπο εξουσιαν τασσομενος,
εχων υπ' εμαυτον στρατιωτας·
και λεγω τστω, πορευθητι,
και πορευεται· και αλλω, ερ-
χου και ερχεται· και τω δου-
λω μου, ποιησον τουτο, και
ποιει.

9. Ακουσας δε ταυτα ο
Ιησους εθαυμασεν αυτον· και
εγραφει τω ακολουθοντι αυτω
οχλω, ειπε· λεγω υμιν, ουδε
εν τω Ισραηλ τοσαυτην πισιν
ευρον.

SECTION II.

Cure of the centurion's servant at Capernaum.

REMARKS.

* *Aoyy. G.* If we adopt this reading, St. Matthew's text agrees with that of St. Luke, though the latter has additions not contained in the former.

SECTION III.

Christ's discourse with certain persons, who wished to become his disciples.

Matth. viii. 19—22.

20. Αἱ αλωπεκες φωλεας
εχουσι, και τα πετεινα του
βραυς κατασκηνωσεις· ὁ δε υἱος
το ανθρωπου εκ εχει πα την
κεφαλην κλινη.

22. Ὁ δε Ιησους ειπεν αυτω,
ακολουθει μοι, και αφες τους
νεκρους θαψαι τους εαυτων
νεκρους·

Luke ix. 57—62.

58. Αἱ αλωπεκες φωλεους
εχουσι, και τα πετεινα του
βραυς κατασκηνωσεις· ὁ δε υἱος
το ανθρωπου εκ εχει πα την
κεφαλην κλινη.

60. Ειπε δε αυτω ὁ Ιησους·
αφες τους
νεκρους θαψαι τους εαυτων
νεκρους.

SECTION III.

Christ's discourse with certain persons, who wished to become his disciples.

REMARKS.

In the Syriac version these words are rendered by ܐܢܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܬܝܢ, 'sine mortuos sepelientes mortuos suos,' that is, 'sine mortuos sepelire mortuos suos,' for in Syriac the participle is frequently used instead of the infinitive. Hence Bolten in a Note to his German translation of St. Matthew's Gospel, p. 138 (Bericht des Matthæus, Altona, 1792, 8vo.) conjectures, that these were the words of Christ, as first committed to writing in Syriac or Chaldee, but that his real meaning was different from that which is expressed in the translation of them exhibited in the Greek texts of St. Matthew and St. Luke. He supposes namely, that ܐܢܬܝܢ was intended to express, not 'sepelientes,' but 'sepelientibus,' like ܐܢܬܝܢ, since ܐ, the sign of the dative, is frequently understood. The meaning of the Syriac words will then be, 'Relinque mortuos sepelientibus mortuos suos.' This is certainly a very ingenious conjecture, as it is much more intelligible, when we say, 'Leave the dead to those, whose office it is to bury the dead,' than when we say, 'Leave the dead to bury the dead,' which, after all the pains, which commentators have bestowed on it, still remains, as Wetstein says, *sententia paradoxa*. Now admitting that this conjecture, which Eichhorn (Allg. Bib. Vol. V. p. 970.) has likewise adopted, be true, the question to be asked in our present inquiry is this: Is it probable that two independent translators should deviate from the meaning of their original, not only in the same place, but precisely in the same manner? If the passage occurred either in St. Matthew alone, or in St. Luke alone, one might conjecture, that the Greek text was originally ἀφ' αὐτῶν αὐτοὶ ἀφήκοντες τοὺς νεκροὺς, and that through an oversight of transcribers the αὐτῶν ἀφήκοντες was omitted, and the participle thus converted into the infinite ἀφήκοντες. But that the same oversight should have happened in both places is not probable.

SECTION IV.

Parable of the plenteous harvest and the few labourers.

Matth. ix. 37, 38.

Ὁ μὲν θερισμός πολὺς, οἱ δὲ ἐργαταὶ ὀλίγοι. Δεήθητε ἐν τῇ κυρίῳ τῷ θερισμῷ, ὥπως ἐκβάλῃ ἐργάτας εἰς τὸν θερισμὸν αὐτοῦ.

Luke x. 2.

Ὁ μὲν θερισμός πολὺς, οἱ δὲ ἐργαταὶ ὀλίγοι. Δεήθητε ἐν τῇ κυρίῳ τῷ θερισμῷ, ὥπως ἐκβάλλῃ ἐργάτας εἰς τὸν θερισμὸν αὐτοῦ.

SECTION V.

Christ's discourse on the message of John the Baptist.

Matth. xi. 2—19.

3. Σὺ εἰ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἡ ἕτερον προσδοκῶμεν;

45. Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πορευθέντες ἀπαγγέilate Ἰωάννῃ ἃ ἀκούετε καὶ βλέπετε. τυφλοὶ ἀναβλεποῦσι, καὶ χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσι, λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται, καὶ κωφοὶ ἀκούσι, νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται, καὶ πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται.

6. Καὶ μακάριος ἐστὶν, ὅς ἐάν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί.

Luke vii. 19—35.

19. Σὺ εἰ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἡ ἄλλον προσδοκῶμεν;

22. Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πορευθέντες ἀπαγγέilate Ἰωάννῃ ἃ εἰδέτε καὶ ἤκουσατε· ὅτι τυφλοὶ ἀναβλεποῦσι, χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσι, λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται, κωφοὶ ἀκούσι, νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται, πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται.

23. Καὶ μακάριος ἐστὶν, ὅς ἐάν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί.

SECTION IV.

Parable of the plenteous harvest and the few labourers.

REMARKS.

SECTION V.

Christ's discourse on the message of John the Baptist.

REMARKS.

Matth. xi. 2—19.

7. Τούτων δε πορευομένων
ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγειν
τοῖς σχολοῖς περὶ Ἰωάννου·
τί ἐξηλθετε εἰς τὴν ἐρημον
θεασασθαι; καλαμὸν ὑπὸ ἀνε-
μου σαλευόμενον;

8. Ἀλλὰ τί ἐξηλθετε
ἰδεῖν; ἀνθρώπον ἐν μαλακοῖς
ἱματίοις ἡμφιεσμένον; ἰδοὺ οἱ
τα μαλακά φοροῦντες ἐν τοῖς
οἰκοῖς τῶν βασιλείων
εἰσιν.

9. Ἀλλὰ τί ἐξηλθετε
ἰδεῖν; προφήτην; ναι λέγω
ὑμῖν, καὶ περισσότερον προ-
φήτου.

10. Οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶ, περὶ ὃ
γεγραπται· ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω
τὸν ἀγγέλον μου πρὸ προσώπου
σου, ὅς κατασκευάσῃ τὴν ὁδὸν
σου ἐμπροσθεν σου^δ.

11. Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐκ
ἐγῆγερται ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναι-
κῶν^ε μείζων Ἰωάννης τῆ βαπ-
τίστου· ὁ δὲ μικρότερος
ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν
μείζων αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ.

12—15. An insertion,
not contained in St. Luke's
text.

Luke vii. 19—35.

24. Ἀπελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἀγ-
γέλων Ἰωάννης, ἤρξατο λέγειν
πρὸς τοὺς σχολοὺς περὶ Ἰωάννου·
τί ἐξεληλυθατέ^α εἰς τὴν ἐρημον
θεασασθαι; καλαμὸν ὑπὸ ἀνε-
μου σαλευόμενον;

25. Ἀλλὰ τί ἐξεληλυθατέ
ἰδεῖν; ἀνθρώπον ἐν μαλακοῖς
ἱματίοις ἡμφιεσμένον; ἰδοὺ οἱ
ἐν ἱματισμῷ ἐνδοξῷ καὶ τρυφῇ
ὑπάρχοντες ἐν τοῖς βασιλείαις
εἰσιν.

26. Ἀλλὰ τί ἐξεληλυθατέ
ἰδεῖν; προφήτην; ναι λέγω
ὑμῖν καὶ περισσότερον προ-
φήτου.

27. Οὗτος ἐστὶ περὶ οὗ
γεγραπται· ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω
τὸν ἀγγέλον μου πρὸ προσώ-
που σου, ὅς κατασκευάσῃ τὴν
ὁδὸν σου ἐμπροσθεν σου

28. Λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν,
μείζων ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν
προφήτης Ἰωάννης τῆ βαπτί-
στῆς οὐδεὶς ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ μικρότερος
ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ
μείζων αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ.

29, 30. An insertion,
not contained in St. Mat-
thew's text.

REMARKS.

* Throughout the whole of this section, where St. Matthew has *παθ*, and *παθῆτι*, St. Luke has the Attic form *παλευθ* and *παλευθετι*,

• In this quotation from Malachi iii. 1. the words used by St. Matthew and St. Luke are precisely the same : yet they materially differ from the words of the LXX. which are, *ιδε, εξαποσταλῶ τον αγγελον μου, και επιβλεψεται ιδον προσωπον μου* : and moreover these words of the LXX. are a close translation of the Hebrew text in this passage, *הִנְנִי שְׁלַח מַלְאכִי ופְנָה דֶרֶךְ לִפְנֵי*. Further, the same quotation is made by St. Mark, though in a different place, viz. ch. i. 2. and in the very same words, which are here used by St. Matthew and St. Luke. Now would this close verbal agreement, under these circumstances, be possible, if the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke contained three independent translations of a Hebrew or Chaldee original ?

• The expression *γεννηται γενεαμεν* used in this place both by St. Matthew and St. Luke occurs no where else in the whole New Testament.

Matth. xi. 2—19.

16, 17. Τινι δε ὁμοιωσω
την γενεαν ταυ-
την;

ὅμοια ἐστὶ παιδαριοῖς^d ἐν
αγοραῖς καθημενοῖς, καὶ προσ-
φωνεῖσι τοῖς ἑταίροις αὐτῶν,
καὶ λεγουσιν· ἤλυσάμεν ὑμῖν,
καὶ οὐκ ὤρχησασθε· ἐθρηνήσα-
μεν ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκοψασθε^e.

18. Ἦλθε γὰρ Ἰωάννης,
μητε ἐσ-
θίων, μητε πινῶν, καὶ
λεγουσὶ δαιμονιον ἐχει.

19. Ἦλθεν ὁ υἱὸς
τῆς ἀνθρώπου ἐσθίων καὶ πινῶν·
καὶ λεγουσιν ἰδοὺ ἀνθρώπος
φαγὸς καὶ οἰνοποτῆς, τελῶ-
νων φίλος, καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν·
καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν
τεκνῶν αὐτῆς.

Luke vii. 19—35.

31, 32. Τινι οὖν ὁμοιωσω
τῆς ἀνθρώπου τῆς γενεας ταυ-
τῆς; καὶ τινι εἰσὶν ὅμοιοι;
ὅμοιοι εἰσὶ παιδίοις τοῖς ἐν
αγορᾷ καθημενοῖς καὶ προσ-
φωνεῖσιν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ
λεγουσιν· ἤλυσάμεν ὑμῖν, καὶ
οὐκ ὤρχησασθε· ἐθρηνήσαμεν
ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκλαυσάτε.

33. Ἐληλυθε γὰρ Ἰωάννης
ὁ βαπτιστῆς, μητε ἄρτον ἐσ-
θίων, μητε οἶνον πινῶν, καὶ
λεγετε δαιμονιον ἐχει.

34, 35. Ἐληλυθεν ὁ υἱὸς
τῆς ἀνθρώπου ἐσθίων καὶ πινῶν·
καὶ λεγετε ἰδὲ ἀνθρώπος φα-
γὸς καὶ οἰνοποτῆς, τελῶνων
φίλος^f, καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν· καὶ
ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν
τεκνῶν αὐτῆς πάντων.

REMARKS.

* παιδίοις. G.

* Ver. 16, 17, I produce here merely for the sake of connexion, and not as instances of verbal agreement.

* φίλος τιλνιων. G.

SECTION VI.

Woe denounced to Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum.

Matth. xi. 20—30.

21. Ουαι σοι, Χοραζίν, και σοι, Βηθσαιδαν· ὅτι αἱ ἐν Τυρῷ και Σιδωνι ἐγενοντο αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γινόμεναι ἐν ὑμῖν, παλαι αὖ ἐν σακκῷ και σποδῷ μετενοήσαν.

22. Πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν· Τυρῷ και Σιδωνι ἀνεκτοτερον ἔσται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως, ἢ ὑμῖν.

23. Καὶ σὺ Καπερναοὺμ, ἣ ἕως τῆς θράνης ὑψώθεις, ἕως ᾗδου καταβιβασθήσῃ.

The remaining part of this verse, and ver. 24, are not contained in St. Luke's text.

25, 26. Εὐλογοῦμαι σοί, πατέρ, κυρίῃ τῆς θράνης και τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἀπεκρύψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν και συνετῶν, και ἀπεκαλύψας αὐτὰ νηπιείοις· ναι, ὁ πατήρ, ὅτι οὕτως ἐγένετο εὐδοκία ἐμπροσθεν σου.

27. Πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τῆς πατρὸς μου· και εἰς ἐπὶ γινώσκει τὸν υἱόν, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ· ουδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις ἐπὶ γινώσκει, εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, και ὃς ἐὰν βεληται ὁ υἱός ἀποκαλυφαι.

Luke x. 13—15. 21, 22.

13. Ουαι σοι, Χοραζίν, και σοι Βηθσαιδα· ὅτι αἱ ἐν Τυρῷ και Σιδωνι ἐγενοντο αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γινόμεναι ἐν ὑμῖν, παλαι αὖ ἐν σακκῷ και σποδῷ καθημέναι μετενοήσαν.

14. Πλὴν Τυρῷ και Σιδωνι ἀνεκτοτερον ἔσται ἐν τῇ κρίσει, ἢ ὑμῖν.

15. Καὶ σὺ Καπερναοὺμ, ἣ ἕως τῆς θράνης ὑψώθεις, ἕως ᾗδου καταβιβασθήσῃ.

21. Εὐλογοῦμαι σοί, πατέρ, κυρίῃ τῆς θράνης και τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἀπεκρύψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν και συνετῶν, και ἀπεκαλύψας αὐτὰ νηπιείοις· ναι, ὁ πατήρ^b, ὅτι οὕτως ἐγένετο εὐδοκία ἐμπροσθεν σοῦ^c.

22. Πάντα παρεδόθη μοι^d ὑπὸ τῆς πατρὸς μου· και εἰς γινώσκει τις ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ· και τις ἐστὶν ὁ πατήρ, εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, και ὃς ἐὰν βεληται ὁ υἱός ἀποκαλυφαι^e.

SECTION VI

Woe denounced to Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum.

REMARKS.

^a *Bethsaida*. C. D. K. L. It is likewise thus written by Origen.

^b It is remarkable that St. Matthew and St. Luke here agree in using the nominative *ὦ πόλις* as equivalent to the vocative *πόλις*, though they have never done so on any other occasion, and though they had both used the vocative immediately before.

^c In the common editions is added at the end of this verse, *καὶ γραφὴς πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ*: but Griesbach has very rightly rejected it.

^d *μοι παραδοθήναι*. G.

^e From the preceding statement it appears that the whole of this section in St. Luke's text agrees, with a very few exceptions, word for word with that of Matthew.

Matth. xi. 20—30.

Luke x. 13—15. 21, 22.

28—30. To these two verses there is nothing, which corresponds in St. Luke's text.

SECTION VII.

Additions peculiar to St. Matthew and St. Luke, in Christ's confutation of the opinion, that he cast out devils by Beelzebub.

Matth. xii. 27, 28. 30.

Luke xi. 19, 20. 23.

27. Και ει εγω εν Βεελζεβουλ εκβαλλω τα δαιμονια, οί υιοι υμων εν τινι εκβαλλουσι; δια τουτο αυτοι υμων εσονται κριται;

28. Ει δε εγω εν πνευματι Θεου εκβαλλω τα δαιμονια, αρα εφθασεν εφ' υμας η βασιλεια του Θεου.

30. 'Ο μη ων μετ' εμου, κατ' εμω εστι· και ο μη συναγων μετ' εμου, σκορπιζει.

19. Ει δε εγω εν Βεελζεβουλ εκβαλλω τα δαιμονια, οί υιοι υμων εν τινι εκβαλλουσι; δια τουτα κριται υμων αυτοι εσονται.

20. Ει δε εν δακτυλφ Θεου εκβαλλω τα δαιμονια, αρα εφθασεν εφ' υμας η βασιλεια του Θεου.

23. 'Ο μη ων μετ' εμου, κατ' εμω εστι· και ο μη συναγων μετ' εμου, σκορπιζει.

REMARKS.

SECTION VII.

Additions peculiar to St. Matthew and St. Luke, in Christ's confutation of the opinion, that he cast out devils by Beelzebub.

REMARKS.

SECTION VIII.

Christ's censure of certain persons, who required of him a sign.

Matth. xii. 38—45.

41. Ανδρες Νινευιται^α ανασησονται εν τη κρισει μετα της γενεας ταυτης, και κατακρινουσιν αυτην, οτι μετενοησαν εις το κηρυγμα Ιωνα· και ιδε, πλειον Ιωνα ωδε.

42. Βασίλισσα νοτις εγερθησεται εν τη κρισει μετα

της γενεας ταυτης, και κατακρινει αυτην· οτι ηλθεν εκ των περατων της γης, ακουσαι την σοφian Σολομωντος· και ιδου πλειον Σολομωντος ωδε.

43, 44. Όταν δε το ακαρτον πνευμα εξελθη απο τς ανθρωπου, διερχεται δι' ανδρων τοπων, ζητουν αναπαυσιν, και ουχ' εύρισκει· τότε λεγει επισρεψω εις τον οικον μου, οθεν εξηλθον· και ελθον εύρισκει σχολαζοντα, σεσαρωμενον, και κεκοσμημενον.

45. Τότε πορευεται, και παραλαμβάνει μεθ' έαυτου έπτα έτερα πνευματα πονηροτερα έαυτου, και εισελθοντα κατοικει εκει· και γινεται τα εσχατα του ανθρωπου εκεινου χειρονα των πρωτων.

Luke xi. 24—32.

32. Ανδρες Νινευι^α ανασησονται εν τη κρισει μετα της γενεας ταυτης, και κατακρινουσιν αυτην οτι μετενοησαν εις το κηρυγμα Ιωνα· και ιδε πλειον Ιωνα ωδε.

31. Βασίλισσα νοτου εγερθησεται εν τη κρισει μετα των ανδρων της γενεας ταυτης και κατακρινει αυτες· οτι ηλθεν εκ των περατων της γης ακουσαι την σοφian Σολομωντος· και ιδου πλειον Σολομωντος ωδε.

24, 25. Όταν το ακαρτον πνευμα εξελθη απο τς ανθρωπου, διερχεται δι' ανδρων τοπων, ζητην αναπαυσιν, και μη εύρισκον. λεγει υποτρεψω εις τον οικον μου, οθεν εξηλθον· και ελθων εύρισκει σεσαρωμενον, και κεκοσμημενον.

26. Τότε πορευεται και παραλαμβάνει έπτα έτερα πνευματα πονηροτερα έαυτου, και εισελθοντα κατοικει εκει· και γινεται τα εσχατα του ανθρωπου εκεινου χειρονα των πρωτων.

SECTION VIII.

Christ's censure of certain persons, who required of him a sign.

REMARKS.

a *Nirvira* is the reading also of St. Luke's Gospel in the Codd. Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, Ephrem, Stephani, Des Camps, and fifty-eight other Greek MSS.

SECTION IX.

Parable of the leaven.

Matth. xiii. 33.

Ὅμοια ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία
τῶν οὐρανῶν ζύμη, ἣν λαβούσα
γυνὴ ἐνεκρύψεν εἰς ἀλευρου-
σάτα τρία, ἕως οὗ ἐζύμωθη
ὅλον.

Luke xiii. 20, 21.

Ὅμοια ἐστὶν
ζύμη, ἣν λαβούσα
γυνὴ ἐνεκρύψεν εἰς ἀλευρου-
σάτα τρία, ἕως οὗ ἐζύμωθη
ὅλον.

SECTION X.

Christ's lamentation over the fate of Jerusalem.

Matth. xxiii. 37—39.

Ἱερουσαλὴμ, Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἡ
ἀποκτείνουσα τὰς προφῆτας,
καὶ λιθοβολοῦσα τὰς ἀπεσταλ-
μένους πρὸς αὐτήν, πόσακις
ἠθέλησα ἐπισυναγαγεῖν τὰ τέκ-
να σου, ὃν τρόπον ἐπισυναγι-
οῦναι τὰ νοσσία ἑαυτῆς ὑπὸ
τὰς πτερυγὰς, καὶ σὺ ἠθέλη-
σατε; Ἴδὲ ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος
ὑμῶν ἐρημος· λέγω γὰρ
ὑμῖν· οὐ μὴ με ἴδητε, ἕως ἂν
εἴπητε, εὐλογημένος
ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

Luke xiii. 34, 35.

Ἱερουσαλὴμ, Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἡ
ἀποκτείνουσα τοὺς προφῆτας,
καὶ λιθοβολοῦσα τὰς ἀπεσταλ-
μένους πρὸς αὐτήν, πόσακις
ἠθέλησα ἐπισυναγαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα
σου, ὃν τρόπον οἰκίσαι
τὴν ἑαυτῆς νοσσίαν ὑπὸ τὰς
πτερυγὰς, καὶ σὺ ἠθέλησατε;
Ἴδὲ ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν
ἐρημος^b. ἀμὴν^c· δε λέγω
ὑμῖν, ὅτι σὺ μὴ με ἴδητε ἕως ἂν
ἤξῃ ὅτε^d εἴπητε, εὐλογημένος
ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

SECTION IX.

Parable of the leaven.

REMARKS.

^a The nominative is not expressed here by St. Luke, because he had used it in the preceding sentence.

SECTION X.

Christ's lamentation over the fate of Jerusalem.

REMARKS.

^a Τα ιαυτης νοσσια. A. D. K. M.

^b — λεημοσ. G.

^c — αμην. G.

^d ηξη οτι. B. K. L. Syr. Copt. Arm.

SECTION XI.

Parable of the faithful and unfaithful servants.

Matth. xxiv. 45—51.

46. Μακάριος ὁ δούλος
ἐκεῖνος, ὃν ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος αὐ-
τοῦ εὕρησιν ποιεῖντα οὕτως.

47. Ἀμην λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι
ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπαρχουσιν αὐτοῦ
καταστήσει αὐτόν.

48. Ἐὰν δὲ εἴπῃ ὁ κακὸς
δούλος ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ
αὐτοῦ· χρονίζει ὁ κύριος μὲν,
κ. τ. λ.

50. Ἦξει ὁ κύριος τὸ δού-
λον ἐκεῖνον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ οὐ προσ-
δοκᾷ, καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἡ οὐ γινώσκει,
καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτόν.

Luke xii. 42—48.

43. Μακάριος ὁ δούλος
ἐκεῖνος, ὃν ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος
αὐτοῦ εὕρησιν ποιεῖντα οὕτως.

44. Ἀληθῶς λέγω ὑμῖν,
ὅτι ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπαρχουσιν
αὐτοῦ καταστήσει αὐτόν.

45. Ἐὰν δὲ εἴπῃ ὁ
δούλος ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ
αὐτοῦ· χρονίζει ὁ κύριος μου,
κ. τ. λ.

46. Ἦξει ὁ κύριος τὸ δού-
λον ἐκεῖνον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ οὐ προσδοκᾷ,
καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἡ οὐ γινώσκει, καὶ
διχοτομήσει αὐτόν.

SECTION XI.

Parable of the faithful and unfaithful servants.

REMARKS.

^a Instead of ἡ εὐπορία, and ἡ εὐνομία, both St. Matthew and St. Luke agree in the same place in using ἡ εὐπορία, and ἡ εὐνομία, according to the rule, which grammarians call attraction. This is the only verse throughout the whole Gospel of St. Matthew, in which this construction is found, and therefore St. Matthew's agreement with St. Luke in this verse is the more remarkable.

SECTION XII.

- Parable of a prince, who travelled into a distant country.

Matth. xxv. 14—30. | Luke xix. 11—28. |

Throughout the whole of this long section there is not a single instance of verbal agreement, except in a *part* of one verse, Matth. xxv. 29. Luke xix, 26^a.

SECTION XII.

Parable of a prince, who travelled into a distant country.

REMARKS.

*** In the portion Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. there are likewise several sections, which St. Matthew has in detached parts of his Gospel, but in very different words. For instance,**

Luke xi. 39—52.	Matth. xxiii. 4—7. 23—36.
xii. 1—9.	x. 26—33.
xiv. 16—24.	xxii. 1—14.
xv. 3—7.	xviii. 12—14.

RESULT

OF THE

PRECEDING STATEMENT.

THE preceding statement of parallel and coincident passages from the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, exhibits many very remarkable phenomena, which will be found of considerable use in determining the origin and composition of our three first Gospels. But before I point them out, I will propose, partly for the sake of perspicuity, partly for the sake of brevity, the following notation, which may be adopted in the description of these phenomena.

Let \aleph denote all those parts of the XLII. general sections, which are contained in all three Evangelists^a.

^a Though each of the XLII. general sections contains a principal transaction, which is recorded in all three Gospels, yet as certain circumstances attending the same transaction are sometimes noted by St. Matthew and St. Mark, but not by St. Luke, at other times by St. Mark and St. Luke, but not by St. Matthew, at other times again by St. Matthew and St. Luke, but not by St. Mark, it is necessary to distinguish those parts of the XLII. general sections, which are common to all three Gospels, from the additions, which are found in only two.—With the additions, which each Evangelist has peculiar to himself, we are at present not concerned, because our inquiry now relates only to a comparison of the passages, which are found in more than one Gospel. Of the parts, which are peculiar to each Gospel notice will be taken hereafter, when the phenomena, not in the verbal agreement, but in the contents of the Gospels, come under consideration.

Let α denote the additions made to \aleph in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, but not in that of St. Luke.

β the additions made to \aleph in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, but not in that of St. Matthew.

γ the additions made to \aleph in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, but not in that of St. Mark.

In the preceding Table of parallel passages, \aleph , with the additions α , β , γ , belong to the First Division.

A whole sections found in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, but not in that of St. Luke. These belong to the Second Division.

B whole sections found in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, but not in that of St. Matthew. These belong to the Third Division.

Γ whole sections found in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, but not in that of St. Mark. These belong to the Fourth Division.

St. Matthew's Gospel then contains	$\aleph + \alpha + \gamma + A + \Gamma$
St. Mark's Gospel - - -	$\aleph + \alpha + \beta + A + B$
St. Luke's Gospel - - -	$\aleph + \beta + \gamma + B + \Gamma$

beside those parts
which each Evan-
gelist has peculiar
to himself.

This notation being adopted, I will now point out the several remarkable phenomena in the verbal agreement and disagreement of our three first Gospels, and arrange them in the order of the four divisions above stated.

**FIRST DIVISION, CONTAINING \aleph , WITH THE
ADDITIONS α , β , γ .**

1. In \aleph :

- a*). We meet with several examples in which all three Gospels verbally coincide: but these examples are not very numerous, and contain in general only one or two, or at the outside three sentences together.
- b*). The examples of verbal agreement in \aleph between St. Matthew and St. Mark are very numerous, and several of them are very long and remarkable; especially in Sect. XIV. XXXV. XXXVII. XXXVIII. XXXIX:
- c*). On the other hand, not one of those sections, which in St. Matthew's Gospel occupy different places from those, which they occupy in St. Mark's Gospel, exhibits a single instance of verbal agreement between St. Matthew and St. Mark. Thus beside Sect. V. and XI. there are not less than five successive sections, namely, XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. XIX^b. throughout which there is not a verbal agreement in any one sentence, though Sect. XIV. affords a very long example of close verbal coincidence, and Sect. XX. likewise affords examples. This phænomenon will be more fully explained in Ch. 16.

^b The five sections XV—XIX. include that portion of St. Mark's Gospel, which begins with ch. iv. 35. and ends with ch. vi. 29. and contains 78 verses, which is the largest interruption in St. Mark's verbal agreement with St. Matthew throughout the whole of St. Mark's Gospel: for every other chapter besides ch. v. has one or more instances of verbal agreement with St. Matthew, as may be seen on turning to the First and Second Divisions, in the Table of parallel and coincident passages.

- d). But in no instance throughout \aleph does St. Mark fail to agree verbally with St. Matthew, where St. Luke agrees verbally with St. Matthew.
 - e). There are frequent instances of verbal agreement in \aleph between St. Mark and St. Luke: though they are neither so numerous nor so long, as those between St. Matthew and St. Mark.
 - f). Upon the whole, the examples of verbal disagreement between St. Mark and St. Luke are much more numerous than the examples of agreement: yet throughout all \aleph St. Mark never fails to agree verbally with St. Luke, where St. Matthew, agrees verbally with St. Luke.
 - g). In several sections, St. Mark's text agrees in one place with that of St. Matthew, in another place with that of St. Luke, and therefore appears at first sight to be a compound of both.
 - h). There is not a single instance of verbal coincidence between St. Matthew and St. Luke only, throughout all \aleph : for throughout all \aleph they invariably relate the same thing in different words, except in the passages, where both of them agree at the same time with St. Mark.
 - i). Consequently in no part of \aleph does St. Matthew's Greek text agree partly with that of St. Mark, and partly with that of St. Luke, nor St. Luke's text partly with that of St. Matthew, and partly with that of St. Mark, as was just observed of St. Mark's text.
2. In α St. Matthew and St. Mark agree verbally in several instances, as may be seen on turning to Sect. I. XIV. XXI. XXXV. XXXVIII. XLI. XLII. On the other

that whatever supposition be the true one, it must account for all these phænomena, and that a supposition, if it does not account for these phænomena, cannot be the true one.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SUPPOSITION, THAT THE SUCCEEDING EVANGELISTS COPIED FROM THE PRECEDING, TRIED BY THE PHÆNOMENA IN THE VERBAL HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

LET us apply this criterion in the first place to the supposition, which many years ago was very generally received, 'that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding.'

Lardner, Eichhorn, Halfeld, and Russwurm, in the works, which have been quoted above, have produced very cogent, and, as far as I can judge, unanswerable arguments to prove, that the succeeding Evangelists, in whatever order they may be supposed to have written, had no knowledge of the writings of the preceding. Though it is unnecessary to repeat what has been written by others, and is likewise generally known, it may be observed that all their arguments are reducible to this principle, that if one Evangelist had used the Gospel of the other, the *contents* of his own Gospel would in many places have been very different from what they really are; namely, that apparent contradictions would have been avoided, and that remarkable facts, circumstances, determinations of time, &c. observable in the one, would not have been omitted in the other. But since the supposition, that one Evangelist copied from another, has been adopted by so many critics, in consequence of the verbal harmony of the Evangelists, it cannot be tried by a fairer test, than

the phænomena in that very harmony, which it is assumed to explain. For if these are such, as cannot be explained by it, the chief reason for our adoption of it ceases to exist: and if they are likewise incompatible with it, we must conclude that the supposition is false.

In the first place therefore we will try that particular supposition, which among all the hypotheses of this kind has been the best defended, that St. Mark made use of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke in the composition of his own Gospel. On this supposition, wherever St. Mark and St. Luke relate the same thing in the same words, St. Mark retained both the matter and the words which had been used by St. Luke: but wherever St. Mark and St. Luke relate the same thing in different words, St. Mark, though he retained the matter, did not retain the words, which had been used by St. Luke, but substituted others in their stead. Now since St. Luke's Greek style is certainly preferable to that of St. Mark, no reason can be assigned, why St. Mark, if he sometimes retained the words of St. Luke, should at other times reject them, and use merely synonymous expressions, by which the narrative was not rendered more accurate and perspicuous than it was before. It could not have been St. Mark's intention to keep his readers in the dark in respect to the Gospel or Gospels, which he used in the composition of his own, for if he had, he would have retained in no instance the words of St. Luke. But if this was not his intention, he could not have proposed the least benefit to himself, any more than to his readers, by an alteration of St. Luke's words: and it is not reasonable to suppose, that any man would voluntarily submit to a labour, from which he knew, that neither he himself nor any one else could derive the least advantage. However I will not insist on this argument, since it shews nothing more than the improbability that St. Mark made use of St. Luke's Gospel: for one writer *may* copy from another, and sometimes copy verbally, at other times not, even though we can assign no reason for his so doing.

But the following phenomenon presents obstacles to the supposition, which it is very difficult, if not impossible, to surmount : namely, that the examples of verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke are so confined to \aleph , that only one short instance is to be found among the numerous additions β , and only one among the sections B, which is likewise confined to a single sentence*. If then we attempt to explain the examples of verbal agreement, in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, on the supposition that in those instances St. Mark copied verbally from St. Luke, and the examples, in which they relate the same thing in different words, on the supposition that in those instances St. Mark retained the matter but rejected the words of St. Luke, we must necessarily suppose that St. Mark was able to distinguish the additions β , and the sections B, in St. Luke's Gospel, from \aleph , and that he purposely avoided verbal transcription in β and B, though he frequently transcribed verbally in \aleph : for the additions β and B, as well as the examples of verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke in \aleph , are too numerous to admit the supposition that mere accident could have produced the effect in question. But β , B, and \aleph are so interwoven with each other, as well in the Gospel of St. Luke, as in the Gospel of St. Mark, that no one, who reads their Gospels singly can possibly distinguish them : for they are portions, which we have separated from each other by no other process, than by a collation of St. Luke's Gospel, not only with that of St. Matthew, but likewise with that of St. Mark. How then, it may be asked; could St. Mark, before his own Gospel existed, have made such an analysis? It must be granted however that there was one method, and one method only, by which, from a comparison of the Gospels only of St. Matthew and St. Luke, he might have made such distinctions as might afterwards have led him to the distinctions in question. Before St. Mark had written

* The cause of each of these single exceptions will be assigned hereafter.

his Gospel, β and B were a part of the matter, which was peculiar to the Gospel of St. Luke¹: and if St. Mark derived the materials of his own Gospel, according to the present supposition, partly from that of St. Matthew, partly from that of St. Luke, the insertions β , and the entire sections B were those particular passages, which St. Mark selected out of the matter, which was peculiar to St. Luke's Gospel. If then St. Mark really made such an accurate collation of St. Luke's Gospel with that of St. Matthew, as enabled him to note in the former not only all the larger portions, which were peculiar to St. Luke, but likewise each single sentence, which St. Luke had more than St. Matthew in the portions common to both, he had it in his power to distinguish them from the other matter, which he copied from St. Luke's Gospel, so as to be enabled to avoid, if he chose it, literal transcription in β and B. But that St. Mark made such an accurate collation, as would have been necessary to answer this purpose is not very credible. Besides, if it be admitted that St. Mark had made such a collation, and that he had noted in his copy of St. Luke's Gospel all the passages, which were not in St. Matthew's Gospel, in the number of which passages β and B were included, it is inconceivable that St. Mark, who frequently agrees word for word with St. Luke in κ , where St. Matthew likewise has the same matter but in different words, should make it a rule, whenever he came to any one of the additions β and B, where St. Matthew deserted him, and he could only derive assistance from St. Luke, to reject the words of St. Luke, and to relate the same thing in different words². If St.

¹ Namely among our three first canonical Gospels, with which alone we are at present concerned.

² See for instance Sect. VI. VII. X. of the First Division. Each of these sections exhibits examples of verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke in κ , and of verbal disagreement in β . The latter are Mark i. 45. Luke v. 15, 16.—Mark ii. 4. Luke v. 19.—Mark iii. 9. Luke vi. 8. If St. Mark copied any where from St. Luke, he certainly copied from him in these three sections: and according to

Mark, instead of differing in words from St. Luke in β and B, had generally agreed with him, the supposition, that he copied partly from St. Matthew and partly from St. Luke, might account for it, because it might be reasonably supposed, that, where St. Mark could derive no assistance from St. Matthew, he would adhere the more closely to St. Luke. But for this very reason, the supposition cannot possibly account for the phenomenon, that in the numerous examples, in which St. Mark has matter in common with St. Luke only, the same matter is delivered in very different words. The examples of verbal agreement therefore between St. Mark and St. Luke, as well as the examples of disagreement must be ascribed to some other cause: for they are effects, which the cause in question would not have produced.

If instead of supposing, that St. Mark copied from St. Luke, we suppose, as was formerly imagined, that St. Luke copied from St. Mark, we are exposed to the same difficulties as before: for the arguments on this subject, which have been applied to St. Mark, may be applied also to St. Luke by only exchanging the names.

Further, since neither St. Mark copied from St. Luke, nor St. Luke from St. Mark, St. Luke cannot have copied from St. Matthew, because St. Luke has in no instance a verbal agreement with St. Matthew throughout all α , except where St. Mark likewise agrees verbally with St. Matthew: and this is an effect, which could not have been produced, if St. Luke had copied from St. Matthew, unless in conjunction with St. Matthew's Gospel either St. Luke had used St. Mark's, or St. Mark St. Luke's Gospel. For though it is possible, I will not say probable, that St. Luke, if he used the Gospels both of St. Matthew and of St. Mark, made it a rule, *never* to transcribe verbally from St. Matthew

Dr. Griesbach's scheme stated above in Ch. 3. the whole portion, Mark i. 40. iii. 6. in which Sect. VI. VII. X. are included, was taken by St. Mark from Luke v. 12. vi. 11. That in those three sections St. Mark verbally agrees with St. Luke in many passages of α , but has a totally different text in β , though the same matter is common to both, must be owing to some cause not hitherto assigned.

in \aleph , except where St. Mark had done so, or that St. Mark, if he used the Gospels both of St. Matthew and of St. Luke, determined *always* to transcribe verbally from St. Matthew in \aleph , where St. Luke had done so, in either of which cases the effect in question would have been produced, yet if neither St. Mark made use of St. Luke's Gospel, nor St. Luke of St. Mark's Gospel, they had no clue, which could lead them to those particular passages, in which both of them coincide with St. Matthew. And no one can ascribe it to mere accident, that St. Luke, who in γ and Γ has so remarkable a coincidence with St. Matthew, should in no instance throughout all \aleph , if he had St. Matthew's Gospel lying before him, transcribe from St. Matthew, except where St. Mark had transcribed; or that St. Mark, who differs verbally from St. Matthew much more frequently, than he agrees with him, should in no instance neglect to transcribe verbally from St. Matthew, where St. Luke had verbally transcribed. But it has been shewn, that neither St. Mark copied from St. Luke, or St. Luke from St. Mark. Consequently, St. Luke cannot have copied from St. Matthew: for, if he had, the effect in question would not have been produced.

Again, since St. Mark did not use the Gospel of St. Luke, nor St. Luke the Gospels either of St. Mark or of St. Matthew, St. Mark likewise cannot have used the Gospel of St. Matthew, because he never fails to agree verbally with St. Matthew in \aleph , where St. Luke agrees verbally with St. Matthew. For if St. Mark had copied from the Gospel of St. Matthew, it would not have been in his power, in *every* instance to copy verbally, where St. Matthew had a verbal agreement with St. Luke, unless he had known what those instances were; and this knowledge could not have been obtained without a comparison of St. Matthew's Gospel with that of St. Luke, of which St. Mark made no use, as has been already shewn ^a.

^a The arguments here used, relate only to the *Greek* Gospel of St. Matthew; and shew, that if St. Matthew wrote in Greek, his Gospel

It appears, then, that St. Mark cannot have copied either from St. Matthew or from St. Luke, and that St. Luke cannot have copied either from St. Matthew or from St. Mark. The only remaining supposition therefore is, that St. Matthew copied from St. Mark and from St. Luke. To this supposition (which, however, leaves the examples of verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke unexplained, and is therefore insufficient for our present purpose ¹) the phenomena hitherto mentioned in this section present no obstacles. But there is another phenomenon in the verbal agreement and disagreement between St. Matthew and St. Mark, which though not absolutely incompatible with the supposition, that St. Matthew made use of St. Mark's Gospel, is not very easy to be reconciled with it, and at any rate cannot be explained by it. This phenomenon is, that, though St. Matthew and St. Mark have in so many places a very close verbal agreement, not one of

was not used at all either by St. Mark or by St. Luke, and that if he wrote in Hebrew, St. Mark and St. Luke made no use of the Greek translation. They do not, however, prove that, if St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, his *Hebrew Gospel* was not used either by St. Mark or by St. Luke. But the supposition, that St. Mark and St. Luke used only the *Hebrew Gospel* of St. Matthew, cannot possibly account for the very long and very remarkable instances of verbal agreement in their Gospels with the *Greek Gospel* of St. Matthew. The supposition, therefore, is useless, when the question relates to the *verbal* harmony of the Evangelists. It may be asked: does any other reason exist for the adoption of this supposition? Now if any such reason does exist, it can be only this: that the phenomena in the contents of our three first Gospels may be explained by it. But in whatever language we consider the first of our canonical Gospels, whether we consider it as Greek, or as Hebrew, the supposition that it was used by St. Mark or by St. Luke, though it may account for matter, which they have in common with St. Matthew, is so far from accounting for the phenomenon, that St. Matthew has so much important matter, which is wholly unnoticed by St. Mark and St. Luke, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile the supposition with the phenomenon, which ought to be explained by it. Some other cause therefore must be sought: for the cause in question will not answer the purpose.

¹ That St. Matthew used the Gospels *both* of St. Mark and of St. Luke is likewise a supposition, which no one has ever made: and therefore it is almost unnecessary to confute it.

those sections, which in St. Mark's Gospel occupy different places from those which they occupy in St. Matthew's, exhibits a single instance of verbal agreement. Thus beside Sect. V. and XI. there are not less than five successive sections in St. Mark's Gospel, namely, Sect. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. XIX. throughout all of which there is not an instance of verbal agreement in any one sentence, though in Sect. XIV. which immediately precedes, and in Sect. XX. which immediately follows, we meet with examples of verbal agreement, especially in Sect. XIV. where there is a very remarkable one. The five sections, XV—XIX. include that portion of St. Mark's Gospel, which begins with ch. iv. 35. and ends with ch. vi. 29.: they contain 78 verses, and constitute by much the longest interruption in St. Mark's verbal agreement with St. Matthew, throughout the whole of St. Mark's Gospel; for every other chapter, besides ch. v. has one or more examples of verbal agreement with St. Matthew.^k If St. Matthew then, made use of St. Mark's Gospel, and wrote in Greek as must be now supposed, for otherwise the hypothesis in question cannot explain the verbal agreement between the two Gospels, the circumstance, that throughout all those sections, to which St. Matthew assigned a different place in his own Gospel, from that which they occupied in St. Mark's, he has, in no instance, a verbal agreement with St. Mark, cannot well be ascribed to an accidental inattention to St. Mark's Gospel in those sections, or, in other words, to a neglect of it on the part of St. Matthew, without some determinate cause. It is true, that St. Mark, throughout the whole portion, ch. iv. 35—vi. 29. no more agrees verbally with St. Luke, than he does with St. Matthew: but this is not at all extraordinary, because neither St. Mark copied from St. Luke, nor St. Luke from St. Mark. And even if St. Mark had made use of St. Luke's Gospel, or St. Luke of St. Mark's Gospel, their want of verbal agreement in this portion

^k See the Table of parallel and coincident passages: the First Division, and the Second Division.

could no more afford just matter of surprise, than their want of verbal agreement in other places : first, because there are other very long portions in St. Mark's Gospel, as ch. vi. 43—viii. 40. consisting of 81 verses, and ch. xiv. 25. to the end of St. Mark's Gospel, consisting of 114 verses, in which there is not a single instance of verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke, whereas no such long interruptions take place in St. Mark's verbal agreement with St. Matthew : secondly, because their want of verbal agreement extends much further than the portion, Mark iv. 35—vi. 29. for not only the preceding part of ch. iv. but likewise all that precedes in ch. iii. after ver. 5. affords no example of verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke, whereas the seven successive verses, Mark iv. 3—9. agree almost word for word with St. Matthew : thirdly, because St. Mark's arrangement in ch. iv. 35—vi. 29. is the same (as it is in general) with that of St. Luke, and therefore his want of verbal agreement with St. Luke in that portion, no more excites particular attention, or leads us to seek a particular cause of the interruption, than their want of verbal agreement in the two other long portions, ch. vi. 43—viii. 40. and ch. xiv. 25. to the end of St. Mark's Gospel, whereas the interruption of St. Mark's verbal agreement with St. Matthew throughout, ch. iv. 35—vi. 29. necessarily does lead us to seek a particular cause for it, not only because it includes five sections, which in St. Mark's Gospel have a different arrangement from that which they have in St. Matthew's, but because in the two remaining of these inverted sections, namely, Sect. V. and XI. there are likewise no examples of verbal agreement between St. Matthew and St. Mark. We must suppose then, either that St. Matthew *purposely* avoided literal transcription from St. Mark's Gospel in the sections, to which he assigned a different place in his own, or that he was impelled by some *necessity*. But we can assign no motive, which could have induced St. Matthew to reject purposely the words of St. Mark in these sections : for since he has the

greatest part of St. Mark's matter, though he has placed the several narratives in a different order, the new arrangement by no means rendered it necessary, that each narrative should be delivered in a new set of words. If St. Matthew had agreed verbally in any of these sections with St. Luke, it might have been supposed that he deserted St. Mark, because he followed St. Luke; but not one of these sections exhibits a single instance of verbal agreement between St. Matthew and St. Luke, it being an invariable rule, that St. Matthew never agrees verbally with St. Luke throughout all \mathfrak{N} , except where he agrees with St. Mark. Shall we conclude then that St. Matthew did not observe in what part of St. Mark's Gospel these sections were contained, since they occupied different places from those, which they occupy in his own, and that he thus abstained from the use of St. Mark's Gospel through necessity? Now if we had set out with the supposition that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, we might certainly take for granted that the Greek *translator* of it would have found difficulty in discovering in St. Mark's Gospel the sections, which occupied in it different places from those, which they occupied in St. Matthew's. But St. Matthew himself, the *author* of the Gospel, could not have met with any such difficulty, because before he had written his Gospel the difference in question did not exist, and it was entirely at St. Matthew's own option, whether he should retain or reject the arrangement, which he found in St. Mark.—Whoever therefore attempts to explain the verbal agreement and disagreement between the Greek text of St. Matthew and St. Mark, on the supposition that St. Matthew wrote in Greek, and that he sometimes copied verbally from St. Mark, but not at other times, will be exposed to difficulties, which it is impossible to remove.

But if we cannot suppose that St. Matthew copied from St. Mark, we cannot suppose that he copied from St. Luke, because throughout all \mathfrak{N} he never agrees verbally with St. Luke, except where St. Mark agrees

could no more afford just matter of want of verbal agreement in other there are other very long portions as ch. vi. 43—viii. 40. considering xiv. 25. to the end of St. Mark 114 verses, in which the verbal agreement between whereas no such long Mark's verbal agreement because their want further than the only the preceding precedes in ch verbal agreement whereas the agree almost tried by the phenomena in the because HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

CHAPTER IX.

THAT THE THREE FIRST EVANGELISTS USED A COMMON GREEK DOCUMENT OR DOCUMENTS, WE SHALL LIKEWISE EXPOSE OURSELVES TO DIFFICULTIES, WHICH IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SURMOUNT. For this supposition, like the preceding, not only leaves the numerous examples unexplained, in which the same thing is related in different but synonymous expressions, but is incapable of accounting for the phenomena in the verbal harmony itself. For if St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke had transcribed from the same Greek document, it would have been absolutely impossible, that in the matter, common to all three, St. Matthew and St. Luke should agree in retaining the words of this document, in those passages only, where St. Mark had retained the words of it, or that St. Mark should neglect in no instance to retain the words of it, where St. Matthew and St. Luke had retained them.

If it be supposed that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and we explain the verbal agreement between the Greek texts of St. Matthew

and St. Mark the without

appears, our three that the succeeding.

phenomena which are irreconcilable with a common *Greek* document. Besides, every of our three first Gospels had, of course, the examples, in which all three verbally coincide, must have been the same in the original, if they really are. Lastly, the phenomena, which are inexplicable on the hypothesis of a common *Hebrew* or *Chaldee* document, but what has been already shown, that it is inadmissible.

CHAPTER X.

THE HYPOTHESIS, THAT OUR THREE FIRST GOSPELS CONTAIN THREE GREEK TRANSLATIONS MADE INDEPENDENTLY OF EACH OTHER FROM THE SAME HEBREW ORIGINAL, TRIED BY THE PHENOMENA IN THE VERBAL HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

SINCE the phenomena in the verbal harmony of our three first Gospels are explicable, neither on the supposition, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding, nor on the supposition, that all three made use of the same *Greek* document, it remains only that we try whether the hypothesis of a common *Hebrew* or *Chaldee* document will answer the purpose. This hypothesis may be represented in a great variety of forms, and therefore it will be necessary to try them all, for one of them may answer the purpose, though another does not.

and St. Mark, and St. Matthew and St. Luke, on the supposition that St. Matthew's translator used the same *Greek* document, as was used by St. Mark and St. Luke, the argument here used is equally applicable to St. Matthew's translator. For if the examples of verbal agreement between the *Greek* texts of St. Matthew and St. Luke were owing to the circumstance, that St. Matthew's translator as well as St. Luke retained the words of the *Greek* document in those places, it is incredible, that he should in no instance have retained the words of that *Greek* document, where St. Luke had retained them, except where St. Mark likewise had retained them.

verbally with St. Luke, and therefore, if he used St. Luke's Gospel at all, he could not have confined the verbal agreement to those particular passages, without the intervention of St. Mark's Gospel.

From what has been said in this section it appears, that we must ascribe the verbal harmony in our three first Gospels to some other cause than, 'that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding.'

CHAPTER IX.

THE SUPPOSITION, THAT THE THREE FIRST EVANGELISTS MADE USE OF A COMMON GREEK DOCUMENT, TRIED BY THE PHÆNOMENA IN THE VERBAL HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

If we attempt to explain the verbal harmony, on the supposition, not that one Evangelist used the Gospel of the other, but that all three used in common the same Greek document or documents, we shall likewise expose ourselves to difficulties, which it is impossible to surmount. For this supposition, like the preceding, not only leaves the numerous examples unexplained, in which the same thing is related in different but synonymous expressions, but is incapable of accounting for the phænomena in the verbal harmony itself. For if St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke had transcribed from the same Greek document, it would have been absolutely impossible, that in the matter, common to all three, St. Matthew and St. Luke should agree in retaining the words of this document, in those passages only, where St. Mark had retained the words of it, or that St. Mark should neglect in no instance to retain the words of it, where St. Matthew and St. Luke had retained them¹.

¹ If it be supposed that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and we explain the verbal agreement between the Greek texts of St. Matthew

These are phenomena which are irreconcilable with the supposition of a common *Greek* document. Besides; if the verbal harmony of our three first Gospels had been owing to this cause, the examples, in which all three Evangelists verbally coincide, must have been much more numerous, than they really are. Lastly, there are several other phenomena, which are inexplicable on this supposition: but what has been already said, is sufficient to shew, that it is inadmissible.

CHAPTER X.

THE HYPOTHESIS, THAT OUR THREE FIRST GOSPELS CONTAIN THREE GREEK TRANSLATIONS MADE INDEPENDENTLY OF EACH OTHER FROM THE SAME HEBREW ORIGINAL, TRIED BY THE PHENOMENA IN THE VERBAL HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

SINCE the phenomena in the verbal harmony of our three first Gospels are explicable, neither on the supposition, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding, nor on the supposition, that all three made use of the same Greek document, it remains only that we try whether the hypothesis of a common *Hebrew* or *Chaldee* document will answer the purpose. This hypothesis may be represented in a great variety of forms, and therefore it will be necessary to try them all, for one of them may answer the purpose, though another does not.

and St. Mark, and St. Matthew and St. Luke, on the supposition that St. Matthew's translator used the same Greek document, as was used by St. Mark and St. Luke, the argument here used is equally applicable to St. Matthew's translator. For if the examples of verbal agreement between the Greek texts of St. Matthew and St. Luke were owing to the circumstance, that St. Matthew's translator as well as St. Luke retained the words of the Greek document in those places, it is incredible, that he should in no instance have retained the words of that Greek document, where St. Luke had retained them, except where St. Mark likewise had retained them.

The form, which Eichhorn has adopted, is the following: '*our three first Gospels contain three Greek translations made from the same Hebrew original and independently of each other*'^a.

But this supposition is likewise incapable of explaining the verbal harmony of our three first Gospels: for in the first place, no two translators of the same original will agree for whole sentences together both in the choice and in the position of their words, and in such a manner as to produce the same text, unless their translations have some connexion with each other. Compare only Mark xiii. 13—32. in Sect. XXXV. with the parallel portion in St. Matthew's Gospel, and see whether it is possible for two independent translators to produce two such similar texts for twenty verses together^b. In these twenty verses the texts of St. Matthew and St. Mark might really pass for one and the same text, in which a multiplication of copies had produced a few trifling deviations: at least they do not differ more from each other, than each differs from itself in different manuscripts. Even where one author professedly copies from another, or two authors professedly copy from a third, how frequently does it happen, that an author's own copy contains deviations from the work of which he intends to give a literal transcript? A few trifling deviations therefore will no more prove, that the two texts were formed independently of each other, than the differences between Robert Stephen's quotations from his Codex β and Wetstein's quotations from his Codex D will prove that β and D denote two different manuscripts.

Whoever thinks it possible, that two texts so closely allied could have been formed independently of each other, or that they had two independent translations,

^a In the Dissertation above quoted, p. 784.

^b In St. Mark's text there is no interruption in the verbal coincidence, though there is in St. Matthew's, in those places where the latter has more than the former. For an instance of verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke, see Sect. XXVI. and for an instance of verbal agreement between St. Matthew and St. Luke, see the Fourth Division, Sect. V.

will be easily convinced of the contrary by only translating a page of a Greek or Latin author, of which he had seen no translation, and then comparing his own translation with a translation already made. Even when one translator is well acquainted with the translation of his predecessor, their translations will not coincide for many sentences together, unless the one, instead of translating for himself, copies merely from the other. I will instance only Dr. Doddridge and Dr. Campbell, and compare their translations of Luke i. 1. with each other, and with our common version.

COMMON VERSION.

Forasmuch as many have taken in hand, to set forth in order a declaration of those things, which are most surely believed among us.

DODDRIDGE'S VERSION.

Whereas many have undertaken to compose the history of those facts, which have been confirmed among us.

CAMPBELL'S VERSION.

Forasmuch as many have undertaken to compose a narrative of those things which have been accomplished among us.

Instances may likewise be produced from one and the same version, in which the same Greek text is differently rendered in different places. Thus Christ's censure of the Pharisees, which is related by St. Mark, ch. xii. 38—40. and by St. Luke, ch. xx. 45—47. in almost the same words, appears in our common English version, under a very different form in St. Luke's Gospel, from that under which it appears in St. Mark's.

Greek expressions used both by St. Mark and by St. Luke.	Translations of them in St. Mark's Gospel.	Translations of them in St. Luke's Gospel.
την δουλειαν περιπατειν εν στολαις, ασπασμους ενταις αγοραις, και πρωτοκαθιδριας, και πρωτοκυλισιας.	which love to go in long clothing, salutations in the market-places, and the chief seats, and the uppermost rooms	which desire to walk in long robes, greetings in the markets, and the highest seats, and the chief rooms.

In the compass of one short sentence we have here not less than seven easy Greek expressions, all of which are differently rendered in two places of the same version. Is it credible then, if our three first Gospels contained three independent translations of the same original, that they would resemble each other in the manner, in which they do? The numerous and long examples of verbal coincidence, which have been produced in the preceding Table, are surely proofs of the contrary. In translating from Hebrew into Greek there is still less probability of agreeing by mere accident, than in translating from Greek into English, because the Greek language admits of much greater variety both in the choice and in the position of the words, than the English language*. If then English translations of the same original can differ so much from each other, we must not expect uniformity in Greek translations of the same original, unless those translations have some connexion with each other. And it is least of all to be expected, when the translators

* If it shall be objected that Hellenistic Greek, as it is called, does not admit of the same variety as classic Greek, we need only compare the Greek versions of the Hebrew Bible, made by the seventy, by Aquila, and by Symmachus. Thus in Gen. i. **רָאשֵׁי תְּהוֹמֹת** is rendered in the LXX. **αρχη ποιησι**, by Aquila **κεφαλαιω ποιησι**, by Symmachus **αρχη κησι**.—**וְהָיוּ מִן הַיָּם** is rendered in the LXX **αοραιοι και παλαστυαστοι**, by Aquila **κινωροι και υδιν**, by Symmachus **αργροι και αδιακριτοι**. And this variation of expression is visible in every chapter of these Greek translations, as may be seen on consulting Origen's Hexapla.

themselves have not an uniformity of character, when the one prefers a free and paraphrastical, the other close and literal translation. Wherever *such* translators agree word for word, for many sentences together, some cause must have operated, which did not operate, where they have different texts.

Further, the difficulty attending the supposition that our three first Gospels contain independent translations is increased by the circumstance, that they frequently agree in the same place in the choice of the same unusual expression, which they themselves have never used on any other occasion. I quote no examples at present, because those, which occur in the parallel passages above-stated, have been already particularly noted.

But we will suppose, that it was possible for independent translators, and for translators of a very different description, to agree verbally in such numerous and long examples, as are found in the above-stated sections. The question then to be asked will be: What is the reason that the Evangelists do not agree more frequently? What is the reason that one section exhibits examples of very close agreement, and that the very next section exhibits no example of agreement whatever? How comes it to pass that, though there is so remarkable a coincidence between the Greek texts of St. Matthew and St. Luke in the portions, which are peculiar to these two Evangelists, they never coincide in the narrative, which runs through all three Evangelists, except in the places, where both agree at the same time with St. Mark? How comes it to pass that, though St. Mark and St. Luke frequently coincide in the narrative, which runs through all three Evangelists, this coincidence ceases in the passages which are common only to those two? And on the other hand how comes it to pass that in the sections common to all three, St. Matthew and St. Mark have so remarkable a verbal coincidence in numerous and long examples, where St. Luke relates the same thing in very different words? What can be the reason that St. Matthew and St. Mark, though they

have in so many other places a very remarkable verbal agreement, never agree in a single sentence, throughout all those sections, which occupy in St. Matthew's Gospel a different place, from that, which they occupy in St. Mark's? And what can be the reason, that throughout all & St. Mark never fails to agree verbally with St. Luke, where St. Luke agrees verbally with St. Matthew, though upon the whole the examples of verbal disagreement between St. Mark and St. Luke are much more numerous, than the examples of agreement? These are phenomena which cannot be solved on the supposition of independent translations, even if it be granted, that the examples of coincidence, when considered apart from the examples of disagreement, *might* have been effected without any connexion between the translations. If in one set of sections, as in the sections common to St. Matthew and St. Luke, or in the sections, which St. Matthew and St. Mark have in the same order, two translators had the ability to produce translations, which in numerous and long examples verbally coincided, though there was no connexion between their translations, it is inconceivable that this ability should have ceased, as soon as they came to another set of sections: and if the same independence prevailed throughout, it is incredible that the effects should have been so very different. Further, the phenomena above-mentioned are not only inexplicable on the supposition of independent translations, but are absolutely incompatible with the supposition. That phenomenon in particular, that St. Mark, who upon the whole differs verbally from St. Luke much more frequently than he agrees with him, fails in no instance throughout all & to agree verbally with St. Luke, where St. Luke agrees verbally with St. Matthew, is an effect, which could not possibly have been produced, if all three Gospels had been translations made independently of each other. Again, if the Greek translations exhibited in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke had been made independently of each other, it would not have been in the power of St. Luke, who

has so remarkable a verbal agreement with St. Matthew in the sections T, to have avoided all verbal agreement with St. Matthew throughout the whole of N, except in the places, where St. Mark likewise agreed with St. Matthew. Some connexion therefore, whatever it was, must have taken place, beside that, which the Evangelists mutually derived from their common Hebrew original.

It is true, that if an original is easy in one place and difficult in another, translators, who have no knowledge of each other's writings, will in general approach nearer to each other in places of the former, than in those of the latter description^p. But this principle is wholly inadequate to the explanation of the phænomena just mentioned. For if in the numerous places, where the Greek text of St. Matthew and St. Mark agree, we say that the original was easy, we shall be at a loss for the reason why St. Luke's text in most of those places is so very different: and on the other hand, if in the places, where the Greek texts of St. Matthew and St. Luke are different, we say that the original was difficult, the agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke in so many of those places remains unexplained. This principle therefore, whatever latitude be given to it, cannot possibly explain all the phænomena: and in fact the phænomena are of such a kind, that an application of it in the present case will involve us in contradictions. For if the agreement between the texts of St. Matthew and St. Mark warrants the supposition, that the original was easy, the disagreement between St. Matthew and St. Luke in the very same places will warrant the supposition that the original was difficult. We may safely infer therefore that, if our three first Gospels contained three translations made independently of each other, whether by the Evangelists themselves, or by any other persons, whose translations the Evangelists

^p This is the reason assigned by Eichhorn (Allgem. Bibl. Vol. V. p. 784) why our Evangelists sometimes agree in words, at other times differ.

adopted^a, they could not have verbally agreed in the manner, in which they do, and likewise have verbally disagreed in the manner in which they do.

Perhaps in order to invalidate the inference, which has been deduced from the examples of verbal harmony, it will be objected, that such harmony may be the result of later alterations made by transcribers of the Gospels^r, and therefore that whoever founds a system on them builds on a very precarious foundation. Now I readily grant, that transcribers have in various places altered and interpolated one Gospel from another. But then as far as we can trace such alterations in the manuscripts, which are now extant, we find them indiscriminately made in all three Gospels, and we perceive that transcribers were as prone to make alterations in one Gospel, as they were in another, and in any one part of a Gospel, as they were in another part of it. We may conclude the same therefore of those transcribers, who copied the Gospels in the second and third centuries. Further, the attempts of transcribers to produce harmony between the Evangelists have consisted rather in the making of insertions, where one text was shorter than another, than in the alteration of words and phrases already used : and their object was not so much to make the Evangelists say the *same thing* in the *same words* as to make the one say *as much* as the other. Thus in the Lord's Prayer which in St. Luke's genuine text, ch. xi. 2—4. was delivered more concisely than it was by St. Matthew, ch. v. 9—13. they interpolated in St. Luke's text, ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς σπράνοις—γενηθῆτω τὸ θέλημα σου, ὡς ἐν σπράνῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,—and ἀλλὰ ρύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονήρου, from St. Matthew's Gospel. Yet, notwithstanding this excessive interpolation for so short a passage, an interpolation found in *most* of the Greek MSS. now extant, the

^a Eichhorn (A. B. Vol. V. p. 784) leaves this undetermined.

^r Semler in his Remarks annexed to the German translation of Townson's Discourses on the four Gospels, Vol. I. p. 222. 223. has recourse to this conjecture.

words which St. Luke had actually used, as διδὲς ἡμῖν το καθ' ἡμέραν, — τὰς ἁμαρτίας — και γὰρ αὐτοὶ — παντὶ οφείλοντι ἡμῖν, where St. Matthew's Greek text is δὸς ἡμῖν σημερον — τὰ οφειλήματα — ὡς και ἡμεῖς — τοῖς ὀφειλεταῖς ἡμῶν, have been altered in *very few* Greek MSS. and all of these words have been altered in only *one*. But admitting that the early transcribers, had formed the resolution of producing a verbal harmony, and moreover that they were inclined to make alterations in one Gospel, rather than in another, and in one part of a Gospel, rather than in another part of it, we cannot suppose that they had the *power* to make alterations in all those places, and in those places only, where we find a verbal harmony. For this power would imply, what no one can easily believe, that they had made an analysis of the Gospels into \aleph , α , β , &c. similar to that which has been above-stated: since without such an analysis, they could not have known how to confine their alterations to the places of that particular description, which I have noted above. And that they had both the power and the inclination to make in \aleph numerous and long alterations in St. Matthew or St. Mark, to make many in γ and Γ in St. Matthew or St. Luke, yet on the other hand to harmonize St. Matthew and St. Luke in only a few places throughout all \aleph , to select likewise those places precisely from the number of those in which they had harmonized St. Matthew and St. Mark, in no other part of \aleph whatever to alter St. Luke from St. Matthew, or St. Matthew from St. Luke, or to neglect in no instance to alter St. Matthew or St. Mark, where they had made St. Luke harmonize with St. Mark or St. Matthew, to make material alterations in α and γ , but to let the numerous additions β pass without any alteration, except in one short sentence, is surely incredible. Though it must be granted therefore, that in various detached passages the verbal harmony of the Evangelists has been occasioned by the alterations of transcribers, yet *upon the whole* the verbal agreement and disagreement is of

such a particular description, that the chief cause of it must have existed antecedent to the Gospels themselves.

That in our three first Gospels the same thing is related in different words more frequently than in the same words, does not at all affect the position, that they do not contain three translations made independently of each other. For there is no inconsistency in supposing, that two translations of the same original should very frequently differ from each other, even though the one made use of the translation of the other, or both of them used in common some more ancient translation. In fact it may be reasonably expected, that such translators, unless we degrade them every where to mere transcribers, should sometimes exhibit the same at other times different translations, according as they wrote, either with, or without foreign aid¹. The assertion therefore that our three first Gospels do not contain three translations made independently of each other is perfectly consistent with the examples of disagreement, as well as with the examples of agreement: whereas the contrary opinion, as I have already shewn, is not consistent with both.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE VARIOUS FORMS, UNDER WHICH THE GENERAL SUPPOSITION OF A COMMON HEBREW DOCUMENT MAY BE REPRESENTED: WITH A GENERAL NOTATION COMPRISING ALL POSSIBLE FORMS.

As the supposition, 'that our three first Gospels contain three independent translations of the same Hebrew original,' is only one out of the many

¹ The passages therefore which critics have quoted as examples of independent translation (See Eichhorn Allg. Bib. Vol. V. p. 832—848, &c) prove only that, if our three first Gospels contain translations of a common Hebrew original, the translations in *those places* were made without any connexion with each other. But we must not convert this partial inference into a general one.

forms, under which the general hypothesis, 'that a common original was the basis of our three first Gospels,' may be presented, the hypothesis may be admissible in one form, though not in another. Let us see then whether some form may not be discovered, in which the hypothesis will account for all the phenomena observable in our three first Gospels.

The leading features, which must always remain to the hypothesis, whatever shape it assumes in other respects, are the following.

1. Before any of our canonical Greek Gospels existed, a narrative of Christ's transactions from his baptism to his death had been written in Hebrew^a: and this Hebrew document contained the matter, which is common to all three Evangelists.

2. In various transcripts of this Hebrew document various additions were made to the original text, consisting partly in the notice of additional circumstances relative to transactions already recorded, and partly in the insertion of whole sections descriptive of transactions, which had been left wholly unnoticed.

3. Three separate copies of this Hebrew document each differently modified and enriched, formed the respective bases^b of the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke.

^a By the term 'Hebrew,' is here meant not precisely the language of the Old Testament, but the language spoken in Jerusalem in the time of the Apostles, which the ancient fathers call Hebrew, though in fact it was Chaldee with an intermixture of old Hebrew words.

^b I purposely use here a very general term, in order that it may include all possible modifications of this hypothesis: and I avoid the expression 'copies of the Hebrew document used by the Evangelist,' because some writers, who doubt the hypothesis, suppose that the Evangelists did not use any copy of the Hebrew document, and that they had only Greek translations of it. Eichhorn's whole analysis of our three first Gospels is likewise conducted on the most general plan, and he expressly declares (Allg. Bib. Vol. V. p. 784.), that he leaves the question undecided, whether our three first Evangelists made use of the Hebrew document, or whether they had only translations of it. Consequently, unless care be taken to make the expressions as general as possible, great confusion may arise.

If the notation, \aleph , α , β , γ , &c. which was adopted above, to express the several parts of our three first Gospels, be applied to this hypothesis, the contents of the Hebrew document mentioned No. 1, before any of the insertions mentioned No. 2, were made in it, will be properly represented by \aleph . For \aleph denotes what is contained in all three Gospels: and that, which is common to all three must be supposed to have stood in the document which furnished their common materials. The notion, however, must not be applied in so strict a sense, as if the Hebrew document contained *no more* than what we find in *all three* Gospels: for this would imply not only that not one of the Evangelists, but that not one of the transcribers of the Hebrew document omitted a single sentence, which was contained in it. Further, since according to the principle laid down by Eichhornⁱ, 'that, when two Evangelists agree in augmenting any one of the XLII. general sections by the same addition, such addition was contained in both of the copies of the Hebrew document, from which their Gospels were derived,' it follows that the copy from which St. Matthew's Gospel was derived, obtained the additions of α and γ , the copy from which St. Mark's Gospel was derived the additions α and β , and the copy from which St. Luke's Gospel was derived the additions β and γ . Again, since the whole sections denoted by A are inserted in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark in the same places^k, and also the whole sections denominated by B are inserted by St. Mark and St. Luke in the same parts of their Gospels, it follows from the just-mentioned principle, that the sections A were contained in the copy, from which St. Matthew's Gospel was derived, that the sections B were contained in the copy, from which St. Luke's Gospel was derived, and also

ⁱ Eichhorn Allg. Bibl. Vol. V. p. 797.

^k There is one exception to this rule, which will be considered hereafter.

in the copy from which St. Mark's Gospel was derived¹. Of the sections Γ , some are inserted, like A and B, in corresponding places^m, whilst others, and those the most numerous, are inserted in places, which do not correspond to each other. The sections Γ therefore must be divided into two distinct classes, the former of which may be denoted by Γ^1 , the other by Γ^2 . Those of the former class, Γ^1 must be supposed to have been contained in the copies of the Hebrew document from which the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke were derived, for the very same reason as the sections A are supposed to have been contained in the copies, from which the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark were derived. But we cannot make this supposition of the sections Γ^2 : at least there is no ground for it on the above-mentioned principle. We will suppose therefore, with Eichhornⁿ, that these sections were derived from

¹ Eichhorn Allg. Bibl. Vol. V. p. 960.

^m The sermon on the mount, Matth. v. vi. vii. Luke vi. 20—49. and the cure of the centurion's servant at Capernaum, Matthew viii. 5—13. Luke vii. 1—10. occupy in both Gospels correspondent places. For Sect. XI. of the general sections, which contains 'The circumstances preparatory to the sermon on the mount,' is Matth. iv. 23—35. Mark iii. 7—19. Luke vi. 12—19. The sermon itself therefore follows both in St. Matthew and St. Luke in the same order, though St. Luke is much less copious on this subject than St. Matthew. Again, the cure of the centurion's servant at Capernaum follows the sermon on the mount in both Gospels. In St. Luke's Gospel it follows without any interval: in St. Matthew's Gospel, with an interval of four verses, ch. viii. 1—4, which however is of no importance, because these four verses contain one of the general sections, which St. Matthew has inserted in parts of his Gospel, which do not correspond to the parts, which they occupy in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke.

ⁿ Pag. 965—967. Eichhorn observes in general terms, that the sections peculiar to St. Matthew and St. Luke are not in correspondent parts of their Gospels, and hence draws the general inference that they were not inserted in copies of the common Hebrew document. But since some exceptions must be made in the premises, some exceptions must be made in the inference.

a document which was detached from, or not incorporated into the document \aleph . This supplemental Hebrew document, from which the sections Γ^2 were derived, may be denoted by \beth .

The notation, which was used to represent the contents of our three first Gospels, being thus adapted to the common Hebrew document, with its several additions, we may represent the three copies of that common Hebrew document, which served as the respective bases of the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, in the following manner.

$\vdash a + \gamma + A + \Gamma^1$ { contents of the copy, from which
St. Matthew's Gospel was derived.

$\aleph + a + \beta + A + B$ { contents of the copy, from which
St. Mark's Gospel was derived.

$\aleph + \beta + \gamma + B + \Gamma^1$ { contents of the copy from which
St. Luke's Gospel was derived.

CHAPTER XII.

OF SOME CAUTIONS, NECESSARY TO BE OBSERVED IN DETERMINING ANY PARTICULAR FORM.

THE hypothesis, that our three first Gospels were derived from a common Hebrew original, being thus stated in general terms, the next step is to examine, whether this hypothesis in any one form will account for the various phænomena observable in our three first Gospels. If the hypothesis, in no form whatsoever will satisfactorily account for these phænomena, the whole must be rejected as devoid of foundation. On the other hand, if in any one particular form, and in that form only, it does account for the

phænomena, the hypothesis may be retained, but all other particular forms of it must be discarded.

The variety of forms, which the general hypothesis is capable of assuming, is occasioned by the variety of modes, in which it may be supposed, that the copies of the common Hebrew document became the bases of our three first Gospels. For one person may suppose that the Evangelists used the Hebrew copies themselves, whilst others may suppose that they used only Greek translations of them. One person may suppose, that St. Matthew wrote in Greek, as well as St. Mark and St. Luke, and that all three translated from copies of the common Hebrew document^o, while another, who likewise presupposes that St. Matthew wrote in Greek, may assume, that one or more of them made use only of Greek translations. Or it may be supposed, that one or more of them made use both of the Hebrew original, and of Greek translations. Various combinations of these Greek versions may also be devised. On the other hand, St. Matthew may be supposed to have written in Hebrew, in which case it cannot well be supposed that he used a Greek translation: but then the suppositions, which may be made relative to St. Mark and St. Luke are as various, as when it is presupposed that St. Matthew wrote in Greek.

Among all these forms, it is evident that one only can be the true one: and that whatever form is the true one, it must account for all the phænomena observable in our three first Gospels. The first step, therefore, which we must take, is to compare these phænomena with the several forms, under which the general hypothesis may be represented. But as various combinations are imaginable, and various complex forms may be supposed, we must take care in forming an hypothesis, to put together only such parts, as are consistent with each other. Further, when we have

^o This is Lessing's opinion, in his *Theologischer Nachlass* (Berlin, 1784, 8vo.) p. 58—68.

adopted a particular form, whether simple or complex, we must abide by that form in our explanation of *all* the phænomena, however manifold those phænomena may be : and we must not account for one phænomenon on the supposition, for instance, that St. Matthew wrote in Greek, and for another phænomenon, on the supposition, that he wrote in Hebrew.

There is no part of the hypothesis, in which so much caution is necessary, as in that which relates to St. Matthew's Gospel. If we suppose, that St. Matthew wrote in Greek, as well as St. Mark and St. Luke, St. Matthew's Gospel is placed in the same relation to the assumed common Hebrew document, as that, in which the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke stand : and in this case the general hypothesis may be applied in the same manner to all three Gospels. Again, if we suppose that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and that the first of our Greek Gospels is simply a translation of it, we may analyse St. Matthew's Hebrew original through the medium of the Greek translation : and the hypothesis may be applied to St. Matthew's Gospel in a similar, though not precisely in the same manner, as to those of St. Mark and St. Luke. We need only make the following alteration, and say : St. Matthew, though he derived materials for his Gospel from the source, from which St. Mark and St. Luke drew, yet left those materials in the language, in which he found them. But, if it be supposed, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and that the first of our Greek Gospels is more than a bare translation of it, that is, if we suppose that the translator, instead of giving only his original in a Greek dress, arranged, digested, and augmented it, so as to produce a Greek Gospel, which was different from St. Matthew's Hebrew original, the application of the hypothesis to St. Matthew's Gospel is attended with difficulty, because we shall not find it easy to determine in all cases, what St. Matthew wrote and what was added by his translator. It is true, that we may analyse the first of our Greek Gospels, and

consider its relation to the second, and third, whether it received its present form and extent from St. Matthew, or from a person unknown. But then if we suppose, that some unknown person, who gave to it its present form and extent, made a Gospel written in Hebrew by St. Matthew the basis of it, we cannot well apply the general hypothesis, that our three first Gospels were derived from a *common* Hebrew document, unless we make the additional supposition, that St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel was that common document^p. But whoever adopts this supposition, must necessarily abandon the opinion, that neither St. Mark nor St. Luke made use of St. Matthew's Gospel. In the application of the general hypothesis, the difference between the supposition, that our first Greek Gospel is simply a translation from a Hebrew Gospel written by St. Matthew, and the supposition that it was derived from a Hebrew Gospel, in the same manner as it is supposed that St. Mark's Gospel was derived, consists in this, that in the former case it is really St. Matthew's Gospel, whereas in the latter case it is no more St. Matthew's Gospel, than the Hebrew document, from which St. Mark's is supposed to have been drawn, can be called St. Mark's Gospel. In the former case, we can derive St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel itself, through the medium of the Greek translation, from the same common Hebrew document, as we derive the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke: in the latter case the investigation is inverted, and St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, instead of being derived from the same document as those of St. Mark and St. Luke, becomes itself the common document. It will be objected, perhaps, that what has been said in this para-

^p This additional supposition is made by Corrodi, and J. E. C. Schmidt. See Versuch einer Beleuchtung der Geschichte des Jüdischen und Christlichen Bibelkanons (Halle, 1792, 2 Vols. 8vo.), Vol. II. p. 152. and Henke Magazin für Religions-philosophie Exegese und Kirchengeschichte, Vol. IV. p. 577.

graph contains an argumentation about words, rather than about facts, since we may analyse our three first Gospels, as we now find them, and consider their relation both to each other and to a supposed common original, without even asking, either by whom these Greek Gospels, or by whom the supposed common Hebrew document was written. Now that an analysis may be conducted on this broad scale, no one will deny : but on the other hand, if we mention the name of St. Matthew at all, (and no reason can be assigned why we should not, since the voice of all antiquity ascribes a Gospel to St. Matthew), we must take care, in so doing, to be every where consistent.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE VARIOUS FORMS OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED GENERAL SUPPOSITION, AS THEY MAY BE REPRESENTED, WHEN IT IS ASSUMED THAT ST. MATTHEW WROTE IN GREEK, TRIED BY THE PHÆNOMENA IN THE VERBAL HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

THESE observations being premised, respecting the caution necessary to be observed in determining any particular form of the general hypothesis, let us try in the first place, whether, on the supposition, *that St. Matthew wrote in Greek*, a form may be devised, which will account for all the phænomena in our three first Gospels. On this supposition, St. Matthew's Gospel, according to the statement above made, contains a Greek translation of a copy of the Hebrew document \aleph , which had been enriched by the additions $\alpha + \gamma + A + \Gamma^2$: St. Luke's Gospel of another copy of the same document, which had been enriched by the

additions, $B + \gamma + B + \Gamma^1$: and St. Mark's Gospel of a third copy of the same document, which had been enriched by the additions $\alpha + \beta + A + B$. Now we may assume,

1. *That all three Evangelists translated immediately from the Hebrew, and that in making their translations, they consulted neither each other's Gospels, nor any Greek translation previously made.*

But then our three first Gospels would contain three perfectly independent translations, which, as has been already shewn, is not true. Consequently this form is inadmissible.

2. *That all three translated immediately from the Hebrew, but that the succeeding Evangelists made use likewise of the Gospels of the preceding, and that in many passages, instead of translating for themselves, the one transcribed from the other.*

This form is likewise inadmissible. For it has been already shewn, in ch. 8. that the phenomena in the verbal harmony of our three first Gospels cannot be explained on the supposition, that one Evangelist copied from the other. If therefore we unite this supposition with the hypothesis of a common Hebrew document, in order to explain what the supposition of three independent translations does not explain, we shall not answer the purpose, for which we unite them.

3. *That St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke made use of Greek translations only.*

Now since \aleph was contained in all three copies, whether Hebrew or Greek, which are supposed to have been used by the Evangelists, either the three Greek copies, assumed in the present case, must have contained the same Greek translation of the Hebrew text of \aleph , or two of them contained the same, and the third a different translation, or lastly these three copies contained a mixture of translations. To represent this by signs : either all three copies contained the same translation X : or two of them contained the translation X , and the third the translation Y : or one contained

the translation *X*, another the translation *Y*, and the third the translation *Z*: or one, or more of them, contained a mixture of *X* and *Y*, or of *X* and *Z*, or of *Y* and *Z*, or of *X*, *Y*, and *Z*.

But all three cannot have contained the same Greek translation. For in that case the principal materials of our three first Greek Gospels would have been drawn from the *same* Greek source, which has been already shewn to be impossible¹. Nor can two of these copies have contained the same translation, while the third contained a different translation. For if we suppose that St. Matthew and St. Mark used the same translation, and St. Luke a different one, or that St. Matthew and St. Luke used the same translation and St. Mark a different one, the numerous examples of verbal agreement in *N* between St. Mark and St. Luke remain unexplained: and, on the other hand, if we suppose that St. Mark and St. Luke had the same translation, but St. Matthew a different one, the still more numerous examples of verbal agreement in *N* between St. Matthew and St. Mark remain unexplained. Still less can all three have used different translations: for on this supposition, St. Mark's verbal agreement with St. Matthew, as well as his verbal agreement with St. Luke, is inexplicable.

There remains then only the last case, that the Evangelists made use of copies, which contained a mixture of translations. Now the various modes, in which such a mixture may be imagined to have taken place, are very numerous: but among all which I have tried (and I have made all imaginable combinations), not one will account for all the phænomena in our three first Gospels. That which approaches the nearest to a solution of the phænomena, is the following²: *That*

¹ See above Ch. 9.

² Three is the smallest number of translations, which can be assumed, because if only two different translations had entered into the composition of the three copies, supposed to have been used by

St. Matthew used a copy XY, which was a compilation from two different translations X and Y, that St. Luke used a copy YZ, which was a compilation from the translation Y and a third translation Z, and that St. Mark used a copy XYZ, which was a compilation from the translations XY and Z. If we adopt this form, we may say, that in whatever place all three Evangelists use the same words, the text of the translation *Y*, was in that place in all three copies : that where St. Matthew and St. Mark verbally agree without St. Luke, the text of the translation *X* was in the two copies used by St. Matthew and St. Mark, whence arose the verbal agreement between these two Evangelists, and the disagreement in St. Luke, because the translation *X* did not enter into the composition of St. Luke's copy : that, where St. Mark and St. Luke verbally agree, without St. Matthew, the text of the translation *Z* was contained in the two copies used by St. Mark and St. Luke, whence arose the verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke, and the disagreement in St. Matthew, whose copy contained nothing from the translation *Z*; that where St. Matthew and St. Mark relate the same thing in different words, either St. Matthew's copy had the text of *X*, but St. Mark's copy that of *Y* or of *Z*, or St. Matthew's copy the text of *Y*, but St. Mark's copy that of *X* or *Z* : that, where St. Mark and St. Luke relate the same thing in different words, their copies had in like manner the texts of different translations ; or all three contained different translations : and that where all three relate the same thing in different words, all three copies had the texts of different translations, namely either

the Evangelists, there could have been no passage, in which at least two of these copies did not verbally agree. But if our three first Gospels had been derived from three *such* Greek documents, the examples in which all three Gospels contain the same thing in different words, could not have been so numerous. On the other hand, there is no necessity for assuming more than three different translations, since three answer all the purposes of a still greater number.

X, Y, Z, or *X, Z, Y*, or *Y, Z, X*. So far this form appears to succeed tolerably well. But before we proceed we must ask the following question. When one writer compiles a mixed work *XY*, by copying in this page from the translation *X*, in that page from the translation *Y*, another writer compiles a mixed work *YZ* by copying sometimes from *Y*, at other times from *Z*, and a third writer compiles a mixed work *XYZ*, by copying in one place from the translation *X*, in another place from the translation *Y*, in another place again from the translation *Z*, is it to be supposed that wherever the first and the second writer happen both of them to copy from the translation *Y*, it should never happen to the third writer, who has three translations lying before him, to copy in those places either from *X* or from *Z*? In a single instance only the chance is two to one against the supposition, and as the instances increase, the improbability increases much more rapidly than the instances themselves. Yet we must necessarily make this very improbable supposition, if the form now under consideration shall account for the phænomenon, that wherever St. Matthew, and St. Luke agree verbally in *X*, St. Mark likewise agrees verbally with both. For if St. Matthew copied from the mixed work *XY*, St. Luke from the mixed work *YZ*, St. Mark from the mixed work *XYZ*, and it be said, that where St. Matthew and St. Luke verbally agree, the text of the translation *Y* was in those places in both of their copies, we must at the same time assume, that the text of the same translation *Y* was in all those places likewise in the mixed work from which St. Mark copied: for if in any one of these places, the text either of *X*, or of *Z*, had been there, the words of St. Mark's Gospel could not in that place have coincided with those of St. Matthew and St. Luke. Another phænomenon, which this form is likewise incapable of explaining is, that St. Matthew and St. Mark have no verbal agreement in any of those sections, which in St. Matthew's Gospel occupy different places from those, which they occupy in St. Mark's Gospel.

For this effect could not have been produced by the cause now under consideration, unless the writers of *XY* and *XYZ* invariably copied from different translations throughout all those sections, which were afterwards differently arranged by St. Matthew and St. Mark. But in order to have done this, they must have been endued with the spirit of prophecy, if the difference of arrangement is to be ascribed either to St. Matthew or to St. Mark. And even if it be ascribed to the writer of *XY*, or of *XYZ*, still they must have written in concert, and have prescribed to themselves a law, for which no reason whatever can be assigned. This form, therefore, will not account for all the phenomena even in \aleph . When we proceed to the phenomena in α , β , γ , A, B, we must likewise suppose, that various Greek translations had been made of these additions, but that one set was unmixed, while another was mixed. For instance, since St. Matthew and St. Mark sometimes verbally agree in α , at other times verbally differ in α , we must suppose that each of their copies contained a mixture of Greek translations of α : but, as St. Mark and St. Luke, except in one short sentence, never agree verbally in β , we must suppose that, with exception to that one sentence, two perfectly distinct and unmixed translations of β had been inserted in the copies used by St. Mark and St. Luke. Now, when it is necessary to have recourse to so many artificial and perplexed combinations, the chance is always against an hypothesis, even if the phenomena to be solved, can be tolerably explained by it: and when these phenomena can be easily solved by a simple hypothesis, the latter is justly entitled to the preference. Besides, it is really difficult to comprehend by what successive gradations three such copies, as it is necessary here to assume, could have been formed: and it is inconceivable, that in the two copies used by St. Mark and St. Luke, \aleph should have existed in a mixture of translations, while the additions β , which are so interwoven with \aleph , that no one in reading them

perceives their distinction, existed in two different translations. For these additions are not supposed to have existed in a separate work, but to have been insertions in the text of the Hebrew document. Further, if the suppositions of such a mixture, and of such an unmixture of translations in one and the same work were compatible with each other, yet the bare notion that any person ever made such an attempt involves in it so much improbability, that a case must be very desperate, when it is necessary to have recourse to it. For though nothing is more common than a compilation from different works, because it answers this good purpose, that scattered materials are brought into one mass, yet a compilation from different translations of one and the same work would be an useless and even ridiculous undertaking, since, if an hundred translations were used, the compiled work could not possibly contain more matter, than each translation singly contained, and would exhibit an heterogeneous mixture, which could produce no other effect than disgust. Such an undertaking cannot be rendered probable by appealing to what critics call *Codices eclecticici*, or MSS. of the Greek Testament, which contain, not transcripts from any one MS. but a text formed by adopting the readings of several MSS. For when length of time, and a multiplication of copies of the same work have produced various readings in it, the writer of a MS. (since only one of the various readings in each place can be the genuine one, and the genuine reading may be contained sometimes in one copy, sometimes in another), may with great propriety have recourse to several copies, and select from each those readings, which appear to him to deserve the preference. Thus Griesbach's edition of the Greek Testament is a very valuable *Codex eclecticus*, containing the most approved readings of all the known MSS. But if an editor, who was publishing an edition of the Latin New Testament, should print in one page from the translation of Erasmus, in another from the translation

of Beza, in a third from the translation of Castalio, he would expose himself to ridicule.

We will suppose, however, in order to lessen, if possible, the inconveniences attending the form now under consideration, that these mixtures were the result not of choice, but of necessity, that the person, who wrote the copy *XY*, transcribed from a manuscript of the translation *X*, in which there were many chasms, and that having no other copy of the translation *X*, he was obliged to fill up these chasms in the transcript, which he himself was making, from a manuscript of the translation *Y*, which happened in those places to be perfect, that in like manner the person, who wrote the copy *YZ*, transcribed from a manuscript of the translation *Y*, which was defective, and that he was obliged to fill up the chasms by copying from a manuscript of the translation *Z*, which in those places was not defective; and lastly, that the person, who wrote the copy *XYZ*, transcribed from a mutilated manuscript of the translation *Z*, the chasms of which he supplied, partly from a manuscript of the translation *X*, and partly, where this manuscript was likewise defective, from a manuscript of the translation *Z*. Now by this representation we avoid the difficulty attending the supposition of a designedness of compilation: but then we expose ourselves to another difficulty, which is equally great. For, as the examples of verbal agreement are not confined either to the beginning, or to the middle, or to the end of our three first Gospels, but are scattered throughout the whole, the chasms in the manuscripts of *X*, *Y*, and *Z*, which were used by the writers of *XY*, *YZ*, and *XYZ*, must have been more numerous, than the circumstances of those times can permit us to suppose. The Christians of the first century were in general poor, transcripts were attended with expence, and therefore we cannot imagine that more were made, than were wanted for actual use: but no man, who knows how to use a manuscript, and understands its value, will wantonly mutilate or efface it. Such acci-

dents happen usually to those manuscripts alone, which fall into the hands of illiterate barbarians, who understand not the language, in which they are written, who know not their contents, who regard them as waste parchment, and treat them accordingly. There is as much improbability, therefore, in the supposition, that three such mutilated MSS. of the translation *X*, *Y*, and *Z*, existed in the first century, before our canonical Gospels were written, as there is in the supposition of a *designed* compilation from entire translations. The other difficulties are likewise equally great: for if no combinations, in which the writers were at liberty to combine as they pleased, can satisfactorily solve the phænomena, no combinations, in which the writers were bound by necessity, can answer the purpose.

To avoid these objections, recourse may be had to the supposition that St. Matthew, instead of having used a translation *XY*, which had been patched up from the translations *X* and *Y*, made use of these translations in an unmixed state, and that he sometimes copied from *X*, at other times from *Y*, and St. Luke, in like manner, used two distinct translations *Y* and *Z*, and copied sometimes from *Y*, sometimes from *Z*, that St. Mark had three distinct translations *X*, *Y*, and *Z*, and copied in one place from *X*, in another from *Y*, in a third place from *Z*: that St. Matthew and St. Mark had each of them more than one translation of α , and that they copied sometimes from the one, sometimes from the other, that St. Mark and St. Luke had each only one, but not the same, translation of β , and so on. But this form is so nearly allied to the preceding, that most of the objections, which may be made to the one, may be made likewise to the other. And the latter, like the former, is incapable of explaining the phænomenon, that wherever St. Matthew and St. Luke verbally agree in \aleph , St. Mark likewise agrees verbally with both. For according to the latter form, St. Matthew and St. Luke must verbally agree, whenever both copied in the same place from the translation *Y*: but that St. Mark likewise, who had three

translations *X*, *Y*, and *Z*, should always hit upon the translation *Y*, and never on either *X* or *Z*, where St. Matthew and St. Luke had copied from *Y*, is not very credible. Yet this supposition must be made: or the phænomenon in question remains unexplained. Equally difficult shall we find it to account for the phænomenon, that St. Matthew and St. Mark never agree verbally in any of the sections, which occupy different places in their Gospels. For if both St. Matthew and St. Mark made use of the translations *X* and *Y*, it is inconceivable that they should not have copied in any one instance throughout all these sections from the same translation. Many other difficulties might be pointed out, which attend this and every other form, under which a variety of Greek translations may be imagined: but what has been already said is sufficient to shew, that the phænomena in our three first Gospels must be explained on some other principle.

4. That all three Evangelists used both Hebrew and Greek copies.

Now these Greek copies, as before, contained either the same translation of *N*, or two of them the same and the third a different one, or all three contained different translations, or lastly the Evangelists used a mixture of translations. But the first case is not possible: for if all three Evangelists had in some places translated from the Hebrew, and in other places transcribed from a translation *X*, St. Matthew and St. Luke must sometimes have copied from *X*, where St. Mark did not, as well as St. Matthew and St. Mark, where St. Luke did not, and St. Mark and St. Luke where St. Matthew did not. But since we find no example, in which St. Matthew and St. Luke verbally agree in *N* without St. Mark, it is evident that St. Matthew and St. Luke cannot have copied from the same translation. Nor is the second case possible: for if St. Matthew and St. Mark had used the same translation and St. Luke a different one, St. Mark and St. Luke could not have verbally agreed in the manner in which they do; and on the other hand, if St. Mark and St. Luke had used the

same translation, but St. Matthew a different one, St. Matthew and St. Mark could not have verbally agreed in the manner in which they do. For these reasons the third case is likewise impossible. There remains then, as before, only the fourth case, that they used a mixture of translations. But the insuperable difficulties, which attend this supposition, have been already stated in the preceding article : and these difficulties will not be lessened by the additional supposition, that the Evangelists used likewise the Hebrew original.

5. That two Evangelists used both Hebrew and Greek copies, while the third used the Hebrew only : or that two of them used the Hebrew alone, and the third both a Hebrew and a Greek copy.

But the first of these two forms cannot account for the verbal agreement in all three Evangelists : and the other form cannot account for the verbal agreement even between any two.

6. That one of the Evangelists used the Hebrew alone, and that the other two used translations alone : or that two of the Evangelists used the Hebrew alone, while the third used the Greek translation alone.

But this form, in whatever light we place it, will never be able to explain the examples of verbal coincidence in all three Evangelists : and therefore it is unnecessary to point out the single difficulties, which attend each particular position of it.

7. That one of the Evangelists used a Greek translation alone, but the other two used both the Hebrew original and a Greek translation : or that two of the Evangelists used only a Greek translation, but that the third, together with a Greek translation, used also the Hebrew original.

According to this form, each of the Evangelists used, either with or without the Hebrew original, a Greek translation of it. The objections therefore, which were made to No. 3. and No. 4. apply likewise to the present form.

It appears then, that the hypothesis of a common Hebrew original is incapable of giving a satisfactory

solution of the phenomena observable in our three first Gospels, if it be represented in any of those forms, which include the supposition, *that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Greek*¹.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE VARIOUS FORMS OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED GENERAL SUPPOSITION, AS THEY MAY BE REPRESENTED, WHEN IT IS ASSUMED, THAT ST. MATTHEW WROTE IN HEBREW, TRIED BY THE PHÆNOMENA IN THE VERBAL HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

It remains therefore that we examine the forms, in which the hypothesis may be represented, when it is presupposed *that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew*.

Now if we presuppose, that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew we cannot well assume, that he made use of any Greek translation: consequently the question, whether Greek translations were used by the Evangelists is confined to St. Mark and St. Luke. Yet here, as before, there are various possible forms. We may assume,

1. *That St. Mark and St. Luke, as well as St. Matthew, used copies of the Hebrew original only.*

- But in this case the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke would contain two perfectly independent translations, which, as has been already shewn, is not true.

¹ If for the name of St. Matthew we substitute any other name assumed at pleasure, the arguments, which have been used are equally valid. Consequently, if we suppose that any other person was the author of our first Greek Gospel, the hypothesis of a common Hebrew document is likewise incapable, in any shape whatever, of explaining the phenomena.

2. *That St. Mark and St. Luke used copies of the Hebrew original, but at the same time that the successor used likewise the Gospel of his predecessor.*

But this form is likewise insufficient for the explanation of the phænomena, as appears from what was said in No. 2. of the preceding chapter.

3. *That St. Mark and St. Luke used Greek translations only.*

By a mode of reasoning similar to that which was adopted in No. 3. of the preceding chapter, it may be shewn that this form likewise, in whatever light it be placed, is inadmissible.

4. *That St. Mark and St. Luke used the Hebrew original, and likewise different translations of it.*

But on this supposition the numerous examples of verbal agreement between these two Evangelists remain unexplained.

5. *That the one used the Hebrew alone, while the other used a Greek translation alone.*

This form is likewise inadmissible, and for the same reason, as the foregoing.

None of these five forms therefore will account for the phænomena in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke alone : and after these are explained, the phænomena in the Greek translation of St. Matthew's Gospel, which at present is supposed to have been written in Hebrew, are still left for consideration.

CHAPTER XV.

DESCRIPTION OF THE AUTHOR'S HYPOTHESIS.

THERE remains however one form, and that a very simple and probable one, which will solve the phænomena of every description in a very satisfactory manner, and in a manner perfectly consistent with divine

inspiration, as will appear from a subsequent Note. This form is the following *.

St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, all three, used copies of the common Hebrew document κ : the materials of which St. Matthew, who wrote in Hebrew, retained in the language, in which he found them, but St. Mark and St. Luke translated them into Greek. They had no knowledge of each other's Gospels : but St. Mark and St. Luke, beside their copies of the Hebrew document κ , used a Greek translation of it, which had been made, before any of the additions α , β , &c. had been inserted. Lastly, as the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke contain Greek translations of Hebrew materials, which were incorporated into St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, the person who translated St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel into Greek, frequently derived assistance, from the Gospel of St. Mark, where St. Mark had matter in common with St. Matthew : and in those places, but in those places only, where St. Mark had no matter in common with St. Matthew, he had frequently recourse to St. Luke's Gospel.

The hypothesis, thus stated and determined, will account for all the phænomena, relative to the verbal agreement and disagreement in our three first Gospels,

* The following form relates only to the Hebrew document, which was used by all three Evangelists. But beside this common document, there was another, used only by St. Matthew and St. Luke, of which more will be said hereafter.

as well as for the other manifold relations, which they bear to each other: and it contains nothing, which is either improbable in itself, or is inconsistent with historical evidence. That this may appear the more clearly, let us trace the several steps, which may be supposed to have been taken, from the first drawing up of the Hebrew document \aleph to the composition of our canonical Gospels.

I. HEBREW DOCUMENT \aleph : WHICH CONTAINED A NARRATIVE OF FACTS.

Several years before any of our canonical Gospels were composed, a short narrative was drawn up containing the principal transactions of Jesus Christ from his baptism to his death: which narrative we denote by \aleph . It must not be considered as a finished history, but as a document containing only materials for a history: and as those materials were probably not all communicated at the same time, we must suppose, that they were not all placed in exact chronological order. It was written, as may be reasonably expected, in the native language of the Jews of Jerusalem, that is, in Chaldee intermixed with ancient Hebrew words: but as the fathers give to this dialect the name of Hebrew as well as to the language, in which the Old Testament is written, and the use of the term 'Hebrew' in this sense, when it is properly explained will create no confusion, we may say that the narrative \aleph was written in Hebrew.

As no persons were so well qualified to give an account of Christ's transactions, as they who had constantly attended him, and the ancient fathers speak of a 'Gospel

according to the Apostles^b, and of 'Memoirs of the Apostles^c', we may suppose, without violating the rules of probability, that this document N was drawn up from communications made by the Apostles, and therefore that it was not only a work of good authority, but a work, which was worthy of furnishing materials to any one of the Apostles, who had formed a resolution of writing a more complete history. I would not however convert either the Memoirs of the Apostles, or the Gospel according to the Apostles, or the Gospel according to the Hebrews (if this was a different work), as they existed in a later age, into the assumed Hebrew document N, which is to be considered only as the basis of these, as well as of other Gospels. But since a work may retain its original name, even after it has lost, in consequence of alterations and additions, its original form and extent, there is no improbability in supposing that a document, which served as the ground work of the 'Gospel according to the Apostles,' was called by some Hebrew title, which in Greek would be expressed by Διηγησις^d περι των κ. τ. λ. καθως παρεδσαν οι αποστολοι. Or the person, or persons, who drew it up from the communications of the Apostles, might entitle it Διηγησις περι των πεπληροφορημενων εν ημιν πραγματων, καθως παρεδσαν ημιν οι απ' αρχης αυτοπται και υπηρξει γενομενοι τε λογε, a title, which St. Luke himself has quoted in the Preface to his Gospel. That these words are not St. Luke's own, but the title of a book, is a conjecture of Lessing^e,

^b Των δωδεκα ευαγγελιων as named by Origen in his first homily on St. Luke's Gospel (Origen. Op. Tom. III. p. 932. Note a ed. Delarue)—secundum Apostolos, as called by Jerom in his third book against the Pelagians, and των δωδεκα, as named by Theophylact in the Preface to his Commentary on St. Luke's Gospel.

^c Απομνημονευματα των Αποστολων. By this name Justin Martyr calls the work, from which he cites passages relative to Christ's history: and he says expressly of it υπο των Αποστολων και των εκεινους παρακολουθησαντων συντεταχθαι. Dialog. cum Tryphone, p. 331. ed. Colon.

^d Not ευαγγελιον: for ευαγγελιον in the first century had not acquired the sense of 'Life of Christ.'

^e Theologischer Nachlass, p. 65.

which is approved by Storr¹: and that the conjecture is not ill-founded will appear from the following considerations. 1. After St Luke had written, *επειδειπερ πολλοι επεχειρησαν αναταξασθαι*, he would have used, not *διηγησιν* in the singular, but *διηγησεις* in the plural, if by this word he had meant, as is commonly supposed², to express narratives written by these πολλοι. 2. *Αναταξασθαι διηγησιν* is not synonymous to *γραφαι διηγησιν*: for it does not signify 'to write a new narrative,' but 'to rearrange a narrative already written.' 3. If these had been St. Luke's own words, he must have said *καθως παρεδουσαν αυτοις*, and not *καθως παρεδουσαν ημιν*: for though we may say of other persons, that they have undertaken to write a history, as eye-witnesses have related the facts to *them*, we cannot well say, that they have undertaken to write a history, as eye-witnesses have related the facts to *us*³. 4. If so many persons had written narratives of Christ's transactions, and had written only what eye-witnesses to these transactions had related, there was the less necessity for St. Luke to write a Gospel, and Theophilus might have 'known the certainty of these things,' though St. Luke had not written. 5. All the objections are removed by the supposition, that the words from *διηγησιν* to *λογε*, are nothing more than a Greek translation of a Hebrew title, which had been adopted by the writer or writers of the Hebrew document *κ*: that in the interval, which elapsed between the composition of this document, and that of St. Luke's Gospel,

¹ Zweck der Evangelischen Geschichte und Briefe Johannis (Tübingen 1786, 8vo.) p. 357. But neither Lessing nor Storr apply the conjecture in the manner, in which it is here applied.

² See Mill. Prol. § 35.

³ No commentator, as far as I know, has made this remark, though it appears to be a very obvious one. L. Capellus proposed indeed a transposition of all the words from *καθως* to *λογε*, and recommended their insertion after *απεισας*, which would remove the objection here made; but Cappellus appears to have had a different object in view. At any rate, a cause must be very desperate before such arbitrary transpositions can be admitted.

many persons had attempted to re-arrange and new-model the Hebrew narrative **N**, by making in it additions, transpositions, &c. in short *αναταξασθαι την διηγησιν*¹: and, that as not all the additions, which had been made by these many writers, were drawn from the best sources², St. Luke, who had accurately traced every transaction from the beginning (*παρηκολυθηκως ανωθεν, πασιν ακριβως*), resolved to compose a narrative, of which he made, as others had done, the authentic document **N** the basis, but introduced only such additions, as he knew were consistent with the truth, that Theophilus, for whose immediate use he wrote, might know the certainty of those things, in which he had been instructed, (*ινα επιγνω περι ων κατηχηθη λογων την ασφαλειαν*). The same motive which induced St. Luke to compose a Gospel in Greek, might have induced St. Matthew to compose a Gospel in Hebrew, that the Jewish converts in Palestine might likewise be able to distinguish truth from falsehood.

But whether this conjecture be grounded or not, the hypothesis itself remains unaffected.

II. GREEK TRANSLATION OF THE HEBREW DOCUMENT **N**.

As the document **N** was written in Hebrew, and was therefore unintelligible to the Greek Christians, it was soon translated into Greek. This Greek translation, which I suppose to have been made, before the text of **N** had been augmented by any additions α , β , &c., may be denoted \bar{N} .

¹ St. Luke has *αναταξασθαι διηγησιν*, without the article. Whether this omission is sufficient to destroy the whole conjecture, I leave to be determined by the learned.

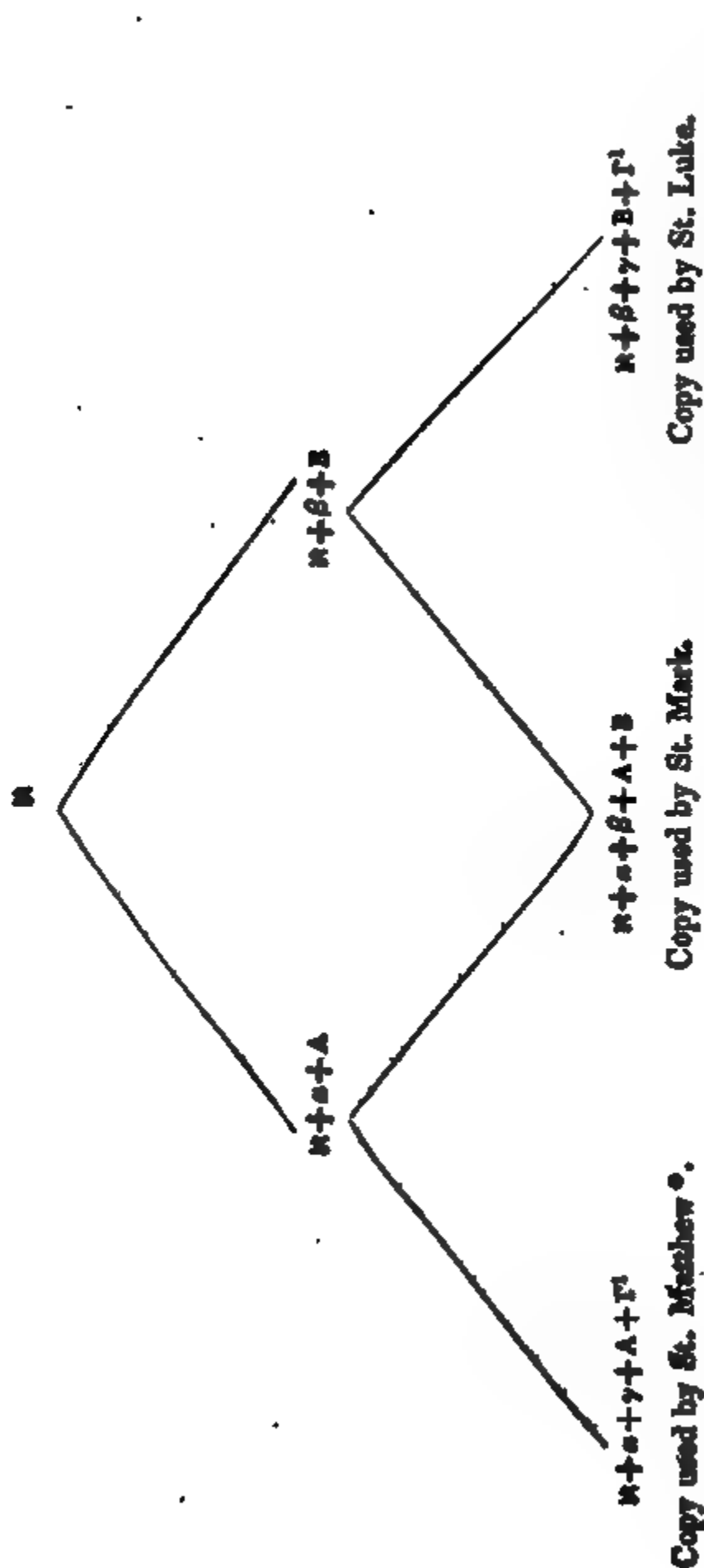
² I have no doubt that these persons had the honest intention of relating only what they believed to be true, nor does St. Luke's Preface imply the contrary. But as they who take their information, at second hand, are liable to be deceived, they had undesignedly blended inaccurate with accurate accounts: and this St. Luke's Preface *does* imply.

III. COPIES OF THE HEBREW DOCUMENT

WITH ADDITIONS.

In process of time, as new communications from the Apostles and other eye-witnesses brought to light either additional circumstances relative to transactions already recorded in \mathfrak{N} , or transactions, which had been left wholly unnoticed, those persons, who possessed copies of \mathfrak{N} , added in their manuscripts such additional circumstances and transactions; and these additions in subsequent copies were inserted in the text. The additions of the former kind have been denoted above by α, β, γ : those of the latter kind by A, B, Γ^1 . We may suppose then, that in one copy the additions $\alpha + A$ were made, in another copy the additions $\beta + B$; that in a third copy these additions were united, and lastly that the first and the second copies were each of them, further augmented by the additions γ and Γ^1 . The genealogy of these transcripts may be represented in the following manner¹.

¹ Γ^1 denotes those sections, which St. Matthew and St. Luke have in the same order; Γ^2 those which they have in a different order. See the end of Ch. 11.



ough α , β , &c. are placed after n in the notation here and Luke, it must not be supposed, that they were so placed at the end of n , but were inserted, one in one oment. But their position could not be represented No confusion however can arise, if the explanation

here given, be kept constantly in view.

By this genealogy, the origin of the three copies supposed to have been used by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, is traced in an easy and simple manner, and there is no necessity either for making any perplexed and improbable combinations, or for supposing a great multiplication of copies. Two intermediate transcripts, between the original document \aleph and the copies supposed to have been used by the Evangelists, were sufficient.

IV. SUPPLEMENTAL HEBREW DOCUMENT \beth , WHICH CONTAINED A Γνωμολογία.

In addition to the document \aleph , which contained a series of *facts*, another document was drawn up, containing a *collection of precepts, parables, and discourses*, which had been delivered by Christ, at different times, and on different occasions. In this collection, though many of the facts were noted, which gave rise to those precepts, parables, and discourses, no regard was paid to chronological order. It was not common to all three Evangelists, for it was used only by St. Matthew and St. Luke: and these two Evangelists had not the same, but different copies of it, St. Matthew's copy containing some things, which were not in St. Luke's, and St. Luke's copy some things, which were not in St. Matthew's. From this supplemental document, which may be denoted by \beth , were derived the sections Γ^2 .

Further, though St. Matthew's copy contained $\aleph + \epsilon + \gamma + A + \Gamma^2$, it is not therefore to be inferred that these were *the whole* of its contents. For it is not improbable that it contained some additions, which had been made neither in the copy used by St. Mark, nor in the copy used by St. Luke: and that hence St. Matthew derived some of the materials, which are in his Gospel alone. The same observation may be made in respect to the copies used by St. Mark and St. Luke. Such additions, as were peculiar to each of the three copies might be denoted, in one by Δ , in the other by E , in the third by Z . But they cannot be taken into the present estimate, because we have no data, to distinguish them from the additions, which each Evangelist himself made.

V. ST. MATTHEW'S HEBREW GOSPEL.

St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, and made the Hebrew document \aleph , augmented by the additions $\alpha + \gamma + A + \Gamma^1$, the basis of his Gospel. He likewise inserted in various parts of his Gospel much matter (Γ^2), which was contained in the supplemental document \beth . Thus he gave the sanction of apostolical authority to facts and discourses, which were already recorded. Further, he made many additions, sometimes of particular circumstances, at other times of facts and discourses, which are contained, neither in the Gospel of St. Mark, nor in that of St. Luke. Lastly, he arranged and digested the whole according to his own plan: in the former part of the document \aleph he made many transpositions, because many of the facts had not been placed in chronological order, and in many other places he altered and improved the original text. According to this representation, St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel must be considered as a work quite distinct from that document, which was the basis only of his Gospel, as well as of the other two. Nor must it be confounded with that Hebrew Gospel which was afterwards *called* St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel¹, and was used, (but in copies which did not agree with each other) by the Nazarenes and the Ebionites².

¹ Quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum, as Jerom says in note to Matth. xii. 13. (Tom. IV. P. I. p. 47. ed. Benedict.) and, ut plerique *autumant*, juxta Matthæum, as he says, (adv. Pelag. Lib. III. T. IV. P. II. p. 533). Now if Jerom had himself been convinced, that the Hebrew Gospel, which he saw at the end of the fourth century, was St. Matthew's genuine text, he would not have said, quod vocatur, &c. and ut plerique *autumant*, &c. when Irenæus therefore says (adv. Hæres. Lib. III. cap. 11), that the Ebionites used the Gospel of St. Matthew, his testimony proves only, that the Ebonite Gospel bore the name of St. Matthew in the second century, not that it was St. Matthew's genuine original; a fact, which Irenæus, who did not understand Hebrew, could not attest.

² The copy used by the Nazarenes is called by Epiphanius (Hæres. XXIX. 9.) το κατὰ Ματθαίου ευαγγέλιον ἀληθέστατον ἰβραϊστί. Of the

That these copies contained in some places matter, which is not at all in our Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, and that where they had the same or similar matter the relations were frequently very different, appears from the quotations of Jerom and Epiphanius^a. Either therefore they differed in many respects from St. Matthew's genuine original, or the later differed materially from our Greek translation. But, according to the hypothesis, which is here proposed, our first Greek Gospel is nothing more and nothing less than a plain translation of St. Matthew's genuine original. Consequently St. Matthew's genuine original must, according to our hypothesis, be considered as a Gospel, which was not indeed totally different from, but was not precisely the same with the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes and the Ebionites. How it came to pass that the Gospel of the Nazarenes and the Ebionites acquired among other titles (for it had more than one) the appellation of St. Matthew's Gospel, whether, as used by the Nazarenes in the first century it was really St. Matthew's Hebrew original, but gradually lost its pristine form through numerous alterations and additions, or whether from the very first it was a different offspring from the Hebrew document \aleph , but was afterwards confounded with the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, because both of them were used by inhabitants of Judæa, were written in the same language, and contained much matter in common with each other, is a question of no importance to the present inquiry, which relates only to the origin of our three first canonical Gospels.

copy used by the Ebionites he says, (Hæres. XXX. 13.) *ἐν τῷ παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγελίῳ, κατὰ Ματθαίου ὀνομαζομένῳ, ὃν ὅλοι οἱ σκληροτάτοι αὐτοὶ νοθεύουσιν καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας.*

^a The quotations of Jerom and Epiphanius from the copies used by the Nazarenes and the Ebionites have been collected by Grabe and Fabricius, but more completely by Jones, in his *New and full method of settling the canonical authority of the New Testament*, Vol. I. p. 336—350.

VI. ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL°.

St. Luke had a copy of the Hebrew document \aleph which had been enriched by the additions $\beta + \gamma + B + \Gamma^1$. This copy he made the basis of the principal part of his Gospel, and adhered to it throughout even in the *arrangement* of the facts ^p, not venturing to transpose any of them, as St. Matthew did, because he was not an Apostle and eye-witness, and had no knowledge of St. Matthew's Gospel ^q. He likewise derived much matter

• It is immaterial to the present hypothesis, whether the Gospel of St. Luke was written before that of St. Mark, or not. But as there is reason to believe, that St. Luke's Gospel was written before that of St. Mark, I place it immediately after St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel. And that even St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel was written after that of St. Luke is neither impossible nor improbable; but as no one can prove that it was, I have assigned to it its usual place.

^p When St. Luke says in his Preface (Ch. I. 3.) that he wrote $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta\epsilon\zeta\eta$, he alludes perhaps to his retention of the order, in which the facts were arranged in his document \aleph : an order, which had not been retained by those, of whom he says in his Preface that they had undertaken $\alpha\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota \delta\iota\alpha\gamma\eta\gamma\eta\sigma\iota\nu$.

^q As St. Luke himself declares in his Preface, that he had made the most diligent inquiries in respect to the history of Jesus Christ, and as he had ample means of information during the two years which he spent in Judæa, while St. Paul was prisoner at Cæsarea, it may be objected, that during that period he must have heard of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, as well as of the Hebrew documents \aleph and α . But that St. Matthew's Gospel then existed, is more than any man can prove. On the contrary, according to Irenæus, the most ancient evidence on this subject, St. Matthew did not write till after St. Luke had left Judæa, to accompany St. Paul into Italy: for Irenæus says, (Euseb. H. E. Lib. V. cap. 8.) that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, while St. Paul and St. Peter were in Rome. This sufficiently accounts for the fact, that St. Luke had no knowledge of St. Matthew's Gospel, a fact, which may be proved on other grounds, which it is unnecessary to repeat. But whether St. Luke drew up his Gospel and presented it to Theophilus, before St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel was written, is another inquiry, in which it is not so easy to give a satisfactory answer, because no one knows, at least with certainty, whether Theophilus, for whose particular use St. Luke wrote, lived in Judæa, or whether he lived elsewhere: and therefore, since it frequently happens, that an author draws up a work

(Γ) as St. Matthew did, from the supplemental Hebrew document 2; but from a copy of it, which contained some things, which St. Matthew's copy did not, as St. Matthew's copy contained some things, which St. Luke's copy did not. The use likewise, which St. Luke made of the document 2, was different from that, which St. Matthew made of it. For, as the document 2 contained a collection of precepts, parables, and discourses, which had been delivered by Christ at different times, and on different occasions, St. Matthew inserted them in various parts of his Gospel, having regard probably to the times and to the occasions, on which they were delivered. But St. Luke, who was not present at their delivery, retained them for the most part, though not wholly, in the collection, in which he found them: and this collection, with exception to a discourse and a parable, which will be considered hereafter, he inserted in that portion of his Gospel, which begins with ch. ix. 15. and ends with ch. xviii. 14. a portion, which consists almost wholly of precepts, parables, and discourses, the few facts, which are introduced in it, being nothing more than preludes to the discourses themselves. Of this portion the document 2 was the basis, as the document N was the basis of the rest of his Gospel, which contains chiefly a series of facts. Further, in addition to the materials, which St. Luke derived from N and 2, he inserted in his Gospel much other matter, the knowledge of which he obtained from the diligent inquiries, of which he speaks in his Preface.

many years after he has collected the materials for it, we cannot determine, whether St. Luke wrote his Gospel before he left Judæa, in which case he wrote most probably before St. Matthew, or whether he wrote it after he had left Judæa, in which case he may, or may not, have written after St. Matthew. On the other hand, if it were certain that St. Luke wrote before St. Matthew, and that he wrote even in Judæa, we should have no reason to think it extraordinary, that St. Matthew had no knowledge of St. Luke's Gospel, since it was destined, though ultimately for the church at large, yet immediately for the use of an individual, and therefore was not so publicly known, till some years after it was written.

As St. Luke wrote in Greek, but drew the greatest part of his materials from Hebrew documents, the greatest part of his Gospel contains a translation from the Hebrew; and in translating from the document \aleph , he had frequent recourse to the Greek version \aleph , which had been made of this document in its primitive state.

VII. ST. MARK'S GOSPEL.

St. Mark used a copy of the Hebrew document \aleph , which had been enriched by the additions $\alpha + \beta + A + B$. This copy he made the basis of his Gospel, and adhered to it, as St. Luke had done to his copy, even in the arrangement of the facts. But he made no use of the supplemental document γ ; and with the exception to two or three short sections, which are peculiar to his Gospel, the additions which he himself made, consist in the notation of particular circumstances relative to transactions already recorded. As St. Mark wrote in Greek, but drew his materials from the Hebrew, his Gospel, with the exception of the additions, which he himself made, is a translation, and frequently a paraphrastical translation, from the Hebrew. However in many places he adopted as St. Luke had done, the words of the Greek translation \aleph . But he had no knowledge either of St. Luke's Gospel, or of the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew*.

* If St. Mark the Evangelist as there is reason to believe, was the person, who is called 'John Mark' in the Acts of the Apostles, it will be objected perhaps, that St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel could not have been unknown to him, because the mother of John Mark not only lived in Jerusalem, but had made her house a place of assembly for the primitive Christians, Acts xii. 12. But before this objection can be of any weight, it must be shewn that St. Mark resided at Jerusalem, or at least in Judæa, after St. Matthew had written his Gospel: for, if he left Judæa before St. Matthew wrote, and did not return thither, he might have seen and have taken with him a copy of the Hebrew document \aleph , and yet never have seen the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew. Now that St. Mark resided at Jerusalem, or even in Judæa, after St. Matthew's Gospel was written, is more than any man can prove. The last place, in which he is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, is ch. xv. 27. 39. where he is

VIII. GREEK TRANSLATION OF ST. MATTHEW'S HEBREW GOSPEL.

St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel was translated literally* into Greek, and this Greek translation is the Gospel, which occupies the first place in our canon †. It was not

described as setting out from Antioch to accompany Barnabas to the island of Cyprus: but at that time St. Matthew's Gospel was not written, as appears from a preceding note. St. Mark afterwards accompanied St. Peter, and came at last to Rome, where he resided, when St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Colossians (Col. iv. 10), and where St. Mark probably wrote his Gospel. But that during the interval, which elapsed between St. Mark's departure from Antioch, in company with Barnabas, and his arrival afterwards in Rome, he passed any time at Jerusalem, is a matter, of which we find no traces in any part of the New Testament. To the supposition therefore that St. Mark had never seen St. Matthew's Gospel no objection can be made on historical ground. And the supposition that he had never seen St. Luke's Gospel can admit of no difficulty, for the reason already assigned in a preceding Note.

* According to the proposed hypothesis therefore St. Matthew's Hebrew original was not merely the basis of our first Greek Gospel, as the assumed Hebrew document is supposed to be the basis of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke. For these two Evangelists, though they translated from a Hebrew document, acted at the same time with the freedom of authors, and treated *their* original as a work, which supplied them only with materials, which they themselves digested, augmented, and improved. St. Matthew's translator on the contrary acted as a *mere* translator, and attempted nothing more than to give a faithful and close copy of his original.

† Though no one can positively assert, that this is the only Greek translation, which was made of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, there is no ground for asserting the contrary. It is true, that many eminent critics have appealed to the following words of Papias, (Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 39.) *Ματθαῖος μὲν ἐν Ἑβραϊᾷ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνέγραψεν· ἡρμηνεύει δ' αὐτὰ, ὡς ἰδόντες ἰκανοί*: and have produced the latter clause as authority, that several translations were made of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel. But, as far as I am able to judge, the words of Papias signify nothing more than, that every one who used St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel (which every man must, who used it at all, before a Greek translation had been made) interpreted it, or made it out, as well as he could. That every man, who used St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, wrote a translation of it is incredible: nor

made till some time after the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke were written : and both of these Gospels were consulted by the translator *, which he used in the following manner. Wherever St. Mark had matter in common with St. Matthew, he had no recourse to St. Luke's Gospel †, but in those places he frequently transcribed from that of St. Mark, because St. Mark's Gospel, as well as that of St. Luke, already contained a Greek translation of a great part of the Hebrew materials, which had been incorporated into St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel. On the other hand, where he could derive no assistance from St. Mark's Gospel, or in the places, where St. Luke alone had matter in common

does the word ἱερμηνεύει warrant any such conclusion. If Papias had intended to say, that several written translations had been made of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, he would have hardly used the term ἱερμηνεύει, but ἱερμηνείαν, or rather μεταφράσει γραφῆν: for though ἱερμηνεύει does not exclude the sense of a written translation, it does not, when used alone, imply it. And that Papias did not intend to ascribe to it this sense appears from his applying to it the indefinite term ἱεραγεῖον, which excludes the notion of written translations.

* The supposition, that the Greek translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel used the Gospels both of St. Mark and of St. Luke, is not at all affected by the arguments, which various writers have alleged, to prove that the Evangelists did not see each other's writings. For these arguments relate to them merely as *authors*, and rest on the principle, that if the one had seen the writings of the other, their Gospels would in many places have been different from what we really find them. But this principle does not apply to a mere *translator*, whose object is to give a faithful copy of his original, and not to attempt an improvement of it, either by alterations or additions from the works of other writers on the same subject. The argument likewise, which I used in ch. viii. against the opinion, that any part of St. Matthew's Gospel was copied from that of St. Mark, applies merely to the *author*, it being there supposed that St. Matthew wrote in Greek.

† As St. Mark had been a constant attendant on St. Peter, who was one of the twelve Apostles, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that St. Matthew's translator preferred St. Mark's Gospel to that of St. Luke's. This is not the only instance of such a preference ; for Michaelis himself says, (Vol. III. Ch. v. Sect. 6.) that when there is a variation between St. Mark and St. Luke, he would abide by the account of the former.

with St. Matthew, he very frequently adopted the translation, which already existed in St. Luke's Gospel *.

Such are the steps which may be supposed to have been taken from the first drawing up of the Hebrew document ~~to~~ to the composition of our canonical Gospels. There is no internal improbability attending any one of them: they are neither numerous, nor complicated: they are neither inconsistent with the manners of the first century, nor contradictory to the evidence of real history *. That St. Matthew wrote his Gospel, in Hebrew, is asserted by the voice of all antiquity: this part of the hypothesis therefore is confirmed by positive evidence. That St. Mark wrote merely from the preaching of St. Peter is

* Whoever thinks it improbable, that the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, if he had been in possession of St. Luke's Gospel, should never have copied from it as long as St. Mark had matter in common with St. Matthew, may without injuring the rest of the hypothesis make in this part of it the following alteration, and suppose, that he had only an extract from St. Luke's Gospel, containing such parts of it, as were not in the Gospel of St. Mark. And in the explanation of the phenomena observable in the verbal harmony of the Evangelists, wherever I suppose, that the translator used the Gospel of St. Luke, may be substituted by those, who prefer it, the supposition that he used only such an extract.

* Every step, which is here supposed to have been taken, is likewise perfectly consistent with the doctrine of inspiration, not indeed of verbal inspiration, but of inspiration, as it is understood by bishop Warburton and Dr. Whitby. The former in his doctrine of Grace, Book 1. Ch. 7. considers the Holy Spirit as having operated on the sacred writers 'by watching over them incessantly, but with so suspended a hand as permitted the use, and left them to the guidance of their own faculties, while they kept clear of error, and then only interposing, when without this divine assistance they would have been in danger of falling.' With such an inspiration the opinion, that the Evangelists drew a great part of their materials from a written document is perfectly consistent; for if that document contained any thing erroneous, they had the power of detecting and correcting it. Dr. Townson in his Discourses on the Four Gospels (Disc. III. Sect. 5). thinks there is an impropriety in supposing, that St. Matthew, who was an apostle, made use of what had been written by other persons. But if the documents, which he used, were drawn up from communications made by the Apostles, of whom St. Matthew himself was one, all objections on the score of impropriety must cease.

not history, but a vague report, which confutes itself by the contradictory modes in which it is delivered, and moreover was not credited by all the ancients themselves, or Augustin would not have hazarded the (equally ungrounded) conjecture that St. Mark epitomised St. Matthew. On the other hand it may be admitted, that the knowledge of those numerous *circumstances*, with which St. Mark enriched the document *N*, was derived from his intercourse with St. Peter: and *so far* the report, that St. Mark wrote from the preaching of St. Peter, may be true. At any rate, whatever was the assistance, which the Apostle afforded him, that assistance does not exclude the use of the document *N*. That St. Luke wrote from the preaching of St. Paul is likewise a vague report, and is confuted by the preface, which St. Luke himself has prefixed to his Gospel: but this preface is perfectly consistent with our hypothesis, and, if the explanation above given be admitted, it is a confirmation of it. That positive testimony cannot be alleged in favour of every part, can form no ground of objection; and it is sufficient that no part is contradicted by positive testimony. For we are at present concerned, not with a series of facts, of which the truth or falshood is to be determined by the testimonies of ancient writers, (since real history deserts us on this subject), but with a *mere hypothesis*, assumed to explain certain appearances, of which hypothesis the only criterion is its harmony with the appearances themselves. If these are effects, which would necessarily have been produced by the assigned causes, we may argue from the real existence of the effects to the probable existence of the causes; and if we can imagine no other causes, which would have produced these effects, the probability rises to the highest degree. Now whether any other assignable cause would have produced the effects in question, I leave to be determined by what was said in chap. viii—xiv: but that the causes, which I have assigned in ch. xv. would have produced these effects will appear from the following recapitulation of the phænomena arranged according to the four above stated divisions.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PRECEDING HYPOTHESIS TRIED BY THE PHÆ-
NOMENA IN THE VERBAL HARMONY OF THE GOS-
PELS.

THE FIRST DIVISION, CONTAINING \aleph , WITH THE
ADDITIONS α , β , γ .

1. In \aleph :

a). In \aleph , the examples in which all three Gospels verbally coincide are not numerous, and contain in general only one or two, or at the outside three sentences together, because a verbal coincidence in all three Gospels could not be effected without the co-operation of three distinct causes in the same place, which may reasonably be supposed not to have happened frequently, and, when it happened, to have been of no long duration. Namely, both St. Mark and St. Luke must have copied in that place from \aleph ; and the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel must have copied in that very place from St. Mark *.

b). The examples of verbal agreement in \aleph between the Greek Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark are numerous and long, because St. Matthew's translator was assisted in his translation by St. Mark's Gospel. That our Greek text of St. Matthew's Gospel does not always literally agree with that of St. Mark, when the two Evangelists have matter in common with each other, but on the contrary that the examples, in which the same thing is related in different words, are more numerous than those,

* In those places therefore, in which all three Gospels verbally agree, they contain the text of one and the same translation, namely, the translation \aleph .

in which the same words are used, was occasioned partly by the circumstance that the Greek translation exhibited in St. Mark's Gospel was frequently too paraphrastical to be adopted by a translator, whose object was to give a literal version, partly because the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel either did not think it necessary at all times to consult St. Mark's Gospel, or did not always observe *where* St. Mark had matter in common with St. Matthew; since the copies of St. Mark's Gospel at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century had probably no sections or divisions *marked* in them, but were written without distinction in one continued series, and no one thought at that time of writing the Gospels in parallel columns, as later harmonists have done, or of making canons, as Eusebius did in the fourth century by the help of the Ammonian sections, so as to enable the reader to discover in one Gospel the passages, which correspond to those in another.

- c). Hence we may assign the reason, why St. Matthew's Greek text never agrees verbally with that of St. Mark in any of those sections which occupy different places in the two Gospels, viz. in Sect. V. and XI. and in the five successive sections' XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. XIX. To render this matter more intelligible, it will be necessary to arrange those sections, according to the order of St. Matthew's Gospel, because their order in St. Mark's Gospel, according to which all the XLII. sections have been arranged in the Table of parallel and coincident passages, was no guide to the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel.

Sect.	St. Matthew.	St. Mark.
6.	VIII. 2—4.	I. 40—45.
5.	- 14—17.	- 29—34.
15.	- 18—27.	- IV. 35—41.
16.	- 28—34.	- V. 1—20.

Sect.	St. Matthew.		St. Mark.
7.	IX. 1—8.	corresponds to	II. 1—12.
8.	- 9—17.	-	13—22.
17.	- 18—26.	-	V. 21—43.
18.	- X. 1—42.	-	VI. 7—13.
	XI.		
9.	XII. 1—8.	-	II. 13—28.
10.	- 9—15.	-	III. 1—6.
12.	- 22—45.	-	20—30.
13.	- 46—50.	-	31—35.
14.	XIII. 1—23.	-	IV. 1—20.
19.	XIV. 1—12.	-	VI. 14—29.
20.	- 13—21.	-	30—44.

From this representation it is evident that Sect. XV. XVI. also XVII. XVIII. and likewise XIX. have in St. Mark's Gospel a different position from that which they have in St. Matthew's. Further, Sect. V. has a different place, for in St. Mark's Gospel it precedes Sect. VI. but in St. Matthew's Gospel follows it: and Sect. XI. (though not represented in this table) has likewise a different position, for in Section XI. Mark iii. 7—19. corresponds to Matthew iv. 23—25, whereas the former part of Matthew iv. corresponds to the former part of Mark i. In these sections therefore, the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel did not observe where St. Mark had matter in common with St. Matthew, and consequently could not transcribe from him.

The whole will appear more clearly, if we follow the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel from ch. viii. 2. to ch. xiv. 12. In rendering ch. viii. 2—4. he observed that this section corresponded to Mark i 40—45. and here he retained a great part of the words, which St. Mark had used: but not in rendering ver. 14—17. because the parallel portion in St. Mark's Gospel did not follow, but precede what he had just occupied. Nor did he perceive the portions in St. Mark's Gospel, which are parallel to Matth. viii. 18—27. 28—34. (Sect. XV. XVI.) because

they follow after an interval of more than two chapters. But in rendering Matth. IX. 1—8. (Sect. VII.) he knew that Mark ii. 1—12. was the corresponding portion, because he had already copied from the latter part of Mark i. and therefore had observed what immediately followed in Mark ii. : and in rendering Matth. IX. 9—17. (Sect. VIII.) he necessarily perceived the corresponding portion, Mark ii. 13—22. because it succeeds without any interruption. Hence these two sections exhibit examples of verbal agreement. On the other hand, when he came to Matth. ix. 18—26. x. 1—42. (Sect. XVII. XVIII.) he did not observe the corresponding portions of St. Mark's Gospel, because these likewise follow after an interval of more than two chapters. Again, in rendering Matth. xii. 1—8. (Sect. IX.) he knew that Mark ii. 23—28. corresponded, because he had already consulted Mark ii. 13—22. and therefore had observed what immediately followed : and in rendering Matth. xii. 9—50. xiii. 1—34. (Sect. X. XII. XIII. XIV.) he necessarily perceived the corresponding portion, Mark iii. 1—35. iv. 1—34. because it follows without interruption. Hence Sect. IX. X. XII., and especially Sect. XIV. exhibit examples of verbal agreement. But when the translator came to Matth. XIV. 1—12. (Sect. XIX.) he again did not perceive that the corresponding portion in St. Mark's Gospel was ch. vi. 14—29. because more than a whole chapter, which corresponded to another part of St. Matthew's Gospel, intervened. However, in Sect. XX. he discovered the corresponding place of St. Mark's Gospel, from which place to the end the sections follow in the same order in both Gospels : and from this place the interruptions in the verbal agreement greatly diminish.

d.) But in no instance throughout all \mathfrak{N} does St. Mark fail to agree verbally with St. Matthew's Greek text, where St. Luke agrees with it, because the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel made no use of St. Luke's Gospel, where he could derive assistance from St. Mark. Consequently, the Greek texts of St.

- Matthew and St. Luke could never coincide in \aleph , except through the medium of St. Mark's Gospel.
- e.) St. Mark and St. Luke have a frequent verbal agreement in \aleph , because both of them made use of the same Greek version $\bar{\aleph}$, and consequently wherever they copied in the same place from $\bar{\aleph}$ they must agree verbally with each other*. But the instances of verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke are neither so numerous nor so long as those between St. Mark, and St. Matthew, because the former could not be produced without the co-operation of two distinct causes, whereas the latter required the operation of only one cause.
- f.) Hence the examples of verbal agreement in \aleph , between St. Mark and St. Luke, are much inferior in number to the examples of disagreement. Yet on the other hand St. Mark never fails to agree verbally with St. Luke in \aleph , where St. Matthew's Greek text agrees verbally with that of St. Luke, because the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel copied in \aleph from St. Mark only, and not from St. Luke, and therefore St. Mark must already have agreed with St. Luke, before St. Matthew's translator could agree with St. Luke.
- g.) In several of the XLII. general sections, St. Mark agrees verbally in one place with St. Matthew, in another place with St. Luke, and therefore appears at first sight to have copied from both, not because he really did copy from both, but because in the one place the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel copied from St. Mark, and in the other both St. Mark and St. Luke copied from $\bar{\aleph}$.
- h.) St. Matthew's Greek text never agrees in \aleph with that of St. Luke, except where both agree with that of St. Mark, because the translator had no recourse to St. Luke, where St. Mark had

* Wherever St. Mark and St. Luke therefore agree verbally in \aleph , their Gospels contain the text of one and the same translation, namely, of the translation $\bar{\aleph}$.

matter in common with St. Matthew. Consequently, throughout all \aleph the Greek translation of St. Matthew's Gospel could harmonize with St. Luke's Gospel through no other means, than through the medium of St. Mark's Gospel, and therefore in those places only, where St. Mark already agreed with St. Luke.

- i.) Hence it follows, that St. Matthew's Greek text can never agree in \aleph , partly with that of St. Mark and partly with that of St. Luke, nor St. Luke's text partly with that of St. Mark and partly with that of St. Matthew, as was just observed of St. Mark's text, because throughout all \aleph St. Matthew's Greek text never agrees verbally with that of St. Luke only.

2. In α the Greek texts of St. Matthew and St. Mark often coincide for the same reason as they frequently coincide in \aleph . For the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel copied indiscriminately from St. Mark's Gospel both in \aleph and α , without perceiving any distinction between them. Examples may be seen in Sect. I. XIV. XXI. XXXV. XXXVIII. XLI. But in the longest and the most remarkable of all the additions α (Matth. xiv. 3—12. Mark vi. 17—29.) there is no verbal agreement whatsoever, though the narrative is the same in both Gospels, because this addition is in Sect. XIX. in which section the translator did not copy from St. Mark for the reason already assigned. There are likewise other examples of α , in which the Greek texts of St. Matthew and St. Mark are very different, namely,

Matth. xii. 48, 49.	Mark iii. 33, 34.
xiii. 2.	iv. 1.
xiv. 21.	vi. 44.
xvii. 10—12.	ix. 11—13.
xxvii. 1.	xv. 1.
13.	5.
15—18.	6—10.

But whoever compares the two texts in these examples will find, that if the first of our Greek Gospels is a *literal* translation from the Hebrew, as is assumed in the present hypothesis, the translator could not well have copied from St. Mark in these examples, because though the matter is the same, the difference between the two Greek texts does not consist *merely* in a variation of single synonymous words. Consequently, in these examples St. Mark's translation was too free, to be adopted by the literal translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel.

3. Among the numerous additions β , St. Mark and St. Luke verbally agree in only one short sentence, (Mark x. 15. Luke xviii. 17. in Sect. XXVI.) because the version \bar{N} , which they used in common, had been made from the Hebrew document, before any of the additions α , β , &c. had been inserted in the copies of it. Consequently, whenever St. Mark and St. Luke, in translating from their copies of the Hebrew document \bar{N} , met with any additions β , their Greek translation \bar{N} deserted them: they were obliged, therefore, to translate for themselves, and hence they produced in the additions β totally different texts. But as there is hardly any rule without an exception, we find one here, which, however, will not be thought sufficient to prove that the cause, on which the rule is here founded, is false, when a probable reason may be assigned for this exception: for when a cause is assigned, and a rule founded on it, no one can argue from one deviation to the falsity of the cause, unless he can shew that a deviation from the rule is inconsistent with the existence of that cause. Now it has been observed above in chap. xi. that the notation \bar{N} , when applied to the original Hebrew document, must not be taken in so strict a sense, as if the original Hebrew document in no instance contained a sentence more than is found in all *three* Evangelists, for this would imply, not only that not one of the Evangelists, but that none of the transcribers of the Hebrew document had omitted a single sentence, which was contained in it. We may

suppose therefore, without doing any injury to our hypothesis, that the sentence in Sect. XXVI. which we now find only in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, was in the original Hebrew document, but that it was either overlooked by the person, who wrote the copy, which St. Matthew used, or omitted by St. Matthew, or by his translator. And the supposition is so much the more credible, because throughout the whole of Sect. XXVI. the matter, which is common to St. Mark and St. Luke, is contained likewise in St. Matthew, with the exception of this single sentence. But if this sentence was an original part of the Hebrew document, it was contained in the translation \bar{N} , and St. Mark and St. Luke therefore agree verbally in this verse, as well as in ten other verses of Sect. XXVI. because they, both of them, copied here from their common version. On the other hand, if the sentence was not an original part of the document \bar{N} , it may have been an addition, made either by St. Mark alone, or by St. Luke alone, but afterwards interpolated from the Gospel of the one into the Gospel of the other by some early transcriber, who imagined that the latter was defective, because it contained that sentence less than the former: and whatever interpolation was made in the second century may be expected to be found in all the manuscripts which are now extant. It is true, that the verbal agreement of the Evangelists cannot upon the whole be attributed to the alterations of transcribers, as appears from what was said in the latter part of ch. 10: but that they really did interpolate in some cases is a fact, which is not to be denied. Thus in Mark vi. 11. the passage *Αμην λεγω υμιν ανεκτοτερον εσται Σοδομοις και Γομορροις εν ημερα κρισεως, η τη πολει εκεινη*, is undoubtedly an interpolation from St. Luke's Gospel, ch. x. 12. and is therefore rejected from Griesbach's text*. But wherever a passage pe-

* This is the reason why no notice was taken of it in the Table of parallel and coincident passages.

culiar to St. Luke's Gospel was interpolated in St. Mark's, or a passage peculiar to St. Mark's Gospel was interpolated in St. Luke's, the passage, though in this manner become common to St. Mark and St. Luke, was not one of those, which the Evangelists derived from the additions β in their copies of the Hebrew document. Since therefore several causes of deviation from the general rule might so easily have operated, it is surely allowable to suppose that one of them (and which of them is immaterial to the hypothesis) operated in the case in question. In fact, where the examples, which constitute a rule, are numerous, and more than one cause *may* have operated in producing an exception to that rule, there is more reason to expect, that one of the causes *did* operate, than the contrary. We may argue here on the same ground, as when the question relates to the identity and diversity of Greek manuscripts: for in the same manner as the argument in favour of the identity of MSS. drawn from a general and remarkable similarity in two different collations cannot be destroyed by one or two discordances, so the argument founded on St. Mark's and St. Luke's general discordance in β cannot be confuted by one example of coincidence. To place the matter in another light, suppose it were an historical fact attested by good authority, that St. Mark and St. Luke made use of a Greek translation of a Hebrew document α , but that this translation did not contain any of the additions α , β , &c. In that case, as well as in the present, the rule would be, that the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke must in the additions β have in general a different text. But if in any one instance a sentence of α , in which both St. Mark and St. Luke had copied from their Greek translations, was omitted in St. Matthew's Gospel, or a passage originally peculiar to St. Mark was interpolated in St. Luke's Gospel, or vice versa, an exception to the rule would necessarily take place: yet this exception would not annul the historical evidence in favour

of the fact, on which that rule was founded. Now, whether we acquire our knowledge of a fact by reading it in the works of ancient authors, or whether we acquire it by the deductions of reason, a deviation, which would not stagger our belief in the one case, ought not to stagger it in the other. It is true, that we may argue falsely in the latter case, as an historian may give us false information in the former. The only question therefore is, whether there is reason to believe, that the hypothesis here delivered is true: a question, which must be determined by the general harmony of the hypothesis with the phenomena to be explained. If *all* the phenomena can be explained by it, it is sufficient: and we must not expect to find no irregularity in any one phenomenon, since no general law can wholly exclude the interposition of disturbing powers.

4. The additions γ, which are peculiar to St. Matthew and St. Luke, afford examples of a remarkable verbal coincidence, because where the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel came to any one of these additions, St. Mark's Gospel deserted him; and where he could derive no assistance from St. Mark's Gospel, he consulted that of St. Luke. Thus in Sect. I. (Matth. iii. 1—12. Mark i. 2—8. Luke iii. 1—18.) which relates to John the Baptist, St. Mark's account is much shorter than that, either of St. Matthew, or of St. Luke, for John's address to the Pharisees and Sadducees, which in St. Matthew's Gospel takes up six verses, and in St. Luke's Gospel still more, takes up only two verses in St. Mark's Gospel. Here therefore St. Matthew's translator could not derive much assistance from St. Mark. Consequently, after having copied from St. Mark in two verses in the former part of the section, namely, in Matth. iii. 6. he had recourse to St. Luke, when he came to ver. 7, 8, 9, 10: and throughout these four verses he retained all the words of St. Luke, except

that in ver. 8. he substituted *δοξῆτε* for *αρχήσθε* *. When he came to ver. 11. St. Mark had again matter in common with St. Matthew: but in this verse, though St. Mark and St. Luke verbally agree, the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel did not wholly retain the words of either, for both St. Mark and St. Luke use the proverb *ικανός λυσαι τον ιμαντα των υποδηματων*, for which St. Matthew must have substituted a different one, though one of similar import, since the Greek translator has *ικανός τα υποδηματα βατσαι*. Again at ver. 12. St. Luke alone has matter in common with St. Matthew: and in this verse both Gospels, as in ver. 7—10. have the same text.

In like manner we may trace the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, sometimes copying from St. Mark, where St. Mark had the same matter, and St. Mark's translation suited his purpose, at other times, where St. Mark deserted him, copying from St. Luke, as far as St. Luke had matter in common with St. Matthew. And there is no necessity for supposing that the translator made an accurate collation of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, and that he noted in the latter the passages, which were not contained in the former; for he had nothing more to do, than to observe during his translation, how far St. Mark's Gospel continued to have the same matter with St. Matthew's, and in whatever section the former had less than the latter, to look into St. Luke's Gospel. In the additions F, which will be examined under the Fourth Division,

* It is not impossible that the Greek translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel wrote *αρχήσθε*, and that *δοξῆτε* is an accidental exchange made by transcribers, as it is very easy to confound these words, when they are written in capitals. For *μη αρχήσθε λεγειν* is much more consonant to the general style of the New Testament and LXX. writers than *μη δοξῆτε λεγειν*. On the other hand, if *δοξῆτε* be genuine, we may suppose that the Hebrew text was *לְדַבֵּר לְיָמֵינוּ*, and that as *לָא* in Hiphil, signifies 'voluit,' as well as 'incepit,' St. Matthew's translator preferred the former sense, though St. Luke had adopted the latter.

the translator made very considerable use of St. Luke's Gospel: but in the insertions γ, with which we are at present concerned, he had not an opportunity of making such frequent use of St. Luke's Gospel; for if we reckon only such insertions γ, as constitute a whole sentence, I have observed only four throughout the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, namely two in Sect. I. one in Sect. III. and one in Sect. XXXI.: in all of which, however, the Greek texts of St. Matthew and St. Luke have a verbal coincidence.

SECOND DIVISION : CONTAINING THE ADDITIONS A.

In A, St. Matthew's Greek text has a frequent verbal agreement with that of St. Mark, for the same reason that the two texts frequently coincide in N and α. Thus among the sections, which form the additions A, Sect. I. IV. V. VI. present long examples of close verbal agreement: but in the two intermediate sections II. III. there is no verbal agreement whatsoever, the reason of which, however, is very easy to be assigned. For in Sect. II. which relates to the parable of the grain of mustard-seed, and in St. Mark's Gospel takes up only three verses^b, ch. iv. 30—32. and in St. Matthew's Gospel only two^c, ch. xiii. 31, 32. the *form*

^b Eichhorn (Allgem. Bibl. Vol. V. p. 922), refers to this section the parable of the leaven, but this parable is not in St. Mark's Gospel.

^c Matth. xiii. 33. contains the parable of the leaven, which is peculiar to the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, who have here a verbal coincidence. See the Table of parallel and coincident passages, Sect. IX. Fourth Division. In ver. 34. St. Matthew has an observation in common with St. Mark, ch. iv. 33, 34. in which they agree in one expression, χωρίς παραβολῆς· ἔκ· ἐλάλει· αὐτοῖς. But what follows from ver. 33. to the end of the chapter, is related by St. Matthew alone.

in which St. Mark has given the parable is too different from that, in which it appears in St. Matthew's Gospel, to have been adopted by a literal translator. And Sect. III. which contains Matth. xiii. 54—58. Mark vi. 1—6. is an insertion between the 17th and 18th of the general sections ^a, both of which were transposed by St. Matthew, and with them the intermediate portion. St. Matthew's translator, therefore, did not observe this portion in St. Mark's Gospel: and indeed, if he had, he could not have copied much from St. Mark, because there is some difference even in the matter.

THIRD DIVISION: CONTAINING THE ADDITIONS B.

In B the relation, which St. Mark and St. Luke bear to each other in respect to verbal agreement is very different from that, which they bear to each other in \mathfrak{N} , and is similar to that, which they bear to each other in β , because their Greek version $\bar{\alpha}$ did not contain the additions β and B. Consequently in B, as well as in β , their translations from their copies of the Hebrew document had no connexion with each other, as they had in \mathfrak{N} , and therefore they exhibit different texts. It is true, that there is one exception in B, as was observed above in respect to β : for in Sect. I. (the only one of the sections belonging to the Third Division, which exhibits any instance of verbal agreement) Mark i. 24, 25. has a close verbal agreement with Luke iv. 34, 35. though in all the rest of the section, as well in what precedes, as what follows the coincident passage, the same thing is related by the two Evange-

^a Sect. XVII. in St. Mark's Gospel, ends with ch. v. 48. and Sect. XVIII. begins with ch. vii. 7. The addition, therefore, ch. vii. 1—6, had been made between those two sections.

lists in different words'. The cause of this single exception to the general rule, that St. Mark and St. Luke do not verbally agree in B, is more difficult to be assigned, than the cause of the exception in β . At least we cannot well suppose, that Sect. I. of the Third Division was an original part of \aleph : for since it includes Mark i. 21—28. Luke iv. 31—37. it is too long to admit the supposition of its omission in St. Matthew's Gospel, if St. Matthew's document had contained it. I can assign, therefore, no other cause', than that transcribers have in this passage altered one Gospel from the other: and we may really trace in the MSS. which are still extant, deviations, which render it not improbable that the two texts in this passage were originally not so similar as they are at present. Thus, the word *Ea*, with which the passage now begins in both Gospels, is not improbably an interpolation in St. Mark's

* In Eichhorn's Allgem. Bibl. Vol. V. p. 757—760. is given a complete analysis of this section.

† Perhaps it will be thought unnecessary to seek a particular cause of the verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke in this passage, because, though two independent translators, and especially translators of a different description, like St. Mark and St. Luke, cannot verbally agree for many sentences together, they may agree in a single passage, if the words of the original in that passage are familiar, and the construction plain and easy. The passage in question is: *Ea, τι ἡμῖν καὶ σοι, Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρενι; ἦλθες ἀπολῦσαι ἡμᾶς; οὐκ οἶσιν τις αὐτοῦ, ὁ ἅγιος τε Θεὸς καὶ πιστεύουσιν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει, φημιθεῖτε, καὶ ἐξέλθι ἐξ αὐτοῦ.* Now whether the words and the construction of this text are such, as will warrant the supposition, that it was produced by two independent translators, who have very differently rendered both the preceding and the following part of the narrative, is a question, which I will neither absolutely affirm, nor absolutely deny. But the affirmative appears at least to be improbable: and therefore it is not unreasonable to conclude, that the verbal harmony between St. Mark and St. Luke in this instance, as it forms an exception to the general rule, 'that they do not agree verbally in the sections B,' was effected by the intervention of some particular cause, which has not operated in any other part of these sections. At any rate, however, this exception will hardly be thought sufficient to destroy the general hypothesis, since a cause of it may be assigned.

Gospel, as appears from the good authorities, which reject it: instead of *οἶδα*, Origen and other Greek fathers quote *οἶδαμεν* from St. Mark: and at the end of the passage in St. Luke's Gospel *απ' αὐτοῦ* has a better claim to authenticity, than the common reading *ἐξ αὐτοῦ*.

FOURTH DIVISION: CONTAINING THE ADDITIONS Γ.

IN the additions Γ, the relation, which the Greek texts of St. Matthew and St. Luke bear to each other, is very different from that, which they bear to each other in Ν, and is similar to that, which they bear to each other in γ, because, though the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel made no use of St. Luke's Gospel, where St. Mark had matter in common with St. Matthew, he made very material use of it in the places, where St. Mark had no matter in common with St. Matthew. Hence in the sections, which are peculiar to St. Matthew and Luke, we find a very frequent and close verbal coincidence, as may be seen on turning to the examples produced in the Fourth Division.

As the additions Γ are of two kinds, Γ¹ and Γ², that is, additions, which have correspondent places, and additions, which have not correspondent places, in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, it will be objected perhaps, that there is an inconsistency in ascribing the verbal agreement between the Greek texts of St. Matthew and St. Luke in Γ² to a verbal transcription from St. Luke's Gospel by St. Matthew's translator, since the phænomenon 'that St. Matthew's Greek text never agrees verbally with that of St. Mark in any of those sections of Ν, which have not correspondent places in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark,' has been explained on the supposition, that St. Matthew's translator did not observe in what parts of St. Mark's

Gospel those sections were contained. For, if he did not observe in what parts of St. Mark's Gospel such transposed sections of \mathbf{N} were contained, it may be said that there is an improbability in supposing, that he observed in what parts of St. Luke's Gospel the sections \mathbf{I}^2 were contained. But this improbability and inconsistency is only apparent, as will be seen on a more minute examination of the subject. In the first place, St. Matthew's translator made *continued* use of St. Mark's Gospel throughout the whole of his translation, whereas he had recourse to that of St. Luke in the translation only of *detached parts* of St. Matthew's Gospel, namely in those detached parts, in which St. Mark ceased to have matter in common with St. Matthew. This very circumstance rendered it necessary, that he should bestow more pains in seeking for those sections of St. Luke's Gospel, which St. Luke alone had in common with St. Matthew, than in seeking for the matter, which St. Mark had in common with St. Matthew. And since he followed St. Mark in regular order, it did not occur to him, when he came to a section of St. Matthew's Gospel, which was not in the corresponding place of St. Mark's Gospel, to seek for that section in another part of it. But the case was very different in respect to St. Luke's Gospel, which he did not follow in regular order, which he consulted only for detached sections; and therefore he well knew that more labour was requisite in order to discover them. Secondly, the difficulty of discovering the sections \mathbf{I}^2 in St. Luke's Gospel was greatly diminished by the circumstance, that, though they are scattered in various parts of St. Matthew's Gospel, yet eight of them, Sect. III. IV. VI. VII. VIII. IX. X. XI. are not only contained in the portion, Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. but are confined within a certain part of that portion, ch. ix. 57—xiii. 35. The discovery therefore of any one of these sections facilitated the discovery of the rest. And in Sect. V. the only remaining one of the sections \mathbf{I}^2 , in which there is a verbal agreement, the place,

which it occupied in St. Luke's Gospel, could not escape the notice of St. Matthew's translator, though it is in Luke vii. 18—35. because, before he came to Sect. V. he had already in Sect. II. (which is one of the sections Γ^1) copied from the former part of Luke vii. and therefore had observed what followed that place in St. Luke's Gospel. On the other hand, in Sect. XII. the last, and one of the longest of the sections peculiar to St. Matthew and St. Luke, there was nothing, which particularly led to the discovery of it in St. Luke's Gospel, for it is contained in ch. xix. 11—28. and is at a considerable distance from any of those passages, in which St. Matthew's translator had used the Gospel of St. Luke. Accordingly in this section we find in the Greek Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke two very different texts.

With respect to the sections Γ^1 , which are only two in number, Sect. I. and II. no difficulty could take place, as they occupy correspondent places in both Gospels^a. It is true, that in Sect. I. which properly contains only Luke vi. 20—49. (this portion of St. Luke's Gospel being all that St. Luke has, *in connexion*, of the sermon on the mount), and Matth. v. vi. vii. we find a verbal coincidence, not only with several correspondent passages of Luke vi. 20—49. but likewise with some passages in Luke xi. xii. and with one passage in Luke xvi. 13. Now we have already seen that St. Matthew's translator particularly consulted that portion of St. Luke's Gospel, in which these chapters are contained, and therefore it is not extraordinary that among the many sentences, which are contained in various parts of that portion as well as in Matth. v. vi. vii. some few of them should have been observed by St. Matthew's translator^b.

^a See the latter part of Ch. XI. Note m.

^b Beside the precepts and doctrines delivered in Matth. v. vi. vii. which are contained likewise in the correspondent part of St. Luke's Gospel, ch. vi. 20—49. there are thirty verses of Matth. v. vi. vii. which are scattered in various parts of the long portion Luke ix. 51.

Thus far the verbal harmony of our three first Gospels has been explained. With respect to the examples, in which the same facts are related in different but synonymous terms, which are more numerous than the examples, in which the same words are used, the explanation of them is so obvious from what has been already said, that it is almost unnecessary to enter into a particular detail of them. Wherever Greek writers, who translate from the same Hebrew original, make their translations themselves, or without any foreign aid, that is, without either copying the one from the other, or jointly transcribing from some version already made, they will of course produce Greek texts, which agree in a synonymy, but not a sameness of expression. Hence St. Mark and St. Luke, in β and B, as in these additions and sections they were under the necessity of translating for themselves, exhibit two Greek texts, which agree in sense and in form, but differ in words. The same effect was likewise produced in \aleph , except when both of them had recourse to their common version $\bar{\aleph}$ in the same place. In like manner, the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, who had no recourse to St. Luke's Gospel, as long as he could derive assistance from St. Mark, has produced throughout all \aleph a different Greek text from that of St. Luke, except where an agreement was occasioned by the intervention of St. Mark's Gospel. And his Greek text is frequently different from that of St. Mark also, because he either did not, or could not at all times, for reasons already assigned, make use of St. Mark's Gospel.

To quote the examples, in which the same things are related in different words, in the same manner as the examples of verbal agreement have been exhibited in the preceding Table, is unnecessary, because all the

—xviii. 14. But they are confined within a certain part of it, ch. xi. 2.—xvi. 18.: and of these thirty verses, there are only nine, which have a verbal agreement. The rest were either overlooked by St. Matthew's translator, or they did not suit his purpose, which was to give a literal translation of his original.

passages, which are common to any two, or to all three of the Evangelists, and do not appear in that Table, may be considered as examples of the former kind. And that in general the examples of this description are such, as *might*, and probably *would*, have resulted from a diversity of translation from the same Hebrew original, which is all that is required in the examination of an hypothesis, is a matter, which no one, who has read what Eichhorn and Bolten¹ have written on this subject, will deny.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PRECEDING HYPOTHESIS TRIED BY THE PHÆNOMENA IN THE CONTENTS AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE GOSPELS.

It appears then, that the phænomena of every description in the verbal agreement and disagreement of the Evangelists may be solved by the proposed hypothesis. Consequently, it remains only, that we examine, whether the phænomena in the contents and the arrangement of the Gospels are likewise capable of being solved by it.

To begin with St. Mark, whose Gospel has hitherto been a subject of great controversy. One of the most remarkable phænomena relative to the contents of St. Mark's Gospel is, that if we except the addition of single circumstances, with which St. Mark has frequently enriched the narrative common to all three Evangelists, there are not more than twenty-four verses in his whole

¹ The former in the Essay above quoted, sect. 23: the latter in the Notes to his German translation of our three first Gospels. If Eichhorn had paid the same attention to the examples of verbal agreement, as to the examples of verbal disagreement, he would probably have left little to have been performed by the author of this dissertation.

Gospel, which contain facts, that are not recorded either by St. Matthew or by St. Luke^k: whence it has been supposed that St. Mark used the Gospels both of St. Matthew and St. Luke, and that he selected from them such facts, as he thought proper to relate in his own Gospel; since, unless these Gospels had served as guides to St. Mark, it would not have been in his power, as is supposed, to select out of the great number of facts, which the life of Christ presented, those only, which St. Matthew or St. Luke had recorded. But the present hypothesis accounts for this phænomenon full as well, as the supposition that St. Mark used the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke: for the copy of the Hebrew document, which was the basis of St. Mark's Gospel was $N + \alpha + \beta + A + B$, and this copy contained nothing, but what was contained either in $N + \alpha + \gamma + A + \Gamma^1$, the copy used by St. Matthew, or in $N + \beta + \gamma + B + \Gamma^1$, the copy used by St. Luke. And since the phænomena in the verbal agreement of St. Mark and St. Luke are incompatible with the supposition that the one used the Gospel of the other^l, the present hypothesis not only may, but must be adopted to explain the phænomenon in question.

Another phænomenon in St. Mark's Gospel is, that he has placed all the facts, which he has in common both with St. Matthew and with St. Luke, precisely in the same order as St. Luke has placed them^m, which has afforded another argument for the opinion, either that St. Mark copied from St. Luke, or St. Luke from St. Mark. Now these two Evangelists agree throughout in the arrangement of their facts, not because the one copied from the other, but because both St. Mark

^k Comment. Theol. Tom. I. p. 382—384.

^l See Ch. viii.

^m See the Catalogue of the XLII. general sections, given above in Ch. v. where it appears that they regularly follow without any inversions in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, though not in that of St. Matthew.

and St. Luke, according to the proposed hypothesis, retained the facts, in the same order, in which they found them in their common Hebrew document: whereas St. Matthew has in several sections a different arrangement, because he made several transpositions.

The passages, which St. Mark and St. Luke only have in common with each other, whether they are the smaller insertions β , or the larger editions B, occupy likewise correspondent places in the two Gospels, because these passages had been added in their copies of the common Hebrew document, and were retained by St. Mark and St. Luke without any alteration in their position.

The passages, which St. Matthew and St. Mark only have in common with each other, whether they are the smaller insertions α , or the larger additions A, have in both Gospels, except in one instance, the same position, because these passages had been added in their copies of the common Hebrew document: the position of which St. Mark every where retained, and St. Matthew likewise, except in one instance. This instance is Sect. III. of the Second Division, Matth. xiii. 54—58. Mark vi. 1—6: an addition, which had been made in the Hebrew document \aleph between Sect. XVII. and Sect. XVIII. of the general Sections: for Sect. XVII. contains Mark v. 21—43. and Sect. XVIII. Mark vi. 7—13. Now both Sect. XVII. and Sect. XVIII. were transposed by St. Matthew; and therefore it is not extraordinary that a transposition of the intermediate addition likewise took place.

Of the passages, which St. Luke has in common with St. Matthew only, some occupy correspondent places in the two Gospels, as the additions γ and Γ^1 , while others, namely the additions Γ^2 are inserted in places, which do not correspond to each other. The additions γ have the same position in the two Gospels, because they were augmentations of certain sections of \aleph , and therefore like α and β , could not have been removed from those sections, without destroying the connexion.

The sections Γ^1 , which are only two in number, the sermon on the mount, Matth. v. vi. vii. Luke vi. 20—49. and the cure of the centurion's servant at Capernaum, Matth. viii. 5—13. Luke vii. 1—10. had been likewise inserted in the copies of the Hebrew document \aleph , which were used by St. Matthew and St. Luke: and hence both of these sections occupy at least the same relative position in both Gospels. For in both Gospels the sermon on the mount immediately follows Sect. XI. of the general sections, which includes Matth. iv. 23—25. Luke vi. 12—19: and the cure of the centurion's servant at Capernaum follows in both Gospels the sermon on the mount, in St. Luke's Gospel without any interruption, and in St. Matthew's Gospel with the interval of only four verses, Matth. viii. 1—4. which interval was occasioned by the circumstance, that Matth. viii. 1—4. is one of the sections, that St. Matthew transposed. But the sermon recorded by St. Luke takes up only thirty verses, whereas the sermon recorded by St. Matthew takes up above an hundred, because St. Luke inserted the sermon as he found it^a in his copy of the document \aleph ; but St. Matthew made very considerable additions, a great part of which he derived from his copy of the $\Gamma\omega\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha$, or supplemental document \beth . For the substance of the $\Gamma\omega\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha$, according to the proposed hypothesis, was inserted by St. Luke, with the exception of a discourse and a parable, in ch. ix. 51—xviii. 14.: and a great number of the precepts, which St. Matthew has in ch. v. vi. vii. in addition to what St. Luke has in ch. vi. 20—49. are contained in Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. Further, St. Matthew not only made considerable additions, but arranged the precepts in a different order, and thus gave to the sermon a different

^a There are two passages in Luke vi. 20—49. namely, ver. 24—26. ver. 39, 40. which are not in Matth. v.—vii. These two passages were probably contained in St. Luke's copy, but not in St. Matthew's. Or perhaps St. Luke added them himself from other information.

form from that which it has in St. Luke's Gospel*. However, what deserves particularly to be noticed, both Evangelists begin the sermon with the same precept, μακαριοι οι πτωχοι, and end with the same parable, namely, a comparison of a man, who built his house on a rock, with him who hears and performs the word of God, and of a man, who built his house on the sand, with him, who hears the word of God, but does not perform it. Both St. Matthew and St. Luke therefore have recorded the same sermon, though St. Matthew has dilated it by the insertion of many precepts which St. Luke did not insert in it^p.

* The following Table represents the passages of Matth. v. vi. vii. which are contained partly in Luke vi. 20—49. and partly in Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14.

Matth. v. 3—6.	Luke vi. 20, 21.
11, 12.	22, 23.
15.	xi. 33.
18.	xvi. 17.
25, 26.	xii. 58, 59.
32.	xvi. 18.
39—42.	vi. 29, 30.
44.	27, 28.
45.	35.
46, 47.	32, 33.
48.	36.
vi. 9—13.	xi. 2—4.
19—21.	xii. 33, 34.
22, 23.	xi. 34—36.
24.	xvi. 13.
25—33.	xii. 22—31.
vii. 1—5.	vi. 37—42.
7—11.	xi. 9—13.
12.	vi. 31.
13.	xiii. 24.
16—21.	vi. 43—46.
22, 23.	xiii. 25—27.
24—27.	vi. 47—49.

^p The preceding representation of the origin of the sermon on the mount, in St. Matthew's Gospel is very consistent with the opinion of several modern critics, (see especially Pott de natura atque indole

The sections Γ*, all of which, without exception, contain precepts, discourses, or parables, were derived both by St. Matthew and by St. Luke from the Γνωμολογία; and hence all these sections occupy different places in the two Gospels, because St. Matthew and St. Luke, who had no knowledge of each other's writings, used it in a different manner. A great number of precepts contained in it were transferred by St. Matthew, as has been already observed, to the Sermon on the mount. The discourses and parables, which he found in it, he inserted in parts of the following chapters of his Gospel, ix. x. xi. xiii*. xviii. xxii. xxiii. xxiv. xxv. having regard probably to the times, and to the occasions, on which those discourses and parables were delivered. But St. Luke, who had not, like St. Matthew, been present at their delivery, had no other means of determining their chronological order, than the internal notes of time, which were discernible in the discourses themselves, or in the facts, which gave rise to them, since, according to the proposed hypothesis, though many of the facts, which gave rise to the discourses and parables, were noticed in the Γνωμολογία, the whole was arranged without any regard to chronological order, the Γνωμολογία being a collection, which was gradually formed by con-

orationis montanæ, Helmstadii 1788, 4to.) that the sermon on the mount, as pronounced by Christ, had not that form and extent, which we find in the sermon recorded by St. Matthew: and that St. Matthew himself, in order to give a general and comprehensive view of Christ's moral doctrines, inserted in it many precepts, which had been delivered on various other occasions. On the other hand, it is not inconsistent with the contrary opinion, which has been hitherto the commonly received one, for Christ's sermon may have been imperfectly recorded in the document α, many of the precepts there omitted may have been inserted in various places of the Γνωμολογία, or document γ, and St. Matthew may have done nothing more than restore them to the place, to which they properly belonged, while St. Luke, who was not a hearer of Christ, may have left them where he found them, because he did not know that they belonged to the sermon on the mount.

* Matth. xiii. 3—52. contains a collection of parables, of which the two delivered in ver. 31—33. were taken from the Γνωμολογία. St. Luke has them in Ch. xiii. 18—21.

tinual accessions of new matter, as new communications were made by the Apostles, and other immediate disciples of Christ^p. Accordingly St. Luke, with exception to a discourse and a parable, both of which have internal notes of time^q, returned the precepts, parables and discourses, which had been recorded in the Γνωμολογία in the collection, in which he found them. He gave however to the whole the form of a narrative; in order to make it correspond with the rest of his Gospel, which was not a collection of unconnected facts, but a continued history. The portion of St. Luke's Gospel, which his recension of the Γνωμολογία occupies, is ch. ix. 51—xviii. 14. a portion^r, which commences with Christ's preparation to depart from Galilee, to go for the last time to Jerusalem, and ends before his arrival at Jericho. For in ch. ix. 51, 52. St. Luke says that Christ was preparing to go to Jerusalem, and for that purpose sent messengers to Samaria: in ch. xviii. 36. he says that Christ was approaching toward Jericho, and in ch. xix. 1. that he arrived there. Consequently all the precepts, parables, and discourses, which St. Luke has recorded in

^p The grand object of inquiry was, *what* doctrines Christ had taught; the *time*, at which they were taught, was an inferior consideration.

^q These will be examined in the next paragraph.

^r This portion, which contains more than eight successive chapters, particularly distinguishes itself from the rest of St. Luke's Gospel, not only by its consisting chiefly of discourses, whereas the rest of St. Luke's Gospel consists chiefly of facts, but likewise by another circumstance. Namely, from Sect. I. to Sect. XXV. of the general sections, St. Mark and St. Luke agree in a series of facts, which they relate in the same order: and Sect. XXV. if we include the addition to it, which St. Mark and St. Luke have, but not St. Matthew, extends to Mark ix. 41. Luke ix. 50. Here all connexion between the two Gospels ceases, and does not re-commence before Luke xviii. 15, &c. which corresponds to Mark x. 13, &c. and is Sect. XXVI. of the general sections, from which place to the end of their Gospels St. Mark and St. Luke agree again in a series of facts, which they relate in the same order. Further, if we deduct the whole of Luke ix. 51.—xviii. 14. the narrative in St. Luke's Gospel does not appear to have any interruption: for Ch. xviii. 15, &c. connects very well with Ch. ix. 17—50. but it has no connection whatever with Ch. xviii. 1—14.

ch. ix. 51.—xviii. 14., are by their position in St. Luke's Gospel represented as delivered in the interval, which elapsed between Christ's preparation to depart from Galilee, and his arrival at Jericho * : and it is probable, that many of them were delivered in that interval, that St. Luke knew that they were, and that on this account he chose that particular part of his Gospel for the insertion of the substance of the Γνωμολογια. But that some of the discourses and parables, which are recorded in St. Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. were delivered by Christ long before he left Galilee to go for the last time to Jerusalem, and that others were delivered after Christ had passed through Jericho, is certain. For instance, the woe denounced to Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum †, which St. Luke has in ch. x. 13—15. was spoken by Christ even before the death of John the Baptist, and consequently some time before Christ's departure from Galilee : for St. Matthew has not only recorded it in ch. xi. immediately after John's Message to Christ, but has expressly said that Christ at that very time ‡ denounced woe to the cities in which he had performed the greatest number of miracles. Likewise Christ's censure of certain persons, who required of him a sign §, which St. Luke has in ch. xi. 24—32. was delivered some time before his departure from Galilee : for St. Matthew, after having recorded this censure in ch. xii. 38—45. says expressly ch. xiii. 1. that Christ went on *that very day* to the sea side ¶, that is, to the coast of the sea of Tiberias, or the lake of Gennesaret. On the other

* Hence Eichhorn supposes (Alegem. Bibl. Vol. 5. p. 992, 995.) that the portion Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. was taken from a document, which contained an account of Christ's principal actions and discourses on his last journey to Jerusalem.

† Sect. VI. of the Fourth Division.

‡ Matth. xi. 20. 21. Τότε ηρξατο ονειδίζειν τας πολεις, εν αις ηγειοντο αι πλειους δυναμεις αυτου, οτι η μετανοησαν. Ουαι σοι Χοραζιν κ. τ. λ.

§ Sect. VIII. of the Fourth Division.

¶ Εν δε τη ημερα εκεινη εξελθων ο Ιησους απο της οικιας, εκαθητο παρα της θαλασσης.

hand, Christ's lamentation over the future fate of Jerusalem², which St. Luke has in ch. xiii. 34, 35. was uttered after Christ's arrival in Jerusalem: for St. Matthew has not only recorded it in ch. xxiii. 37—39. after he had related Christ's arrival in Jerusalem³, but says expressly that this lamentation was made in the temple⁴. And the parable of the faithful and unfaithful servants⁵, which St. Luke has in ch. xii. 42—48. was delivered by Christ while he was standing without the temple⁶: for St. Matthew has recorded it in ch. xxiv. 45—51. as delivered by Christ immediately after his prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, with the view of exhorting his disciples to prepare themselves against the expected day. In like manner it may be shewn by the aid of St. Matthew's Gospel that several other discourses of Christ, which St. Luke has recorded in ch. ix. 51—xviii. 14. were not delivered in the interval which elapsed between Christ's last departure from Galilee and his arrival in Jericho: but, like the four just mentioned, they are not accompanied in St. Luke's Gospel, and consequently were not accompanied in the document, from which St. Luke derived them, by any such clear and distinct facts, as could lead to the discovery of the real time, in which they were delivered. It is remarkable, that throughout the whole of that long portion Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. not one of the places, in which the parables and discourses were delivered, are

x Sect. X. of the Fourth Division.

y Ch. xxi.

z In ch. xxi. 12. St. Matthew relates that Christ entered into the temple; and that all the discourses recorded in ch. xxi. xxii. xxiii. were delivered in the temple appears from what St. Matthew says in Ch. xxiv. 1. και εξελθων ο Ιησους ιεροσυετο απο του ιερου.

a Sect. XI. of the Fourth Division.

b In Ch. xxiv. 1. 2. St. Matthew, after having said that Christ went out of the temple, adds, και προσηλθοσ οι μαθηται αυτου επιδειξαι αυτω τας οικοδομας του ιερου. Ο δε Ιησους ειπεν αυτοις. Here begins Christ's prophecy of the destruction of the temple and of the city of Jerusalem.

mentioned *by name*: for in the few instances, in which places are mentioned at all, they are mentioned in indefinite terms. Thus ch. ix. 52. εισηλθεν εις κωμην Σαμαρειτων. ch. 58. εισηλθεν εις κωμην τινα. ch. xi. 1. εν τω ειναι αυτον εν τοπω τινι. ch. xvii. 12. εισερχομενς αυτε εις τινα κωμην. This is perfectly consistent with the supposition that St. Luke derived from a Γνωμολογια the precepts, parables, and discourses, which he has recorded in ch. ix. 51—xviii. 14.: for in a work of that kind the names of places, which are of importance in a narrative, were an inferior consideration. But the indefinite manner, in which places were mentioned in the Γνωμολογια, was one of the principal causes, which prevented St. Luke from discovering the time, in which many of the discourses were delivered. For instance, if he had known the name of the village, of which he speaks in ch. x. 38. he would have known that the discourse of Christ, which he there relates, was delivered after Christ had passed Jericho on his way to Jerusalem. For we know from St. John's Gospel, though St. Luke did not, that this place was Bethany^b, which lay much nearer to Jerusalem than Jericho did.

But St. Luke separated from the collection one discourse and one parable, and placed the former in ch. vii. 19—35. the latter in ch. xix. 11—28. because they were accompanied by such facts, as clearly shewed that the one belonged to a part of his Gospel, which preceded ch. ix. 51—xviii. 14. the other to a part of his Gospel, which followed that portion. The discourse is that which was delivered by Christ on the message of John the Baptist^c: and as St. Luke in ch. ix. 9. has described John the Baptist as already dead, we perceive the reason, why he inserted a discourse, which was delivered while John was living, in the preceding

^b St. Luke in Ch. x. 38, 39. after having said αυτες εισηλθεν εις κωμην τινα, adds that Christ entered the house of Martha, who had a sister called Mary. Now in John xi. 1. Bethany is expressly called κωμη Μαρτας και Μαρθας της αδελφης αυτης.

^c Sect. V. of the Fourth Division.

part of his Gospel. But he did not know the precise time, when John sent the message to Christ, and hence the place, which he assigned to it in his Gospel, does not correspond to the place, which St. Matthew assigned to it. For according to St. Matthew, who, as being an Apostle, certainly knew the exact time, this message with Christ's discourse on it was delivered *after* Christ had sent out the twelve Apostles^d, but according to St. Luke, *before* Christ sent out the Apostles^e. However, it is not difficult to assign the motive, which induced St. Luke to insert it particularly in ch. vii. 19—35. For his account of Christ's restoring to life the widow's son at Nain closes in ver. 17, 18. of this chapter with the following words, *καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ λόγος ὅτος ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἰσδαίᾳ περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ περιχωρῷ· καὶ ἀπηγγείλαν Ἰωάννη οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ περὶ πάντων τούτων*. Consequently this appeared to be a very proper place for the introduction of John's message to Christ, and Christ's discourse on it. The parable, which St. Luke separated from the collection, and placed in ch. xix. 11—28. is that of a prince, who travelled into a distant country: and his reason for making this separation, and placing the parable after the long portion, ch. ix. 51—xviii. 14. was, that it was delivered, as St. Luke himself knew, after Christ had passed Jericho^f. Consequently St. Luke knew, that this parable could not belong to a portion of his Gospel, which ended before Christ's arrival in Jericho. But, as in the preceding instance, this para-

^d In Ch. x. 1—42. St. Matthew relates the sending out of the twelve Apostles, with the instructions, which Christ gave them on that occasion. And in Ch. xi. 1, &c. he proceeds, *καὶ ἐγνώστο ὅτι ἐπιλίσσει ὁ Ἰησοῦς διατάσσει τοὺς δώδεκα μαθηταὶς αὐτοῦ, μετὰ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ κηρύσσει ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν*. Ο δὲ Ἰωάννης ἀκεῖστας ἐν τῇ δισμυκτηρίῳ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Χριστοῦ περιψάας δύο τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, κ. τ. λ.

^e St. Luke has inserted the message of St. John, in Ch. vii. 18—35: but his account of Christ's sending out the twelve Apostles is in Ch. ix. 1—6.

^f In Chap. xix. 1. St. Luke says, *καὶ πορεύσας διήρχετο τὴν Ἰεριχὴν*: and in ver. 11. where the parable in question begins, *ἀκούσαντες δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα, προσέθις εἶπε παραβολήν, διὰ τὸ ἔγγυς αὐτοῖς εἶναι Ἱερουσαλὴμ*

ble does not occupy in St. Luke's Gospel precisely the same place which it occupies in St. Matthew's. For according to St. Matthew, who has it in ch. xxv. 14—30. it was delivered after Christ arrived at Jerusalem.

The supposition therefore that the sections Γ², as well those, which are contained in Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. as those which are contained elsewhere, were derived by St. Matthew and St. Luke from Γνωμολογία of the description above given, will account for every phenomenon, both in the contents, and in the position of these sections. That the long portion Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. contains much matter which St. Matthew has in no part of his Gospel, as the parable of the Samaritan, who fell among thieves, ch. x. 30—37. the parable of the prodigal son, ch. xv. 11—32. the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, ch. xviii. 1—8. the parable of the unjust judge and the importunate widow, ch. xviii. 1—8. with that of the Pharisee and the Publican, ver. 9—12. and several others, was occasioned partly by the circumstance that St. Luke's copy of the Γνωμολογία contained some things, which St. Matthew's copy did not, and partly by the circumstance that St. Luke himself in consequence of his diligent inquiries, was enabled to make additions to the collection.

Further, though St. Matthew, without St. Mark, has a great part of the matter contained in Luke ix. 51.—xviii. 14. because St. Matthew as well as St. Luke had a copy of the Γνωμολογία^s, yet St. Mark, without St. Matthew, has not a single sentence of that portion, because St. Mark had no other document than N. There

^s In the Fourth Division, Sect. III. IV. VI. VII. VIII. IX. X. XI. are contained in Luke ix. 51—viii. 14. Compare also

Luke x. 3—12.
xi. 39—52.
xii. 1—12.
xiv. 16—24.
xv. 3—7.
xvii. 23—37.

Matth. x. 10—16.
xxiii. 4—7. 23—36.
x. 19—33.
xxii. 1—14.
xviii. 12—14.
xxiv. 17—41.

are however three sections common to St. Matthew and St. Mark, which are likewise in Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. namely, Christ's confutation of the opinion, that he cast out devils by the aid of Beelzebub, Matth. xii. 24—30. Mark iii. 22—37. which is also in Luke xi. 16—23.; the parable of the grain of mustard seed, Matth. xiii. 31, 32. Mark iv. 30—32. which is also in Luke xiii. 18, 19.; and Christ's answer to the question, which is the greatest commandment, Matth. xxii. 34—40. Mark xii. 28—31. which is also in Luke x. 25—28. But these three sections occupy correspondent places in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark: and therefore both St. Matthew and St. Mark derived them from their copies of the document \aleph . Consequently, they were either original parts of the document \aleph , which St. Luke omitted in the correspondent places of his Gospel, because they were likewise contained in his document γ : or, what is more probable, they were three of the additions A, which had been made only in the copies of \aleph used by St. Matthew and St. Mark^a. In either case we

Further, there is a great number of single precepts or sayings of Christ, in Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. thirty of which St. Matthew has in the sermon on the mount (see the preceding Note o,) and others in other parts of his Gospel. Compare for instance,

Luke x. 23, 24.	Matth. xiii. 16, 17.
xii. 51—53.	x. 3.
54—56.	xvi. 2, 3.
xiii. 28, 29.	viii. 11, 12.
xiv. 11.	xxiii. 12.
26, 27.	x. 37, 38.
xvii. 3, 4.	xviii. 15. 21, 22.

^a Thus in Matth. xviii. 6—9. Mark ix. 42—48. which is one of the sections peculiar to St. Matthew and St. Mark, one verse occurs, namely, Matth. xviii. 6. Mark ix. 42. which is also in Luke xvii. 2.: and in Matth. xxiv. 22—26. Mark xiii. 20—23. which is one of the additions α , another single verse occurs, namely, Matth. xxiv. 23. Mark xiii. 21. which is in Luke xvii. 23. Among the additions therefore, which were made to the document \aleph in the copies used by St. Matthew and St. Mark, some of them contained matter, which was likewise in the document γ .

see the reason why St. Mark has some matter, which is found in Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. though he did not use the document 2. But in the first of these three sections St. Matthew has three verses, ch. xii. 27, 28. 30. which St. Mark has not: and as they are contained word for word¹ in Luke xi. 19, 20. 23. they were taken by St. Matthew from the document 2, and added to what he found in his copy of the document 2.

Lastly, in respect to the matter, which each Evangelist has peculiar to himself, whether we consider the facts and discourses, which are contained either in St. Matthew's Gospel only, or in St. Luke's Gospel only, or consider the circumstances, with which St. Mark has so frequently enriched the facts, which are contained without those circumstances in one or both of the other two Gospels, they are so obviously explicable from the manner, in which the Evangelists have been supposed to have used their copies of the Hebrew document or documents, that it is unnecessary to enter into a particular detail of them. For though the Evangelists made use of more ancient documents, they are not to be considered as transcribers or translators, but as *authors*: and each of them, as such, made material additions, either of facts, or of discourses, or of circumstances, which were unnoticed by the other two, because they wrote without any knowledge of each other's Gospels.

It appears then, that the phenomena of every description, observable in our three first Gospels, admit of an easy solution by the proposed hypothesis. And since no other hypothesis can solve them all, we may conclude that it is the true one.

¹ See Sect. VII. the Fourth Division.

END OF VOL. III. PART II.

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